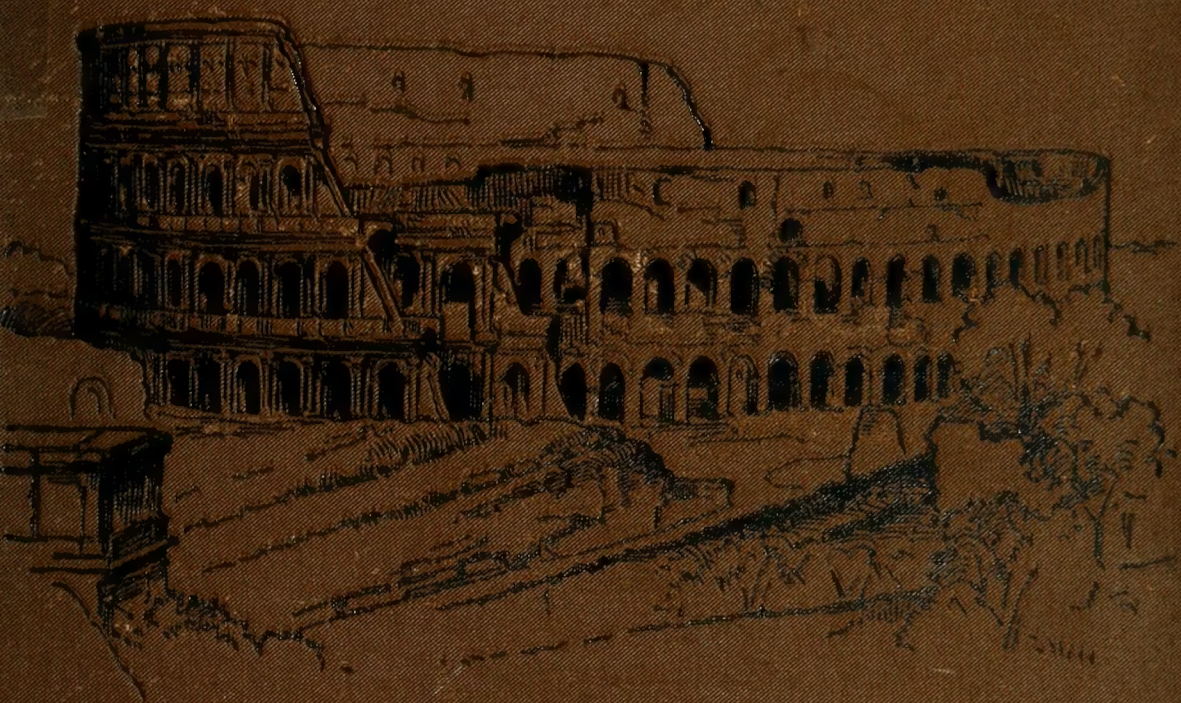
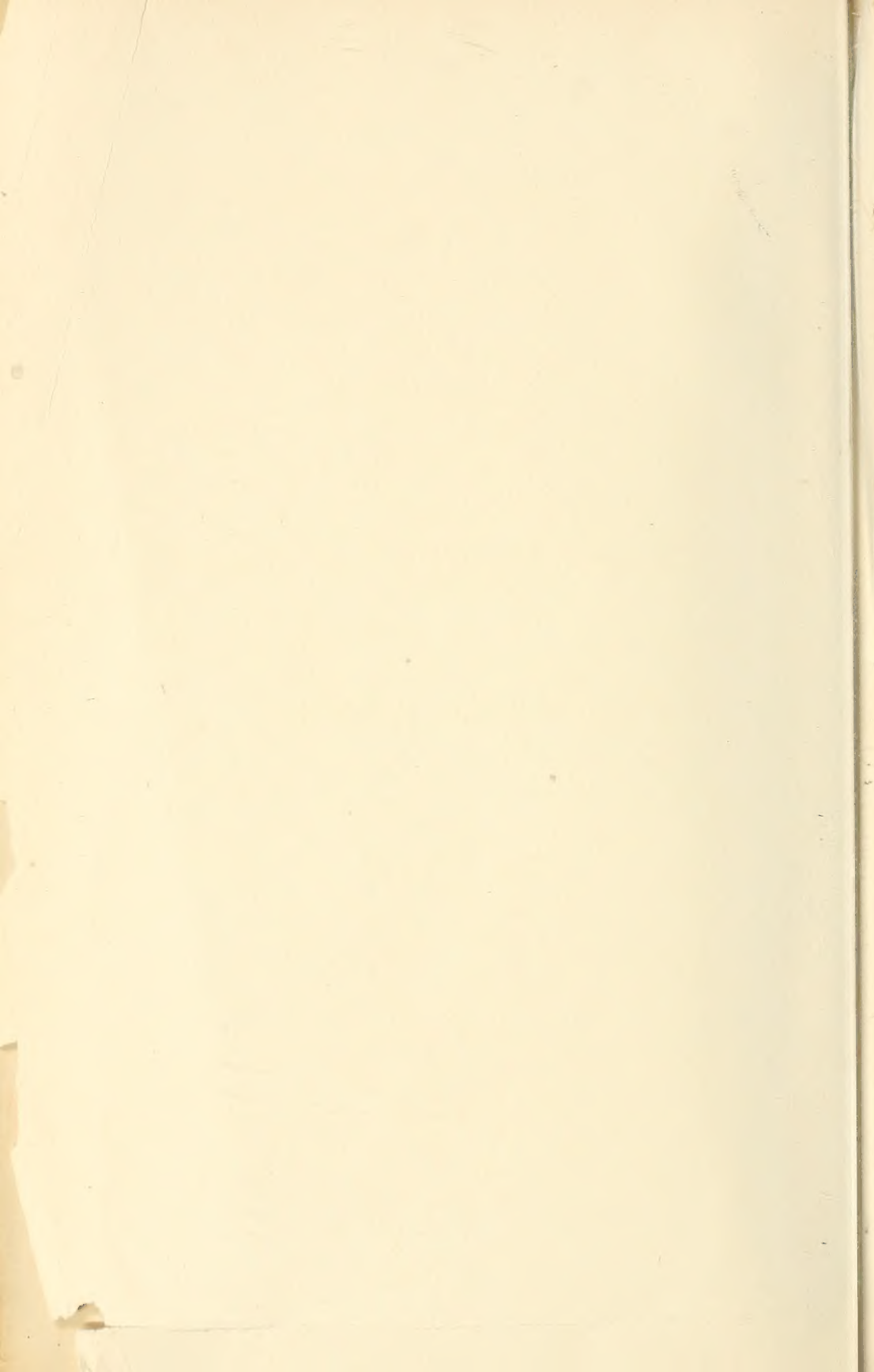


DURUY'S HISTORY
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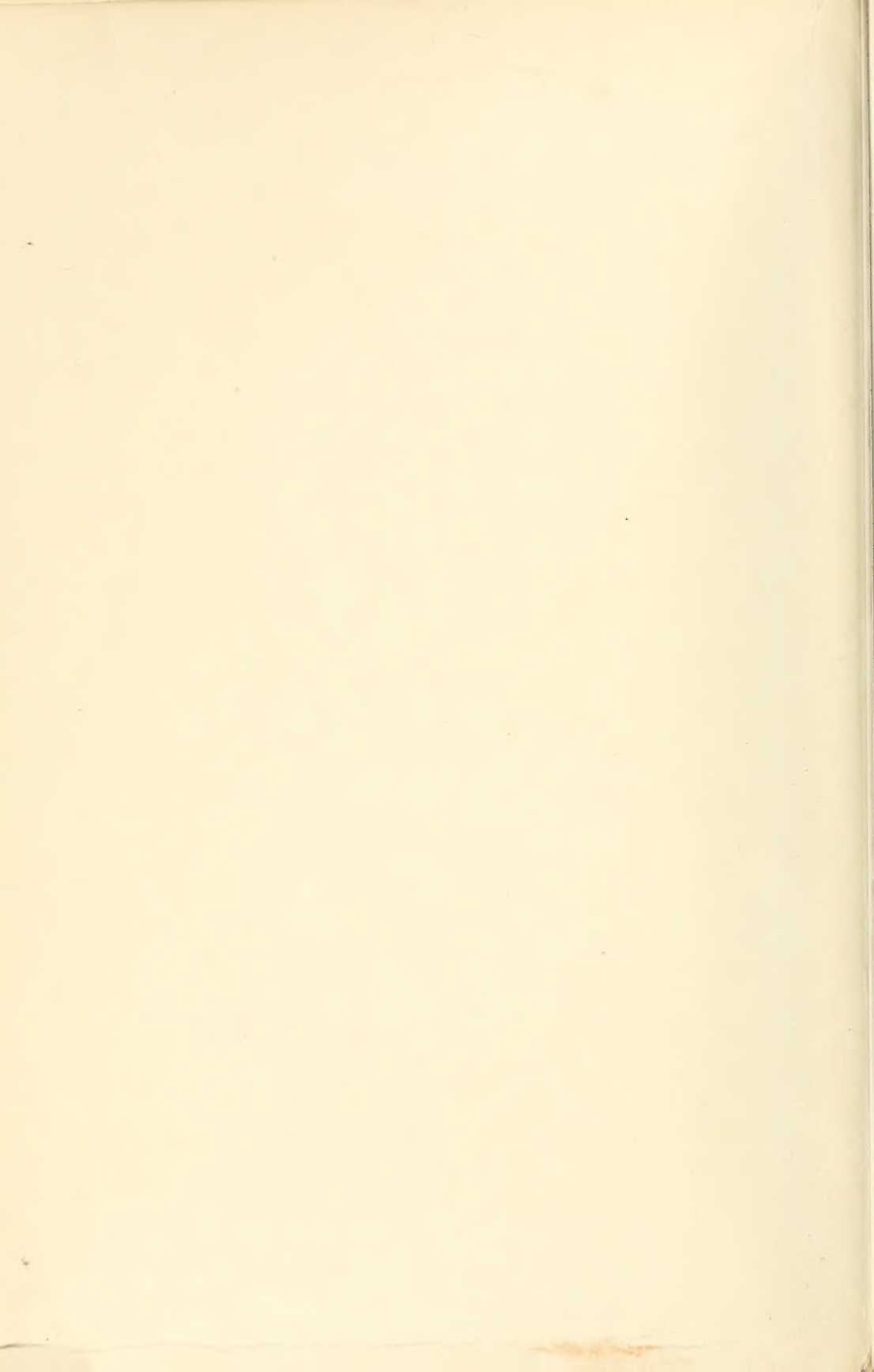




HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.





HISTORY OF ROME, AND OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE INVASION OF THE
BARBARIANS.

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AND NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO VOLUME III.

THIS volume contains the history of a few years only. — those which elapsed between the breaking out of the first Civil war and the battle of Actium (83–30). But in this short period the greatest revolution of antiquity was accomplished, — the Fall of the Roman Republic and the Establishment of the Empire.

I first wrote this history forty years ago. Time, study, experience in public affairs, — *usus rerum*, — have not led me to alter the general lines of my first narrative. I think to-day, as I thought then, that Roman liberty had nothing in common with ours; and that the republicans on the banks of the Tiber were a narrow oligarchy, who, after having conquered the world, knew not how to govern it. Guy Patin once said to a First President that, if he himself had been in the Senate on the ides of March, he would have dealt the dictator his twenty-fourth dagger-thrust. This was a literary opinion which it was considered good taste to express, after the example of Cicero extolling the murder of Caesar, and at a time when the Frondeurs in Parliament imagined themselves Catos. “The conquering cause which pleased the gods” is still repugnant to a few men of letters in France; but in free England, as well as in Caesarian Germany, historical criticism now decides in favor of the gods.

Like many others, I could wish that the great Republic, which for centuries had exhibited so much wisdom, might have endured. Was this possible? The answer will be found in this book if the

reader will therein impartially study the transformations which historic circumstances brought about in Roman society. To read it will require fewer hours than the work cost years in writing it, and will lead to the conviction that, while still retaining the ideas of the present day, we may approve of a revolution which was a step in advance for the human race. A hundred families lost by it, but it was for the advantage of eighty millions of men.¹

In concluding this volume I must express my gratitude to His Majesty King Humbert, who with royal liberality has deigned to place at my disposal the documents published by his government upon the archaeological researches carried on in Italy.

NOVEMBER, 1880.

¹ "The establishment of the empire in Rome was a distinct step in advance . . . It was an enormous boon to ninety-nine out of every hundred of the population" (Beesly, *Tiberius*, p. 147. 1878).

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HISTORY OF ROME.

SIXTH PERIOD.

THE GRACCHI, MARIUS, AND SYLLA (133-79); EFFORTS AT REFORM.

(CONTINUED).

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

I.—FIRST YEAR OF THE CIVIL WAR (83 B.C.).

FROM Asia, Sylla had announced to the Senate his victories and treaty with Mithridates, and had made no mention of personal grievances or of revenge. When, however, he had crossed from Ephesus to Greece, and was now upon the shore of the Adriatic, having with him forty thousand veterans¹ so devoted to his interests that they even offered him their own money to fill his military chest,² he changed his tone, and sent a second message to Rome, in which he recapitulated the services he had done his country and the reward he had received for them,—his property confiscated, his friends assassinated, himself proscribed. He was now coming, he said, in order that his enemies and the enemies of the Republic should receive the punishment due to their crimes. With the design of separating the Italians from Cinna, he ended by promising to respect the rights of the new citizens. All honest men, he said, whether citizens of early or of recent date, had nothing to fear from him.

¹ Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 79) gives him, in addition, sixteen hundred vessels, and Plutarch twelve hundred.

² They also renewed to him their military oath (Plutarch, *Sylla*).

This threatening letter filled the Senate with alarm. The only policy possible was to temporize, and mediate between the two parties. Upon the proposition of Valerius Flaccus, a deputation was sent out to endeavor to pacify Sylla,¹ and bring about an agreement, in which the Senate should be arbiter: at the same time a decree forbade the consuls to continue their preparations for war. Cinna and Carbo



FIGURINE OF TANAGRA: WOMAN PLAYING WITH HUCKLE-BONES.²

paid no respect to this decree. They continued to collect soldiers, provisions, and money, everywhere declaring that their cause was that of the new citizens. The Samnites and Lucanians, who had

¹ Livy, *Epit.* lxxxiii: Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 77. Sylla received the deputation kindly, and asked only the recall of those who had been banished, the restitution of their property, and an indemnity for the losses they had undergone.

² This charming terra-cotta of Tanagra has the peculiarity of having been burnt upon the funeral-pile of the dead with whom it was interred. It represents a girl playing with dice or with huckle-bones, — a favorite game among the Greeks. Cf. François Lenormant, *Gazette archéol.*, 1879, p. 86, pl. 11.

not yet laid down their arms, promised to support the consuls: but, when Cinna prepared to send into Greece the army thus collected, a sedition broke out, and he was murdered at Ancona by his own soldiers (84).

Carbo, left alone in office, resorted to the desperate measures of a demagogue at bay. He created still more new citizens,¹ whom he distributed, with the freedmen, through the thirty-five tribes. He allowed the tribune Popillius Laenas to throw from the



BAS-RELIEF OF DYRRACHIUM: DALMATIAN WARRIORS OR GLADIATORS.²

Tarpeian Rock a former tribune, and to expel from Rome all his colleagues, causing them to be forbidden fire and water.³ Finally he wrested from the Senate an order disbanding the armies, thus giving himself an opportunity to accuse Sylla of treason, in case he should disobey. For sole reply, the latter crossed the Adriatic (83).

¹ MM. Drumann and Keferstein (*de Bello Mars.*) are of opinion, notwithstanding the distinct language of Livy (*Epit.* lxxxiv.), that it was a question solely of *das Gesindel* . . . *Fremde und entlaufene Soldaten*; for, they say, all the allies were possessed of citizenship already. It is the same error to which I have before referred.

² Henzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 30.

³ Vell. Patere., ii. 24; Livy, *Epit.* lxxxiv. Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 82.

From Ephesus Sylla had come in three days to Athens, whence he had taken the route, by Tanagra and Thermopylae, into Thessaly and Macedon, for the purpose of reaching the Via Egnatia leading to Dyrrachium; that is to say, the point whence he could most easily cross into Italy. He had, however, a fleet of twelve hundred vessels, and might have gone by sea more rapidly and with less fatigue: but the Romans were extremely reluctant to quit the land, and the empty fleet came round to await him in the great Epirote harbor.¹

He was not without anxiety as regards landing; but Brundisium, which Carbo should have defended and garrisoned, opened her gates. As an expression of his gratitude, he exempted the city from customs, and, three centuries later, Appian says, "The city still enjoys this privilege."² Usage permitted the Roman general to preserve his military authority, and to retain his army, until they entered the city. Sylla appeared, therefore, to have a regular title and a legitimate power, notwithstanding the sentence of outlawry that had been passed upon him in the comitia. Metellus also kept his title of praetor, and these appearances of legality were of importance to men who really had no rights on their side but the sword. This Metellus, expelled from Africa, where he had taken refuge during the proscriptions of Marius, had concealed himself among the mountains of Liguria. At the news of Sylla's arrival he hastened to Brundisium to put at the service of the latter his talents and the hatred which the son of Numidicus cherished against those who had proscribed his father. Sylla accepted his offer, and recognized him as a colleague.

The five legions of Sylla appeared a very feeble force in presence of the four hundred and fifty cohorts of the enemy.³ But they were veteran bands opposed to new levies; and, moreover, he was alone in his camp, while the Marian party had fifteen generals, — Scipio and Norbanus, consuls at that time; Carbo, who had no more talent

¹ Detained at Athens by an illness, he passed the winter of 84-83 in Greece (Plut., *Sylla*, 26).

² This statement confirms what we learn from many other sources in respect to the long persistence, in spite of frequent revolutions, of the terms made by Roman generals with nations and cities.

³ Plut., *Sylla*, 27. Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 82) says two hundred of five hundred men each, which is more probable; but he adds that later the number increased. The five legions of Sylla, with the auxiliaries, numbered perhaps forty thousand men.

as a general than as a party leader; Brutus, Caelius, Carinas, and others. Sertorius as yet was but a subordinate. Most of the Italians were in favor of Carbo. The cities of Greek origin, however, with a few Cisalpine tribes, the Piceni, and the Marsian confederation, which was always a rival to the Samnite league, showed hostile intentions. The Marian party chose to demand hostages, and at once many cities refused. "Do you know," Carbo said to a magistrate of Placentia who resisted his orders, "do you know that I have plenty of swords?"—"But I," replied the old man calmly, "plenty of years."¹

All this augured well for Sylla, and the severe discipline in his army at once gained the good will of the country through which he passed. The nobility everywhere were naturally favorable to him. Crassus, who had lived for eight months hidden in a cave, Cethegus, Dolabella, and M. Lucullus, the brother of Sylla's quaestor, all brought to his party the distinction attached to their names. The proscriptions set on foot by the younger Marius against the most illustrious of the senators completed the work of making Sylla's cause that of the Roman aristocracy.

The most important aid came to him from a young man as yet unknown, the son of Pompeius Strabo, afterwards Pompey the Great. The Marian party had disturbed this young man in his possession of the vast estates his father had acquired during a long command in Picenum. He was called upon to make restitution of the spoils of Asculum, which Strabo, it was said, had appropriated. A suit followed, gained by Pompey; but he never forgot that his ruin had been attempted. When he learned that Sylla had arrived in Italy, he raised a volunteer corps among his shepherds and tenants, defeated several detachments, and by these victories so increased his band that he was able to form from it three legions, which he placed at the service of Sylla. He was at this time only twenty-three years of age. The first time that he appeared before the proconsul, the latter received him with great respect, and saluted him as imperator,—a title giving this young man the rights of the military imperium, and confirming him in an independent command.

An unexplained event at this time threw the city of Rome

¹ Plut., *Pomp.* 6 ; *Crass.* 6 ; *Val. Max.*, VI. ii. 10.

into consternation. On the 6th of July, 83 B.C., a fire destroyed the Capitol, and not even the Sibylline books were saved.¹ This destruction of the sanctuary of the Republic, and of the oracles which were believed to give to the Senate the secrets of divine wisdom, appeared to many as the announcement of a new rule. In fact, the time was come, and the man.²

From Apulia, Sylla passed without opposition into Campania, "requiring his soldiers to respect harvests, persons, and cities." In a civil war the first successes are important, because they decide the irresolute, and place public opinion on the side of the conqueror. Sylla, "by turns lion and fox," neglected nothing that could secure this advantage. The goddess Enyo renewed to him her promises of victory; and many good omens encouraged his soldiers.

At Rome, men remembered the proscriptions of Marius, and dreaded those of Sylla, feeling well assured that he also, in his turn, would desire "ruins and massacres, punishments and conflagrations."³ And so the more violent



BIRD-CATCHER.⁵

partisans were for the moment set aside; and for the year 83, L. Scipio, great-grandson of the conqueror of Antiochus, and C. Norbanus were installed in the curule chairs,—two inefficient persons,⁴ but representatives of that moderate party which in extreme crises always supplies victims.

With one of the two consular armies Norbanus covered Capua: Scipio, with the other, advanced as far as the neighborhood of Teanum. Sylla threw himself between the two, and killed seven thousand men of the army of Norbanus, while the remainder fled

for shelter into Capua and Naples: after which, he hastened to

¹ *Custodum nequeuntia*, says Cassiodorus in his chronicle (*Ad Ann.* 670).

² "It was the sign," says Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 83), "announcing the carnage of citizens, the sack of Italy, the servitude of Rome, and the annihilation of the Republic" (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 12, and *Hist.* iii. 72).

³ App. *Bell. civ.* i. 82.

⁴ Cic. (*De Off.* ii. 11) says of Norbanus, *Soldatus et inutilis civis*.

⁵ From a gem (enlarged)

meet Scipio. This time, instead of attacking at once, he proposed a truce and a conference. The two chiefs met. — both men of old family, and having the same interests at heart. The interview was amicable. Sylla prolonged it; and, while the generals were discussing conditions of peace, the soldiers of Sylla mingled freely with those of the consular army, relating their campaigns, and showing the gold that they had gained under a general always lucky and always liberal. Vainly did Sertorius warn Scipio of the danger that he was incurring: the negotiations continued. When Sylla at last suddenly broke off the armistice, the army of Scipio, to a man, went over to Sylla.

Scipio was left at liberty to depart. Sylla had taken the consul's measure, and believed that he had nothing to fear from him. It might have been expected that, after this double success, he would carry forward his operations rapidly and shortly present himself under the walls of Rome. But, though master in Campania, he had not yet occupied all the cities: his adversaries held Nola, Capua, and Naples; and bad news came in to him from various points. In his rear and on his flank the Lucanians and Samnites were in arms. At Rome the defeat of the consuls had restored influence to the revolutionary party; and they raised to the consulship, in the year 82, Carbo, formerly the colleague of Cinna, and Marius, the adopted son of the conqueror of the Cimbri, both illegally elected; for one had too recently relinquished the consular insignia, while the other, being but twenty-seven years of age, had no right to assume them. But can we say that laws existed at this time?

II. — SECOND YEAR OF THE CIVIL WAR (82).

A SEVERE winter delayed the resumption of military operations: and the consuls employed the time in organizing their resistance. They despoiled the temples of their wealth, melted down the gold and silver offerings of victory or devotion, and thus obtained fourteen thousand pounds of gold, and six thousand pounds of silver, having a value of about \$2,880,000. With these resources

they made great levies of men in Cisalpine Gaul,—where were always swords for hire,—and in Etruria, whose rural population, half slaves under the *lucumons*, allied their cause to that of the party wishing to enfranchise all the Italians. The Samnites, understanding that the final struggle was approaching, promised to come down from their mountains, and fight in the Latin plain. To confirm this promise the young chief Telesinus came with some of the bravest of his compatriots, and joined the consular army. Rome, terror-struck, yielded to everything. The frightened Senate authorized by a decree the pillage of the temples: the *comitia* proscribed those senators who had fled to the camp of Sylla; and a man of savage temper, the praetor Damasippus, had already marked out for death certain of the moderate party, whom he proposed to sacrifice to the manes of his friends before the arrival of the conquerors. It was a sanguinary war.

Carbo and Marius divided the defence. The former was to close the roads from the Apennines on the side of Umbria and Picenum, through which countries Metellus and Pompey were advancing; the latter, to protect Latium against Sylla, who was approaching through Campania. Marius had made Praeneste the depot of his munitions. Built upon a spur of the Apennines which juts out twelve hundred feet high into the Roman campagna, Praeneste with provisions and a strong garrison was impregnable. Norba, the city with indestructible Cyclopean walls, was occupied by an equal force. From Praeneste, Marius commanded the Latin road, and from Norba the Appian. To prevent the enemy from making his way between the two, he established himself in a central position at Signia, which from its elevated site commanded the right bank of the Tiber (the Sacco), the principal affluent of the Liris: he hoped thus to close all the approaches to Rome.

Before the approach of winter, Sylla had occupied the defile of Lantulac, the gateway from Campania into Latium. As soon as it was possible to recommence operations, he advanced towards Setia, in the country of the Volsci; while his lieutenant, Cn. Dolabella, ascended the Liris, and then the Tiber.

Marius attempted to save Setia, but without success, and then, pressed hard by his adversary, fell back upon his camp at Signia. Meanwhile Dolabella was making his advance felt, and threatening

to turn the left of Marius; upon which the latter, not to be cut off from Praeneste, retreated to Sacriportus in the plain, where the Volscian hills end, and the first heights of the Apennines begin. The army of Sylla, fatigued by a long march in the rain, were preparing to encamp when the Marian troops attacked them. The veterans formed rapidly, and very soon got the better of the recruits whom Marius had hurled upon them with more spirit than



WALL OF PRAENESTE.¹

discretion. A part of his right wing went over to the enemy. The centre and the left were routed, and were pursued as far as Praeneste, when the garrison closed their gates against the fugitives, fearing lest pursuers and pursued should rush in together; and Marius only obtained entrance by means of a rope thrown down to him over the wall.

The army destined to defend Rome on the south had ceased

¹ Dodwell, *Pelasgic Remains*, pl. 113.

to exist. All the way from Sacriportus to Praeneste their dead bodies strewed the plain; twenty thousand men had been killed, eight thousand were prisoners, and the remainder were fugitives, or cowered trembling behind the walls of Praeneste. To the latter, Sylla made clear the fate that awaited them: all the Samnites found among the captives were led out under the walls, and put to death in view of the besieged. But at this very moment Marius was avenging them. From the battlefield of Sacriportus an emissary had been sent off to Rome, bearing to Damasippus the order for massacre. The praetor convoked the Senate, and, when the Conscrip't Fathers were assembled, he surrounded the curia with a band of assassins, designated the victims, directed them to be murdered on the spot, and, pursuing them even beyond death, ordered their bodies to be thrown into the Tiber, that the repose of the tomb should be denied them. The pontifex maximus, Quintus Scaevola, who had once escaped the poniard of Fimbria, perished in this last convulsion of the expiring Marian party. When urged to join Sylla, Scaevola had said that he would not break through the gates of Rome, and return thither sword in hand. In the midst of the fury of party strife, men like these were the last representatives of the Republic and of liberty.¹

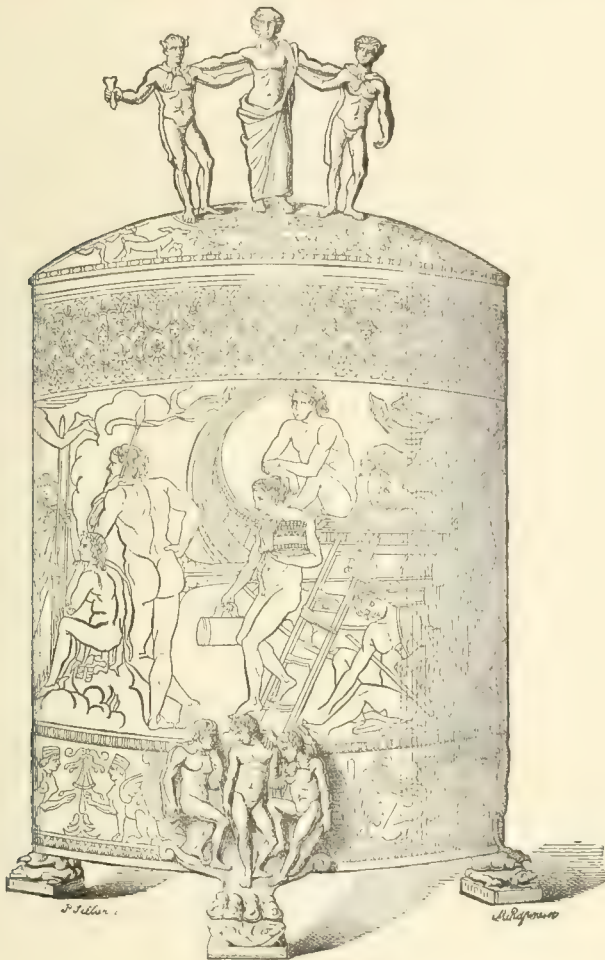
On news of what had occurred, Sylla, leaving Lucretius Ofella before Praeneste, hastened his march upon Rome. His troops advanced by different roads, each detachment directed towards one of the city gates, and all under orders, in case of repulse, to fall back upon Ostia, where his fleet lay in harbor. But there was no resistance. The same brutal and cowardly rabble which had dragged through the streets a day before the corpses of Sylla's friends, now welcomed Sylla himself with noisy acclamations.

The army of the north had been no more successful than that of the south. Sylla merely passed through Rome, and hastened to meet in Etruria the other consul, whom Metellus and Pompey had already defeated in Umbria. Carbo encamped near Clusium, with his Italians and the troops that he had obtained from Spain and Cisalpine Gaul.² A first battle lasted all day long

¹ Livy, *Ept.* lxxxvi.; Cic., *ad Fam.* ix. 21.

² Some of these Spaniards having gone over to Sylla, Carbo caused the rest to be murdered. About the same time, a general of the party of Sylla entered Naples, and all who could not flee were put to the sword.

without decided result. This engagement was almost a success for Carbo; for while he thus drew the principal strength of Sylla's



CHEST OF PRAENESTE.¹

army into the centre of Etruria, Lamponius at the head of the Lucanians, Pontius Telesinus with the Samnites, and the Campanian Gutta, at last took an active part in the struggle, coming up

¹ "The heroes have landed, and drawn the vessel up on the shore. Some have been exploring the island, and have discovered a spring of pure water; but the giant Amyceus, the king of the Bebryces, forbids them to approach it. Pollux defies him to single combat, and, having conquered him, binds him to a tree. A Victory is flying towards the conqueror, holding a crown. Athene, or Minerva, figures among the witnesses of the struggle; and opposite her is seen a man with great wings, who has been identified as one of the winds, whose assistance was necessary to the Argonauts in these waters. The last scene shows the result of the combat, the Argonaut drinking freely of the spring, near which is seated Silenus." (*Saglio, Dict. des Antiq.*, vol. i. p. 417.)

from the south with forty thousand men. Carbo detached eighty cohorts to effect a junction with them, and the whole force were to throw themselves upon the lines of Ofella, and raise the siege of Praeneste, where famine was already raging. But Sylla had seized



DETAILS OF THE CHEST OF PRAENESTE.

upon the defiles opening on Praeneste, and nothing could pass. The eighty cohorts, surprised by Pompey among the mountains, were dispersed; and Marcius, their leader, brought back only seven to his general.



DETAILS OF THE CHEST OF PRAENESTE.

The situation of Carbo was becoming critical. Sylla and Pompey barred the access to Rome; and Metellus had anticipated him in Cisalpine Gaul, arriving there by way of Ravenna, passing with his fleet by Ariminum, the depot of the Marian party. Carbo, however, succeeded in making a junction with Norbanus, who was in command in the valley of the Po. Hoping with their united

forces to overwhelm Metellus, they attacked him near Faventia, at the distance of a few leagues from Ravenna, but suffered a loss of ten thousand men. After the action, six thousand soldiers deserted from the army of Carbo; and Verres his quaestor, beginning the career which has made his name notorious, ran away with the treasure. The two chiefs escaped in haste, one to Arretium, the other to Ariminum. In the latter city, one of the officers of Norbanus, Albinovanus, in order to earn his pardon from Sylla invited to a banquet the principal officers, and, having murdered them, went over to the enemy with a legion. Alarmed at these repeated treasons, Norbanus embarked for Rhodes; not long after, Carbo sailed for Africa, and Sertorius had already taken shelter in Spain. The leaders of the popular party abandoned Italy, hoping to incite insurrections in the provinces.

At this time Pontius Telesinus, Lamponius, and Gutta were meditating a bold stroke.¹ Despairing of being able to force the lines of Lucretius Ofella, which Sylla covered with his whole army, while Pompey was crushing the troops of Carbo near Clusium, they made a dash into the valley of the Anio, probably in the neighborhood of Sublaqueum, gained the Tiburtine road, and carrying along with them the ex-praetor Damasippus and two generals of the Marian army, Marcius and Carinas, in one night they came within ten stadia of Rome. It was their design to enter the city, and to destroy "that lair of wolves, the ravagers of Italy,"² and, if perish they must, at least to perish beneath her ruins. It is impossible to say what might have been the consequence of this daring enterprise, had it succeeded; but they lost time in preparing for the attack, and the delay saved Rome. On the morning of the 1st of November the little garrison that had been left in the

FIGURINE OF APOLLO.³

¹ Vell. Paternulus (ii. 27) gives them forty thousand men; Appian and Eutropius, seventy thousand; Orosius, eighty thousand.

² Vell. Patern., ii. 27; *raptoris Italiae libertatis lupos*.

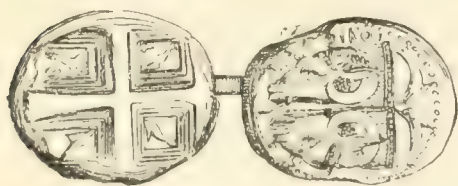
³ Apollo, the sun-god, with a crown of rays, and wearing a chlamys. Bronze statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2947 of the catalogue.

city made a sortie. Then arrived the cavalry of Sylla, who himself shortly followed with his entire army. At noon they were at the Colline Gate, near the Temple of Venus Erycina. Without allowing his soldiers a moment's rest, he led them against



ETRUSCAN WALLS OF VOLATERRAE.

the enemy. This was the one decisive battle of the war, and, as if to indicate clearly the interests at stake for the last ten years,

COIN OF DELPHI.¹

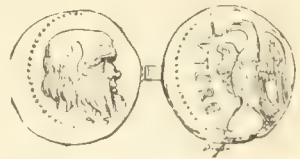
it was the very existence of Rome that hung upon the event. There was fighting all day long and during the entire night. The left wing, which Sylla commanded in person, was driven back under the walls of the city,

whose gates had been closed, and fugitives were fleeing as far

¹ ΔΑΛΦΙΚΟΙ. Two runs' heads and two dolphins. On the reverse, hollow squares with four dolphins. Unique tetradrachm of Delphi, very ancient. (*Cabinet de France*.)

as the lines at Praeneste, crying out that all was lost, and that Sylla was killed. And in fact the general had but narrowly escaped. Mounted upon a white horse, he had ridden in front of his wavering cohorts, when two Samnites, recognizing him, had flung their javelins at him, and only a start of his horse saved his life. He regarded it as a special favor of Heaven, and drawing from his breast a golden figurine of Apollo, which he had carried about him ever since taking it at Delphi, he kissed it devoutly, and thanked the god for his succor. But, if he believed in amulets, he believed also that a man must aid himself. The Samnite army, whose lines of retreat had all been cut, was destroyed. Only eight thousand prisoners were taken, among them Marcius and Carinas, whom Sylla caused to be put to death. The praetor Damasippus had been slain in the combat. Pontius Telesinus, severely wounded, was also put to death by the conquerors, and even after death his face still bore a look of hate and menace. He was the noblest and last of the children of Italy, and he at least had for himself and his people a glorious tomb,—a battle-field heaped with fifty thousand corpses, of whom half were Romans.

When the Praenestines saw the heads of these leaders carried on pikes around their walls, and when, moreover, they learned that Pompey had destroyed the army of Carbo, they opened their gates. All the population, except the women and children and the very small number who could appeal to the memory of some service rendered to Sylla in time past, were put to the sword; and the city, one of the richest in Italy, was then given up to the plunder of the soldiery. Marius had hidden himself in a cellar with the brother of Pontius Telesinus. Not choosing to be taken alive, they fought with one another. Marius killed his friend, and then required a slave to kill him. The few cities that still held out yielded one after another. At Norba the inhabitants, rather than surrender, set their houses on fire, and killed themselves. The Samnites did not give up Nola until the

COIN OF TUDER.¹

¹ Head of Pan. On the reverse, TVTERE. An eagle. Bronze coin of Tudor.

year 80, and lost in the retreat the last of their famous chiefs, that Papius Motulus, one of the heroes of the first campaigns, who, being repulsed by his wife because he had been proscribed, killed himself on his threshold. Aesernia, Tuder, and Populonia had the fate of Praeneste. Volaterrae resisted more than two years longer. The ruined cities and immense wastes in Etruria and Samnium long recalled to succeeding generations that the wrath of Sylla had swept over these countries.



COIN OF POPULONIA.¹

¹ A wild boar walking over rocks. Silver coin of Populonia. Reverse smooth. (See vol. i. p. 76.) In the *Revue archéol.*, August, 1879, M. Bompais argues against the opinion that all the Etruscan coins, smooth on the reverse, were of Populonia.

² Head of beardless Janus, covered with the *pileus*.



A SEXTANS OF VOLATERRAE.²

CHAPTER XLVII.

DICTATORSHIP OF SYLLA, FROM NOVEMBER, 82 B.C., TO THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 79 B.C.

I. — PROSCRIPTIONS.

SYLLA belongs to that family of ruthless levellers, who in cold blood, without hatred or anger, break and crush in order to unite, — the Richelieu of the aristocracy. In the Social war he had struck all the terrible blows: at Chaeronea and Orchomenus he had defeated Mithridates, and for the second time conquered the East; at Sacriportus and at the battle of the Colline Gate he had destroyed all that was left of the popular and of the Italian parties leagued together against him. He had everywhere asserted the cause of Rome, the unity of the Empire, and, without intending it, he had become the avenging arm of the aristocracy. Italians and provincials, factions, tribunes, and demagogue consuls, had all felt the weight of his arm. From the banks of the Tiber to Mount Taurus reigned silence and terror. There was no longer a people, a Senate, a constitution: there was one man at the head of a hundred and twenty thousand soldiers.

After having broken everything down, this man proposed to reconstruct. In order to lay a solid foundation, he believed it necessary still further to clear the ground, to pull down whatever fragments were yet standing, to remove every one of the chiefs of that generation which had been nourished in anarchy, and brought up in violence. Before renewing institutions, he believed that the men must be renewed, and, after having long made a parade of an unexpected moderation, he now adopted cruelty as a policy. Twice France has seen, in the most bloody epochs of her history, how much more formidable than passion is that cruelty which is the result of logic.

The day after the combat of the Colline Gate, he harangued

the Senate in the Temple of Bellona. Suddenly death-cries were heard. "It is nothing," he said, "merely the chastisement of some offenders;" and he continued his address. At that moment some thousand Samnite and Lucanian prisoners were perishing under the sword.¹ On his return from Praeneste, he addressed the people publicly, speaking of himself in terms of extravagant laudation, and ended by saying, "Soon, if you are obedient, I will ameliorate your condition;² but let none of my enemies, none of those who since the rupture of my truce with the consul Scipio have been opposed to me, hope for pardon." From that day the proscriptions began.

The first blows fell upon the family of Marius. One of these persons, Marius Gratidianus, who had lately done himself honor in the praetorship by the repression of counterfeiting, was pursued by Catiline, and murdered with extreme brutality; after which, cutting off his victim's head, the assassin bore it, dripping with blood, to Sylla, and then proceeded calmly to wash his hands in the lustral water of an adjacent temple. Not even the dead were spared. The corpse of the conqueror of the Cimbri was exhumed, given up to insults, and then thrown into the Anio.³ Before the proscriptions, Catiline had killed his brother, and he now caused the latter's name to be put on the lists, as an excuse for confiscating his property.

Julius Caesar, at this time scarcely twenty years of age, was a relative of Marius, and the son-in-law of Cinna. Sylla sought to compel him to repudiate his wife. A similar order had been obeyed by Piso and even by Pompey; but Caesar refused to be guilty of such baseness, and took refuge in the Sabine mountains, where several times he narrowly escaped death. The tears of his family, and even of the vestals, at last obtained his pardon. "I let him live," said the all-powerful dictator; "but there is many a Marius in this boy." Such, at least, is the story. Caesar's honorable refusal, however, announces a character too resolute to be

¹ Strabo says three thousand or four thousand; Orosius, three thousand; Dionysius, four thousand; Plutarch, six thousand; Livy, eight thousand [which shows how these authors deal with numbers — *Ed.*].

² 'Οτι τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐς χρηστήν αἴξει μεταβολὴν εἰ πείθοντό οἱ (App., *Bell. civ.* i. 95).

³ Cic., *De Leg.* ii. 22; Val. Max., IX. ii. 1; Vell. Patere., ii. 43; Suet., *Caes.* 11; Quint. Cic., *De Petit. cons.* 2.

easily bent, and capable, when joined with high ability, of bending to itself both men and circumstances. He found it wise, however, to leave Italy, and went to join the army before Mitylene, which had held out since the time of Mithridates, and while there he earned a civic wreath.¹

A great number of victims had already perished, when Metellus had the courage to ask Sylla in the Senate when this vengeance might be expected to stop. Sylla answered that he did not know. "Tell us, then, whom you will punish," said Metellus; and Sylla rejoined that he would. He prepared a list of eighty names, which he put up in the Forum. On the following day, another list of two hundred and twenty was added, and on the next a third list of as many more. "I have proscribed all those whose



GARDENS: VIRIDARIUM.²

names I can remember," he said to the people; "but I have forgotten several: as they occur to me, I will add them." Metellus was obliged to be content. There was no longer a random character about the proscriptions: order and legality had been introduced into these murders. Any man could, without risk, make himself the executioner, and to the pleasure of committing a murder join a profit of twelve thousand denarii per head. From Dec. 1, 82, to June 1, 81, six long months,³ murder was authorized, and even later; for Roscius of Ameria was not assassinated until the 15th of September. All who sheltered a proscribed person shared his fate, were he even a brother, a father, or a son. For some of these murders, Sylla paid as high as two talents.

¹ Suet., *Caes.* 2; Livy, *Epit.* lxxxix. The city was taken in 80. It is to this epoch that belong his two journeys to the court of Nicomedes III., King of Bithynia, concerning which such ugly rumors were set afloat. Few Romans of the time escaped such accusations, the most odious vice being then general, and almost publicly recognized. But Caesar had other tastes which ought to have preserved him from this disgrace.

² Pompeian painting (Roux, *Hercul. et Pomp.* iii. fifth series, pl. 24, 25).

³ Sylla returned from Praeneste in the second half of November, and the lists were put up a few days later. The limit of June 1 is given by Cicero, *Pro Roscio*, 44.

From Rome, the proscription spread over all Italy. Bands of Gallic horsemen, led by Catiline and other assassins, went in search of victims. No place — neither domestic altars nor temples of the gods — afforded safety; nor could anything, even services rendered to the cause, protect from a dishonest debtor or an impatient heir. The familiars of Sylla, his freedmen, — especially Vettius Picens and

VILLA ON THE SEASHORE.¹

that Chrysogonus whose infamy Cicero has immortalized, — his slaves even,² sold the permission to have a name placed upon the fatal list. A citizen who had always kept himself aloof from factions, coming into the Forum to look at the lists, found his own name. “It is my

JESTER.³

Alban villa which slays me,” he exclaimed, and fled, but was presently struck down by an assassin. The property of those proscribed was confiscated: very frequently Sylla himself sold it to the highest bidder, saying, “These are my spoils.” The courtesans, musicians, and jesters by whom he was surrounded bought at nominal prices. The property of Roscius was valued at six million sesterces, and Chrysogonus obtained it for two thousand. Metella, the wife of the master, appropriated to herself an enormous share of the confiscated

¹ Pompeian painting (Roux, *Hercul. et Pomp.* iii, fifth series, pl 26).

² *Terrulæ Scirrhoque, pessumis servorum, divitiarum partae sunt* (Sall., *Orat. Lepidi*, in *Hist. fragm.*). *Neque prius finis jugulandi fuit quam Sylla omnes suos divitiis explevit* (Sall., *Cat.* 51). Cf also Cicero, *In Verr.*, II. iii. 35, and Livy, *Epit.* lxxx. 9.

³ From a terracotta lamp (Rich, *Dict. of Antiq.* 307).

wealth; so that Sylla was able to make a magnificent offering without impoverishing himself, when he gave to Hercules the tenth of his property. Catiline, one of the most dreaded of the sicarii, in this universal overthrow repaired his wasted fortune; and Crassus laid the foundation of his wealth. It was a dispossession of the moneyed class for the benefit of a few nobles and their retainers. The "cut-purses," who had profited so much by the proscriptions of Marius, gave up their ill-gotten gains.¹ Many paid with their fortunes and their lives for the war they had waged upon the nobles from the judicial seats. Pompey having money enough, thanks to the exactions of his father, had no need to soil his hands with these shameful purchases.

Cicero has preserved to us in one of his arguments the living picture of the abominations which he witnessed. He was never a great statesman; but he holds so large a place in the literary history of Rome, and, we may say, in the intellectual history of the world, that nothing which he touches should be forgotten.



HERCULES.²

¹ See vol. ii. p. 613.

² Statue in Greek marble from the Giustiniani Collection (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 787 and 802 F, No. 1998).

He was born in October of the year 107 B.C.¹ on the beautiful estate possessed by his father, a Roman knight of very cultivated mind, in the neighborhood of Arpinum, near the junction of the Fibrenus and the Liris.² On assuming in 91 the virile toga, he became the assiduous pupil of the augur Q. Mucius Scaevola, who taught him the civil and pontifical law. At eighteen years of age he made a campaign, under Cn. Pompeius Strabo, in the Social war;³ but, having little taste for a military life, he soon returned to his studies in rhetoric and philosophy, and for six years received instruction from the best of the many teachers whom the invasion of Mithridates had driven out of Greece to Rome. After the definite ruin of the Marian party, he ventured to appear in the Forum, and pleaded successively in the civil court for Quinctius, and in the criminal for Roscius of Ameria, thus making his entrance into public life.

As a new man, Cicero had no ties with the nobility, and they made him feel in many a passage of arms that subtle haughtiness of the nobleman towards the parvenu which wounds so keenly.⁴ As he had too much spirit not to retaliate, he boldly ridiculed those men "who take the trouble to be born, and whose fortune comes while they sleep."⁵ But his refined instincts removed him still further from the crowd, and this contradiction between his tastes and his birth, together with a want of firmness in his character and his opinions, gave him through life an indecision which has marred his fame. We shall now see him as a statesman: later we shall weigh him as a philosopher. At present, in this opening period of his life, we have only to listen to the

¹ Or according to the Roman calendar, which was at that time nearly three months in advance of the true date, the third day before the nones of January, 106.

² "This is my own and my brother's country. Here we sprang from a very ancient stock, and here are our sacrifices, our race, and numerous relics of our ancestors. You see this house: it has been enlarged by our father's care, and here he passed in the study of letters nearly all his life. In this place, during my grandfather's lifetime, and while, according to primitive habits, the house was still as small as that of Curius in the Sabine country, I was born, and there is a nameless charm in this place which reaches my heart, and draws me hither. Do we not read that the wisest of men refused immortality for the sake of seeing his Ithaca again?" (*De Leg.* ii. 1.)

³ See vol. ii. p. 599.

⁴ On the subject of the nobles' contempt for new men, see Sallust, *Jug.* 73.

⁵ *Non idem licet mihi, quod eis, qui nobili genere nati sunt; quibus omnia populi Romani beneficia dormientibus deferuntur* (*In Verr.*, II. v. 70.).

orator. His eloquence was never that of the politician. Under the toga of the consul he still preserved the habits of the bar: as a result of too long a training in rhetoric, speaking well was dearer to him than thinking well. His melodious voice charmed by its mere sound, and all the devices of the schools, the common-places of philosophy and morality, mingled by turns with sarcasm and with pathos, were sure to rescue the accused, however guilty, from condemnation.¹ Like the great orator Antonius, he was not averse to pleading at the bar in behalf of the most opposite characters. The accuser of Verres was the defender of Fonteius: the man who became the judge and executioner of Lentulus was upon the point of undertaking the defence of Catiline. He admitted that one could help success by trivial falsehoods,² and he said, "In pleading, we speak as the cause requires, not as our reason dictates."³ He had all the gifts which are generally thought to make up the perfect advocate.

It has been said that Cicero more than once pleaded with great energy causes already gained. This was not the case in the suit of Roscius of Ameria, which involved an attack upon the all-powerful favorite of the dictator, the freedman Chrysogonus. But it is probable the danger was less than we think. Sylla was an able man. He had made his government a fortress, he had no desire that it should become a den of thieves; and Cicero, secured by Metella and by his own powerful alliances, possibly also by the master's own secret connivance, may have incurred in reality no peril.

Sextius Roscius, host of the Metelli, Servilii, and Scipios, was by birth and wealth the most important citizen of Ameria. One night he was assassinated at Rome by the emissaries of two of his relatives, who, in order to obtain possession of his property, — thirteen farms, almost all of them situated in the fertile valley of

¹ He himself in private life was the first to turn all this rhetoric into ridicule. See his letter to Atticus (i. 14): *Nosti . . . sonitus nostros*. Elsewhere (*Ad Att.* ii. 1) he says, "I have poured into my book all the perfumes of Isocrates, all the essence-boxes of his disciples, and even the cosmetics of Aristotle."

² *Perspicitis genus hoc quam sit . . . oratorium . . . quod mendaciumculis aspergeratum* (*De Orat.* ii. 59).

³ Two years after his violent invective against Vatinius, he undertook to defend him. But, he said, *Omnes illæ (orationes) causarum ac temporum sunt, non hominum ipsorum ac patronorum* (*Pro Cluentio*, 50). The entire paragraph is the development of this idea.

the Tiber, — obtained from Chrysogonus the favor of having their kinsman's name put upon the list of the proscribed, although this fatal list had been for some time closed. After the murder, the price of blood was divided: three of the best estates were given

A FARM.¹

to the assassins, and Chrysogonus bought the rest for a nominal price, equal to about nine thousand dollars. The son of Roscius was in the way, for he might some day reclaim his inheritance. An attempt was made upon his life; but he took shelter in the house of one of the greatest ladies in Rome, Cæcilia Metella.² Unable to

¹ From a painting in the *Musæo Borbonico*.

² Daughter of Metellus Balcariensis, who was consul in 123, and sister of Q. Metellus Nepos, consul in 98 (Cic., *Pro Rosc.* 50).

reach him in this asylum, they accused him of having killed his father, and no one among the orators of the time dared to undertake his defence. This duty was left to an advocate but twenty-six years of age, yesterday unknown, henceforward famous. It appears that Roscius was acquitted of the charge of parricide; but we have no reason to believe that his property was restored to him.¹

What was the total number of the victims? Appian speaks of fifteen ex-consuls, ninety senators, and twenty-six hundred knights;² Eutropius, of twenty-four ex-consuls, seven ex-prætors, sixty ex-aediles, and two hundred senators: Valerius Maximus makes the whole number forty-seven hundred. "But who can count," says another, "the number of those who were sacrificed to private animosities?"³

One fact, accidentally preserved, will show that these things happened in Italy as well as in Rome. To escape from a capital charge, a murderer had fled from Larinum, a Marian city, and taken refuge in the camp of Sylla. After the battle of the Colline Gate, he returned to his city, assumed the dictatorship there as the representative of the conqueror, and in his turn dispossessed, condemned, and murdered. The man who had been his former accuser was put to death, with all his friends and relatives. How many scenes like these must have happened in that multitude of little cities, each of which had, like Rome, its factions, and each, like her, the revenge of the victorious party when its opponents had been overthrown! A veritable reign of terror weighed upon the entire peninsula. To depict it we have no materials, and the horrors of 1793 would give but a feeble idea of what it was. But it is manifest, that, within the space of a few months, the champion of the aristocracy caused more blood to flow in his per-



COIN OF LARINUM.⁴

¹ Cic., *Brutus*, 90; *De Off.* ii. 14; Plut., *Cic.* 3. Shortly after, in 79, in the defence of a woman of Arretium, he maintained that the legislative power could not take away certain rights, among others, citizenship, and that the law which had deprived the Italian cities of the *jus civitatis* was unconstitutional and null.

² *Bell. civ.* i. 103.

³ *Flor.* iii. 21, 23.

⁴ LARINOD. Armed horseman riding to the left, and five small balls. Reverse of a quincunx (or rather pentobolus), in bronze, of Larinum.

secution of the popular party than the emperors shed in a war of two centuries against the faction of the nobles.¹

The proscription did not stop with its victims' death: it struck at their posterity to the third generation. With the design of taking away from the children of these men the hope and the



SPOLETO: TEMPLE OF CLITUMNUS.²

means of avenging them, the sons and grandsons of the proscribed, deprived of their paternal inheritance, were declared unworthy ever to fill any public office.³

In the case of the citizens of Rome the proscriptions were of individuals. Like Tarquin, Sylla only struck off the tallest heads: for Italy, however, they were general. Not one Samnite escaped,

¹ *Ultus est . . . Sulla, ne dici quidem opus est quanta diminutione civium* (Cic., *In Catil.* iii. 10).

² From Piranesi, *Opere varie di architettura*.

³ The sons of senators, while losing the privileges of their rank, remained subject to all its burdens (Vell. Patere, ii. 28; Cic., *In Verr.*, II. iii. 41; *Pro Cluent.* 45).

“for,” he said, “Italy cannot be tranquil so long as one man of this people is left alive.”¹ The cities which had furnished soldiers to his adversaries were not only deprived of citizenship, but dismantled: some were destroyed, and all despoiled of their lands, which he distributed among his veterans. Sulmo, one of the three capitals of the Pelignians, Spoleto, and Interamna in Umbria, Praeneste and Norba (two old Latin cities), and Nola, which still held out when the last of the allies had laid down their arms, were sold at auction.² Naples probably at that time lost her Island of Aenaria (Ischia); Pompeii, a part of her territory; Stabiae, the whole of hers. Many others thus paid for Sylla’s promises to his army. In Samnium, Beneventum alone remained standing.³ At Praeneste he had ordered all the inhabitants to be brought before his tribunal, but seeing how many there were, “I have no time,” he said, “to listen to all these people: it would take too long to pick out the few innocent among so many guilty. Let them all die.” He was, however, disposed to save the life of one who had been his host. “Life would be hateful to me, if I accepted it from the executioner of my country,” this noble-minded man exclaimed, and took his place in the crowd whom the soldiers were hurrying away.

Etruria cruelly expiated the assistance she had given to the popular party. The men who had been the leaders of the movement fell under the sword, and the military colonies established by the conqueror very soon changed in many places the entire population. “Then,” says Niebuhr, “perished the ancient Etruscan nation, with its science and its literature. Most of the people lost their landed property, and languished in poverty under foreign masters, whose oppression stifled in a degenerate posterity all patriotic memories.”

The Latin language and the Roman manners, which colonists bore into those districts where the local idioms, traditions, and religions were strongest, gradually effaced the last remnants of them.⁴

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* i. 96.

² Florus, iii 21, 27. In the case of a division of the territory, the original inhabitants and the colonists, *veteres* and *veterani*, formed in the same city two distinct communes (cf. Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, iv. 450, note 4).

³ Strabo, V. iv. 11.

The Oscan, as kindred to the Latin, disappeared slowly. When Herculaneum and

But, before the fusion was complete, there were many cases of resistance. The protests of peoples perishing under foreign dominion are called by their conquerors acts of brigandage. The outlaw takes shelter in the mountains, and, supported by the sympathy of his people, struggles long and, we may almost say, honorably. After the immense overthrow and confusion caused by this general expropriation, Italy remained infested with armed bands, as, after the outbreak in the Oriental provinces, the sea was covered with pirates. Spartacus and Catiline soon essayed to rally these two forces, already hostile to the society which these two leaders attacked.

The provinces, too, had their proscriptions; and the hand of iron which weighed upon Italy was stretched out over all the Empire. Sylla in person undertook to punish Greece and Asia, leaving it to his lieutenants to "pacify" the provinces of the north, the west, and south, — Metellus, Cisalpine Gaul; Valerius Flaccus, Narbonensis, where the proscribed resisted him in the field;¹ and Pompey, Sicily and Africa. Although habitually moderate, Pompey here showed himself severe. The Mamertines, oppressed by him, claimed their privileges. "Cease," he said to them sternly, "to talk about laws to one who bears the sword!"² Carbo had taken shelter in the Island of Cossyra; and Pompey caused him to be brought before his tribunal, and beheaded, after suffering many insults.³ This death gave occasion for an eloquent apostrophe on the part of an advocate, Helvius Mancius, the son of a freedman. This advocate's great age and obscure birth had been made by Pompey a subject of ridicule in a case where the latter was a witness. "What!" exclaimed Pompey, "is this shade of a slave returned from the infernal regions to set on foot accusations like these?" — "Yes," Helvius retorted, "I return from the infernal regions. I saw there Brutus, with bleeding breast, complaining of thy perfidy, who, contrary to plighted faith, didst cause him to be

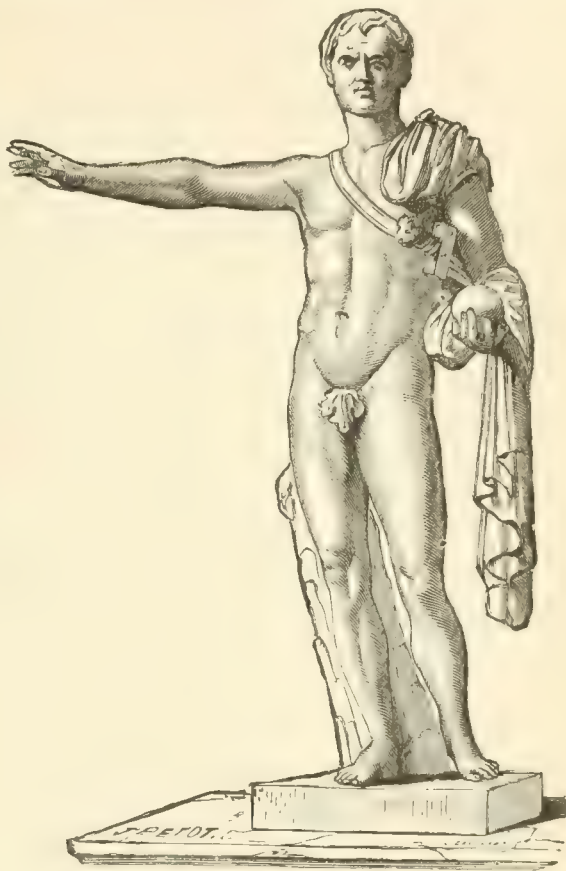
Pompeii were destroyed, the Oscan language was not entirely gone. The Etruscan had been sooner lost.

¹ This part of Gaul must have been extremely oppressed at that time, for it made a protracted resistance. Metellus went thither, and Pompey was obliged to go to his aid. Sertorius also found allies there. (Cf. Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 107; *Philippi Orat.*, in Sall., *fragm.*)

² Plutarch (in *Pomp.*) says, however, that in Sicily he did as little harm as possible.

³ Val. Max., VI. ii. 8.

killed. I saw there Carbo, relating how, as a reward for the services he rendered thee in thy youth, for the care he took to preserve to thee thy patrimony, thou hadst loaded him with chains and obloquy; how, despite his prayers, thou, who art but a mere Roman knight, didst constitute thyself judge of the chief of the Republic, invested for the third time with the consular office, and didst basely put him to death." Brutus, another chief of the popular party, stabbed himself to avoid like outrages.¹ Pompey, however, had not the cold and passionless cruelty of Sylla. Himeria had joined the opposite party, and it was his intention to chastise the place severely; but the proud answer of a citizen saved it. The young general's soldiers pillaged, and used violence. He put his seal upon their swords, and punished any one who broke it. Norbanus, the Marian consul of the year 83, had already perished. He had taken refuge at Rhodes.



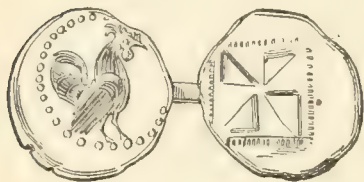
POMPEY.²

¹ This Brutus is the same person as the praetor Damasippus (p. 683), whose name in full is L. Junius Brutus Damasippus. Sallust (*Cat.* 51) represents his death as occurring after the battle of the Colline Gate; Livy (*Epit.* lxxxix.), in Sicily.

² Rome, Spada Palace. This statue was discovered in 1552, near the site of Pompey's theatre. The place where it was found is very near the spot where Caesar's murder took place; and Suetonius tells us that he had seen Pompey's statue in a palace where Augustus had caused it to be placed. It is possible, then, that time has respected the colossal statue of Pompey which saw Caesar fall. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 911, No. 2316, and Wey, *Rome*, pp. 366, 367.)

and, his head being demanded by Sylla, had killed himself in the market-place to escape being given up.

In Africa a praetor had decreed the enfranchisement of the slaves. This was ruin for the Italian merchants of Utica, and in revenge they had burned the praetor in his house. The province, however, remained faithful to the Marian party. A son-in-law of Sylla, Domitius Ahenobarbus, had organized a defence, and per-



COIN OF HIMERA.¹

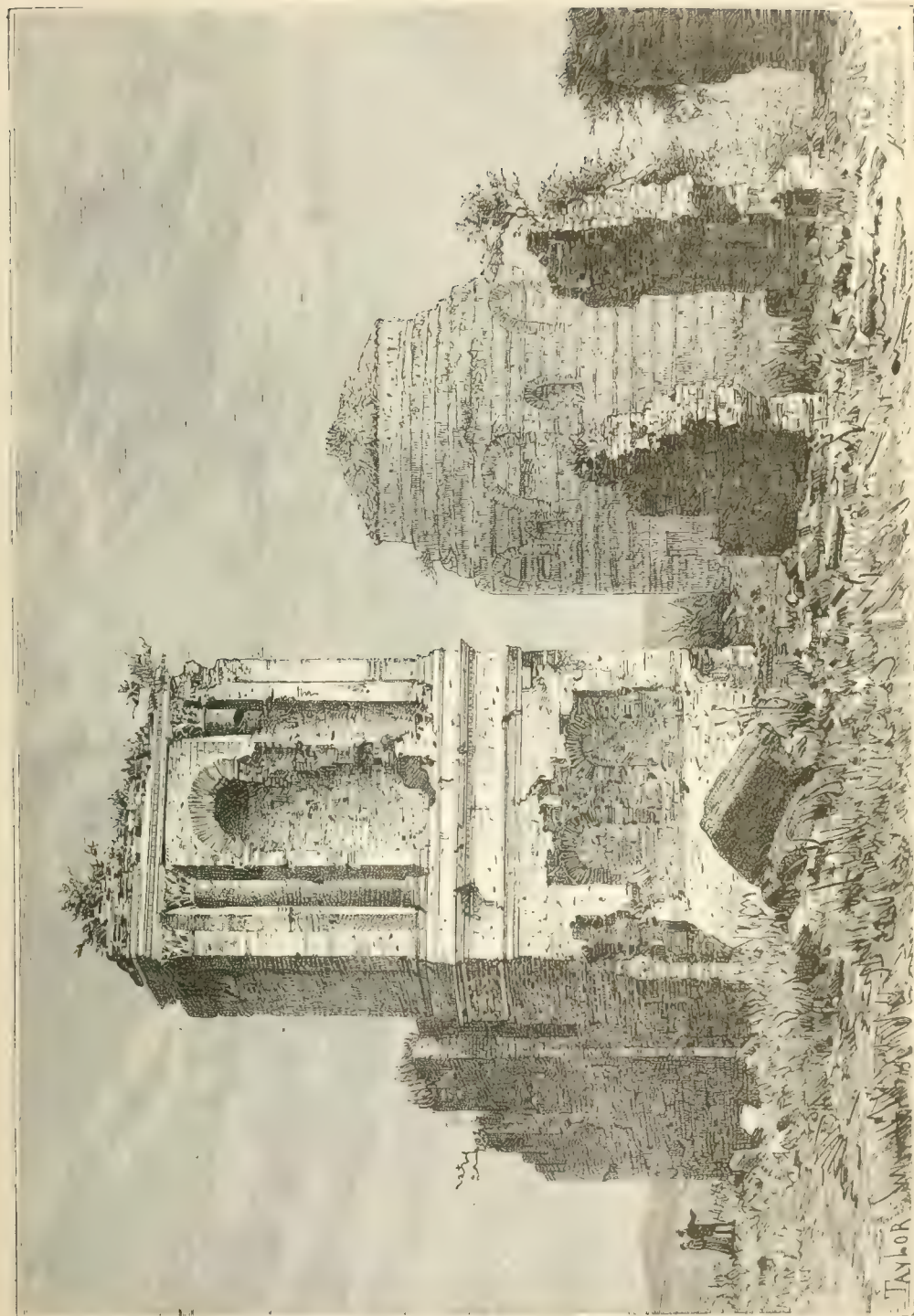
suaded Hiarbas, who had just overthrown Hiempsal, the other king of Numidia, to join his party. But Pompey arrived with a hundred and twenty galleys, bringing six legions. In a day he defeated the hostile army near Utica, and stormed their camp, where Domitius perished. Hiarbas was taken and put to death; and a march of several days' journey into Numidia, as far as the desert, restored respect for the Roman name among these nomadic tribes.

Against Sertorius, master of Spain, the dictator sent the praetor Annius, who drove him out; against the Thracians he despatched the governors of Macedon, — Dolabella and Piso; and against the pirates, the same Dolabella, the praetor Thermus, and finally the proconsul Servilius Valia. But in Asia, where Murena had recommenced the war against Mithridates, Sylla, who saw around him in the Empire itself enough of embarrassments and dangers, forbade his lieutenants to provoke so formidable an enemy.

Suffering much from the war, the provinces were still further oppressed by taxes; for the exhausted treasury of Rome must be replenished. Treaties and promises were alike forgotten. All were forced to contribute; not alone the tributary cities, but also those who had gained immunity and independence either by their voluntary submission or by important services. Allied nations and friendly kings were constrained to show their zeal by the multitude of their gifts. From one end to the other of the Empire there was no person

Pompey was the first Roman who had a statue in *heroic costume*. It is thus that the Greeks represented their gods and heroes; and Pompey seems to have had the vanity to wish himself represented during his lifetime among the demi-gods. Winckelmann (*Gesch. der Kunst*, xi.) speaks of another statue of Pompey, presented in the villa Castellazo, near Milan, completely made like that of the Palace Spada, and believes that it more nearly resembles the original.

¹ Cock. On the reverse a hollow square. Silver coin of Himera, of very ancient style.



TOMB OF THE PISOS (FROM AN ENGRAVING IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE).

who did not pay with his blood or with his fortune for this restoration of the old Republic.

Did all this bloodshed, indeed, regenerate the State? Far from it. The result of so many massacres was only to bring in a reign of soldiers. In exchange for the power which the legionaries had given him, Sylla surrendered to them Italy, the



RUINS OF HIMERA: TERMINI, THERMAE HIMERENSES (P. 29).¹

provinces, and, most costly sacrifice of all, discipline. Now the soldiers knew that desertion might be honorable, that the person of a leader was not sacred, that Rome was not inviolable. Their country was no longer at the foot of the Capitol: it was under the standards, and these standards they were willing to sell to the highest bidder.² During these ten years of civil war all the male population of Italy had served in the army. Conquerors or conquered, all were alike impregnated with the idea that rights

¹ From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

² See the picture drawn by Dion Cassius (*fragm* 301) of the insubordination of the soldiers. "Sylla," he says, "was the principal cause of these evils."

existed only where there was force. The little respect that yet remained for magistrates, laws, and property, had been effaced by the proscriptions; and from the universal overthrow one thing alone remained in the minds of all. — a conviction of the instability of the present, an indifference in respect to the future, and the need of all men (as during the French saturnalia of the Directory, between the Republic and the Empire) to distract themselves in amusements and debauchery. At the same time, this generation, though ripe for anarchy, was not so for slavery. There was still talk of rights and of liberty; and Sylla reigned in the name and interests of a long-established party.

II. — SYLLA'S REFORMS.

THE men who formed the party having thus been slain by the sword, Sylla next proposed to kill the party itself by laws. As a law-maker he deigned to assume a legal title. The two consuls being dead, he called together the comitia, and then, absenting himself from Rome as if to leave them entire liberty of action, he wrote to the interrex Valerius Flaccus, that in his judgment the State had need of an absolute dictatorship to restore order, and that it seemed to him no one could be more useful in this office than himself.¹ He was obeyed (November. 82); and, after an interval of a hundred and twenty years, the twenty-four lictors were again seen in the Roman streets, and the axes bound up with rods. But what men had never before seen was this, — the Roman people by formal decree despoiling themselves of all their rights, and giving them into the hands of one man. It was solemnly proclaimed that Sylla's will should be law; that all his acts were ratified in advance;² that he should have power of life

¹ The early dictators were chosen for six months only, and their authority did not extend beyond Italy. Appointed for a definite purpose, sometimes not of much importance, they could neither employ the public money at will, nor change anything in existing laws or institutions. Manlius, who endeavored to exceed his powers, was obliged to abdicate. It was an essentially conservative institution. Sylla, giving laws to his country, like Solon and Lycurgus, had nothing in common with the early dictators but the name. (Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 98.)

² *Ut ipsius (Syllæ) voluntas ei (populo Romano) posset esse pro lege* (Cic., in *Verr.*, II. iii.

and death without legal proceedings of any kind; that he should have right of confiscating property, of dividing lands, of building or destroying cities, of taking away kingdoms or of giving them, also of appointing proconsuls and propractors, of conferring the imperium upon them, of determining whether he himself should, during the duration of his extraordinary powers, be appointed to the higher offices of the State, finally, of fixing at his own will the limit of his term of office. This was the Empire before the emperors. Augustus himself was invested with less power than Sylla. Rome accepted this solution of the problem of her destinies, for the same reason which led her to applaud the victories of Julius Caesar and Octavius. Men were so weary of wars and of massacres, so desirous at last to enjoy their lives and property in peace, that many said, "A good king is better than bad laws."¹

Without using any of the rights with which he had just been invested, and contrary to the ancient usage which suspended the consular office during dictatorships, Sylla allowed the consular elections to take place. In 80 he even filled the office himself, together with the dictatorship; but in 79, being again elected, he declined.

On the 29th of January, 81, he inaugurated his new dignity by a triumph celebrating his victory over Mithridates. There was carried in the procession nothing except pictures of the battles he had gained, and statues representing the Greek and Asiatic cities he had taken. But the most illustrious personages in Rome, whom he had saved from proscription, followed his chariot, crowned with flowers; and their utterances of thanks, in which recurred incessantly the names of "father" and "savior," showed that it was the party-chief, much more than the victorious general, who celebrated his triumph.

Sylla had been all his life only a soldier. He saw clearly that the world could not be ruled by a popular assembly, stormy and venal; and being much more interested in Rome's power than

35). Cf. *in Rull.* iii 2; *Plut.* 12. Δικτάτορα ἐπὶ θέσει νόμων . . . καὶ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας (*App., Bell. civ. i. 99*). *Penes quem leges, judicia, aerarium, provinciae, reges, denique necis et civium et vitae licentia erat* (*Sall., Hist. fragm.*) The Senate also recognized his right to alter the pomerium (*Tac., Ann. xii. 23; Aul. Gell., Noct. Att. xii. 14; Festus, s. v. Prosimurium*).

¹ *Satius est uti regibus quam uti malis legibus* (*Cic., Ad Her. ii. 26*).

in her liberty, which, moreover, had now come to be mere license, he sought to make the silence of camps reign in the Forum. But to secure the citizens from constant disturbances, and to provide them with a regular government, he knew no better way than a return to past methods. He believed the aristocracy were now wise enough to use sovereign power with discretion, and he gave it back to them.



PERSONIFICATION OF CITIES GOING OUT TO MEET THE VICTORIOUS GENERAL.¹

We shall present the laws of the dictator, not in the uncertain order in which they arose, but according to the different heads under which they may be classed.

The Civil war and the proscriptions had decimated the Senate. Sylla introduced into it three hundred new members, whom the

¹ Bas-relief in the Louvre (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 222, No. 301, and catalogue No. 179), found near the Appian Way.

*comitia tributa*¹ selected from among the wealthier citizens;² and, to make this assembly the conservative element in the constitution, he restored to them the *judicia*³ and also the right of preliminary discussion of laws, that is to say, the judicial power and the legislative veto: it was, in fact, the abolition of the Hortensian law.⁴ He preserved to the Senate the right of designating the consular provinces, decided that the governors should remain in their provinces during the Senate's pleasure,⁵ and, in order to insure that this body should be constantly recruited without the aid of the censors, he increased to twenty the number of titular quaestors, their office opening to them the doors of the curia.⁶ The suppression of the quinquennial *lectio*, moreover, rendered the office of senator absolutely permanent.

By the increased extent of the Empire an enlarged administrative staff was required. Instead of six praetors, Sylla caused eight to be appointed, and for them and the consuls he established the rule of proroguing authority. Every year two consuls entered upon their office for the general direction of the government, and eight praetors, of whom two were the original urban and foreign praetors, while the other six were presiding officers of the new tribunals. Their year at Rome being completed, these high functionaries went, as designated by the Senate, to govern the two consular and the eight praetorian provinces, accompanied each by

¹ . . . *L. Cornelius dictator populum jure rogavit, populusque jure scivit*. . . Such, at least, are the terms of the *lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus* (C. I. L. p. 108).

² Livy, *Epit.* lxxxix.: *Senatum ex ordine equestri supplevit*. Cf. App., *Bell. civ.* i. 100. On the other hand, Sallust (*Cat.* 37) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (v. 77) state that he appointed the new senators at random, even from among the common soldiers. One sole consideration must have guided him, — to place in the Senate his own partisans, and to take them wherever he could find them, but especially from the wealthier class. In the words of Appian: *ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀναδοὺς ψῆφον περὶ ἐκάστου*, has been seen an entirely new electoral system created by Sylla; but these novelties were not suited to the time, nor had he any taste for them. The vote upon the names proposed by Sylla was but a formality, a ratification of the sovereign will of the dictator.

³ The praetor drew by lot, to form the jury in each case, a *decuria senatorum*, composed of about forty members. In the prosecution of Cluentius, the *decuria* was reduced by challenges to thirty-two. (Cicero., *pro Cluentio*, 27.)

⁴ See vol. i. p. 394.

⁵ Livy, *Epit.* lxxxix.; Vell. Patere., ii. 32; Tac., *Ann.* xi. 22; Cic., *Ad Fam.* xv. 9, 14; App., *Bell. civ.* i. 59.

⁶ According to Willems (*Le Sénat de la répub. rom.* p. 232), it was only now that the quaestors obtained full senatorial rights, that is to say, the *jus sententiae dicendae*, or the right to express an opinion.

a quaestor. The entire administration, therefore, was derived from the Senate, and returned into it again. As this body, in whose sessions public affairs were discussed, had still further to fill all tribunals, embassies, and legations, the importance of its functions justified the increase in the number of its members. But, even with this increased number, the six hundred Conscript Fathers, constituting a permanent Senate, master of sixty millions of men, formed a narrow oligarchy, who in the future, even more than they had done in the past, considered the Republic as their hereditary patrimony. This Senate we shall now see ruling without intelligence, pointing to the triumvirate by its insults to Pompey and its outbreaks of anger against Caesar, and with its policy, by turns rash and feeble, rendering inevitable that civil war in which it was destined to perish.

As to the people, we need not lament that their sovereignty became an empty show. They had nothing in common with the plebeians of the early days of Rome. The mob of the Forum did not deserve the honor of bearing the great name, and preserving the rights, of "the Roman people." The dictator could not, however, destroy the memory of the old doctrine that the sovereign power always resided in the popular assembly, and by the use of this principle an able man might at any time make a breach in the new constitution. The dictator took all possible measures, however, to make of this popular sovereignty an obsolete idol, fitly relegated to silence and darkness.

The tribunes lost the right of proposing any measure to the tribes,¹ unless authorized by the Senate to do so;² and their veto was restricted to matters of private interest, that is to say, they could protect a citizen against the tyranny of a magistrate, but they were no longer able to arrest a measure of government.³ The exercise of the tribuneship even deprived a man of the right to seek other offices,⁴ Sylla judging that ambitious men would avoid

¹ Livy, *Epit.* lxxxix.: *Tribunorum plebis potestatem minuit et omne jus legum ferendarum ademitt.*

² As in the case of the law *de Thermensibus* in 71.

³ Cic., *De Leg.* iii. 9: *Tribunis injuriarum faciendarum potestatem ademitt auribus ferendi reliquit.* Cf. Caesar, *Bell. civ.* i. 5, and Vell. Patere., ii. 30. *Imaginem sine re reliquerat.* — [Yet surely this was exactly the restriction which ought to have been restored to restrain the tribunate by any wise legislator. — *Ed.*]

⁴ App., *Bell. civ.* i. 100; Asconius, in Cic., *Pro Cornel.* p. 78, edition of Orelli. Suet. (*Oct.*

an office which thus compelled them to relinquish their personal interests.

If the tribunes could no longer address the people,¹ if every measure must be approved in advance by the Senate,² the *comitia tributa* in reality lost their legislative power. Reduced to the election of inferior officers, they seemed no longer to exist. In respect to the *comitia centuriata*, it cannot be said that Sylla restored to them by the integral re-establishment of the classes their aristocratic character of early days. He left to them the legislative authority; but the necessity that every proposed measure should be preceded by a *senatus-consultum* had the effect of reducing them to a condition of dependence upon the Senate.

In electoral matters the people were still further despoiled of the prerogative they had enjoyed since the year 104, of appointing the members of the pontifical college; the latter being once more empowered to fill their own vacancies.³ Sylla did not even leave them the right of epigram, that shadow of liberty in which the crowd and certain minds delight more than in liberty itself, for the penalties of the XII Tables against lampoons were augmented.

As to the equestrian order, which for fifty years had played so important a part in the State, Sylla took no account of it. Not finding it in the old constitution, he effaced it from the new.⁴ He deprived the knights of the judgeships; their rights as farmers of the Asiatic revenue were commuted into a definite sum;⁵ and, expelling them from the fourteen benches that Caius Gracchus had assigned them in the theatres behind the senators, he forced them to mingle with the plebeian crowd. The knights thus lost power, fortune, and that which to some of them was a no less serious matter, — the privilege of display.

The censorship shared the fate of the equestrian order. In

10 and 40) says even, that only senators could obtain the tribuneship. Appian was aware of this opinion, which he dares not indorse . . . αἷκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰ πείν εἰσέλλας αὐτὴν [ἀρχὴν], καθὰ νῦν ἐστίν, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μετῴκειν. (*Bell. civ.* i. 100.) It would not have been easy to find, year after year, ten senators who would resign themselves to never rising higher than the tribuneship.

¹ Cic., *Pro Cluent.* 40; *De Leg.* iii. 9.

² App., *Bell. civ.* i. 59.

³ Asconius, in Ciceronis, *In Cæcil.* 3: *Victore Sulla spoliatus est populus . . . arbitrio creatorum sacerdotum.*

⁴ Quintus Cicero, in the treatise, *De Petitione consulatus*, speaks of Sylla's proscriptions as specially directed against the knights.

⁵ Cic., *Ad Quint.*, I. i. 11, 33.

the eyes of Sylla it was a modern magistracy which aspired to dominate the Senate itself. He suppressed it, or rather he absorbed it into his dictatorship, and did not call for the quinquennial census. From 81 to 70 there were no censurs.¹ But the censorship and the knights were to have their revenge. It was by the knights that Sylla's legislation was to be destroyed; and the first censors appointed, nine years after his dictatorship, expelled sixty-four members of his Senate.²



COIN OF VALERIUS FLACCUS.⁴

In order to seem to do something in favor of the people and of the poor, he confirmed the law of Valerius Flaccus, reducing all debts by one-fourth,³ but only to give himself an excuse for suppressing the distributions of corn, which encouraged the idleness of the people.⁵

He had paid his soldiers for their service in the Civil war by giving up to them an immense amount of booty and numberless slaves, whom they had sold. He gave still further to his hundred and twenty thousand legionaries, distributed in twenty-three colonies, the most fertile lands of the peninsula.⁶ In Lucania, Samnium, and Etruria, property changed hands. This was the execution of an agrarian law, such as no tribune ever dared to conceive, and the creation of a new people for the new constitution. Like Tiberius Gracchus, Sylla forbade any man to hold more than one lot, with the object of preventing the formation of large estates. He also saw the harm produced by the *latifundia*. But the unfortunate results that he obtained showed how chimerical

¹ *Fasti Capitolini*. Asconius says, in Cicero's *In Cæcil.* 3: *Hoc igitur tam triste succurrit nomen populi Romani sic oderat ut intermissum esset per plurimos annos.* An anonymous scholiast speaks of a formal suppression: *Tribunos et censores . . . annis pro nobilitate faciens sustulit Sulla.* (Schol. Gronov., in *Divin.* p. 384, ed. Orelli.)

² Livy, *Epit.* xeviii.

³ See the letter of Mallius, in Sallust, *Cat.* 33, and Festus, s. v. *Unciaria*.

⁴ Bust of Victory: on the reverse C. VA(lerius) FLA(ccus) IMPERA(tor) EX. S. C., legionary eagle between two standards (Cohen, *Monnaies consulaires*, pl. xl. Valeria, No. 4).

⁵ This, at least, appears proved by the discourse of Lepidus (Sall., *Hist. fragm.*). *Ne servilia quidem alimenta reliqua habet*, that is to say, the five *modii* per month which were given to the slaves.

⁶ App., *Bell. civ.* i. 100. From an expression used by Granius Licinianus, *Fœculani irrupuerunt in castella veteranorum*, it would seem that Sylla's colonists did not disperse themselves at random through the country, but that they prudently established fortified positions (*castella*), which would serve them for shelter in case of attack from dispossessed owners.

was the hope which he based upon this reconstruction of petty ownership. To replace industrious inhabitants by a demoralized soldiery was not to augment that rural class which had made the strength of the early Republic: it was only the proletariat that was increased by all the victims of this vast expropriation, and with it the perils of the new Republic. In truth, all that Sylla cared to preserve in Italy was a standing army, which would cost him nothing. But these colonists were ready to sell their services to any one; and Catiline recruited here his incendiary bands.


 SYLLA.¹

If any political lesson springs from the Roman constitution, it is that the government which seeks to be strong and tranquil must give satisfaction to the needs which successively arise among its citizens. Political organizations are great families, in which the elder sons are under obligation to make room for the younger as fast as the latter arrive at strength, intelligence, and the ability to share in the common tasks. For three centuries this system made Rome's fortune secure. But the aristocracy had long since abandoned it, and Sylla exaggerated this error still further. By his laws, the people and their tribunes on the one hand, and the aristocracy on the other, were thrown back four centuries,—the former to the obscurity of the position they occupied on the day following the retreat to the Sacred Hill; the latter to the distinction and authority of the early days of the Republic. Could he, however, restore them to the manners of that time,—the nobles to an unselfish devotion to the public good, the poor to patriotism,—and take away from Rome that empire which required further new conditions of existence? Sylla did not even attempt to restore to nobles and people the esteem of the public and their own self-respect. Into the Senate he caused obscure and unworthy persons to enter;²

¹ L. SULL. FELI. DIC. Sylla on horseback. Reverse of a gold coin of the Cornelian family. This coin belongs to the number of those that have the Lucullan weight, eleven grammes more or less; while the average weight of the other gold denarii is eight grammes. Only four of this kind are known to exist,—two of the Cornelian family, and two of the Manlian. (Note of M. Cohen.) [The only authentic likeness of Sylla is said to be on the coins of his grandson, Q. Pomp. Rufus. — *Ed.*]

² Sallust, *Cat.* 37; Dionysius, v. 77. A common centurion, Fufidius, *ancilla turpis*, *honorum omnium dishonestamentum* (*Orat. Lepidi*, in Sall., *Hist. fragm.*), became quaestor, and consequently senator.

among the people he spread abroad ten thousand enfranchised slaves,—the Cornelians, who served him as a body-guard against enemies, and on voting-days defended him against the surprises of the ballot. Spaniards and Gauls obtained citizenship,¹ a measure praiseworthy under a different system; and he permitted the Italians, except those who had served against him,² to be dispersed through the thirty-five tribes. This was an arrangement already made, which he did not care to reconsider, since his military colonies had almost renewed the Italian population. He had, moreover, in his constitution, made the Senate's share so important, and that of the people so trivial, that there did not seem to be anything dangerous in a concession, which a few years later had the effect of securing authority for the popular chiefs. But, when universal suffrage of the Italians was established from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina, it must have required organization; and examples were not wanting which indicated the road to follow.³ Sylla took no thought of this, and, instead of a system of voting which would have secured order, the spectacle might be seen, on certain days, of troops of electors, seduced by promises or gained by presents, flocking to the comitia, and casting into the urns some dangerous name. Even during Sylla's lifetime one of his enemies in this way obtained the consular office; and in the legal anarchy to which Rome had become accustomed, a consul might undo that which a dictator had done.

Sylla had restored authority to the aristocracy. He did not, however, deceive himself in respect to their morals; and his penal laws, directed against the crimes of which they were habitually guilty, prove that he sought, if not to render them better, at least to intimidate them. To diminish canvassing, he decreed that no one should obtain the consulship a second time until after an interval of ten years,⁴ and he forbade candidates to solicit the praetorship before the quaestorship, or the consulate before the praetorship.⁵ Lucretius Ofella, the same who so long besieged

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* i. 100; *Pro Archia*, 10.

² *Sociorum et Latini magna vis civitate . . . prohibentur* (*Orat. Lepidi*, in Sall., *Hist. fragm.*).

³ See vol. ii. pp. 250-257.

⁴ This was the renewal of the law of 342.

⁵ App., *Bell. civ.* i. 100. See (vol. ii. pp. 413, 414) the *lex Villia* or *Annalis*, which Sylla sanctioned anew.

Praeneste, sealed this law with his blood. He sought the consular office without having been praetor. Sylla warned him to desist; but he continued, and a centurion stabbed him in the Forum. When the people dragged the murderer into the presence of Sylla, who was seated in his tribunal in the temple of Castor, "Let the man go," the dictator said: "he has acted by my orders." He then related to the people the apologue of the laborer, who, being twice interrupted in his work by the bites of insects, ended by throwing his shirt into the fire.

He had risen by violence, and had been the first man to lead the legions against Rome: he now believed himself able to repress similar attempts by reviving the law of Saturninus and Varius against treason, and he still further extended it. For the future, whoever should endanger the honor and security of the Republic, should violate a tribune's veto, or should arrest a magistrate in the exercise of his office, should be interdicted fire and water; that is to say, exiled. To the same penalty any magistrate was liable who allowed the authority of his office to be diminished in his hands, and any governor who should of his own authority declare war, should lead his troops over the frontier of his province, should incite his troops to revolt, or give them up to the enemy, or should sell liberty to any captive chief. It was this law (of *majestas*) which punished not acts only, but words, that the emperors in later times turned to such cruel use.

By the law *de falsis*, against counterfeiters,¹ or forgers of wills, and against those who bought or sold persons not slaves, and by the law *de sicariis*, against murderers, incendiaries, parricides, false witnesses, and dishonest judges, Sylla punished crimes that were too common in Rome. By his law *de repetundis*, that safeguard of the provinces, he sought to repress the avidity of the praetors in their governments, and it was the only measure which he brought forward for the advantage of the provincials. A man of the past, he desired the conquest, whose rights he had himself renewed, to weigh upon them still; and his law *de provinciis ordinandis* concerned almost solely the interests of Rome. No governor should leave his province without orders: there he must

¹ Upon counterfeiting and the reforms of Marius Gratidianus, see vol. ii. p. 634.

remain until it pleased the Senate to send him a successor, upon which he must within thirty days leave the province, after having placed in two cities of his government a copy of his accounts.¹ He, however, forbade the governors to demand anything beyond what the regulations granted them, and he limited the often excessive expenses that the provinces incurred in sending embassies to Rome for the purpose of praising the retiring governor, and gaining in advance their new master's good will.²

Since the Social war, Rome had known neither tribunals nor the administration of justice.³ Sylla re-organized the *quaestiones perpetuae*, established seventy years before by Calpurnius Frugi. From this time there were eight of these permanent tribunals, presided over by the praetors.⁴ As the judges in these courts of justice were all senators, and as their sentences were without appeal, the administration of justice in criminal cases passed entirely into the hands of the Senate. Formerly the right of challenging a judge was very extensive: the new law did not allow more than three to be challenged, unless the accused was a senator.⁵ These penal laws were the greatest legislative effort made in Rome since the Twelve Tables.

What he did in respect to the finances is not known; but it is certain that he gave the subject attention, for he increased the number of the quaestors. Tacitus says also that he increased the circuit of Rome, although he added no province to the Empire. He doubtless felt that the re-conquest of Greece and Asia gave him the right to secure for the city the additional space which her increasing population demanded. Perhaps, also, it was Sylla who extended the boundary of Italy from the Aesis to the Rubicon.⁶

¹ The superseded governor preserved *quoad in urbem introisset* (Cic., *Ad Fam.* i. 9) the imperium, his lictors, his praetorian chariot, in fine, all the insignia of office. It was useful to the State that he should traverse the empire with all this display. The imperium was necessary to him, besides, in case he should wish to solicit a triumph [and, in cases of oppression, to secure his safety from his former subjects. — *Ed.*].

² Cic., *in Verr.*, II, v. 22; *Pro Flacco*, 40; *Ad Fam.* iii. 8, 10.

³ *Senatus decrevit ut iudicia, dum tumultus Italicus esset, crederentur* (Asconius, in Cicero's, *Pro Cornelio*) . . . *sublati legibus et iudiciis* (Cic., *De Off.* ii. 21).

⁴ *De crimine majestatis, de vi, de securis et veneficiis, de parricidio, de falsis, de crimine repetundarum, de peculatu, de ambitu, de adulteriis, de injuriis*. Sylla allowed the old tribunal of the centumvirs to exist, its competence being mostly confined to questions of inheritance.

⁵ Cic., *in Verr.*, II. ii. 31.

⁶ Strabo., v. i. 11.

In his restoration of the aristocratic constitution, Sylla was not unmindful of religion, which has been regarded by statesmen of all ages as a useful instrument of government. Notwithstanding the impiety of his conduct in Greece, he professed a respect for the gods, and until his latest hour believed in the predictions of astrologers. At the battle of the Colline Gate he drew from his breast a statuette of Apollo, and gave thanks to it devoutly for saving him from peril. This great gamester had a particular veneration for the goddess Fortune; this profligate was an adorer of Venus, especially that Venus whom he had seen in a dream invested with the weapons of Mars: he offered her a wreath and an axe of gold, the twofold symbol of his own power. In writing to the Greeks he signed himself *Ἐπαφρόδιτος*, the Favorite of Venus: at Rome he would be called Felix. An equestrian statue was erected to him in front of the rostra, with this inscription, *Corn. Sullae Felici*; and to the two children borne him by Metella he gave the names Faustus and Fausta, which have the same meaning. It might be thought that he obeyed a deeply religious sentiment in attributing all his exploits to the favor of the gods. This, however, was not the case: it was merely a common Roman notion. This people believed that in battle victory came less from the skill of the general than from propitious auspices sent by Heaven to one man, and denied to another; so that, the more the gods favored a man, the more they seemed to bring him near themselves and make him one of the elect. To call one's self the object of their constant protection was to claim some superiority of nature. The beloved of the goddess Aphrodite concealed, therefore, an inordinate pride under his piety, like the Jews in their worship of Jehovah, whose chosen people they called themselves.


 FORTUNE.¹

¹ A silver statuette in the gallery of Florence, of excellent workmanship and great delicacy of style. It is not quite five inches high. (Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 454, No. 840.)

He increased the number of pontiffs and of augurs from ten to fifteen respectively, and gave them the right of co-optation. This secured discipline and secrecy in the sacerdotal body, and also



VENUS VICTRIX.²

served to place in the hands of the aristocracy a weapon against the popular assemblies, if other means failed. Furthermore, he caused Sibylline oracles to be sought for to replace the books which had perished in the burning of the Capitol; and he rebuilt that temple with great magnificence.

Notwithstanding his immoral life, Sylla enacted many laws to restore the sanctity of marriage, and to arrest the abuse of the privilege of divorce,¹ also the inordinate extravagance then prev-

alent on occasion of funerals and of festivals.³ Like all sumptuary

¹ Plut., *Sylla*, 35, and *Comparison of Lys. and Sylla*, 3; but this law is lost.

² Small statue of the Blundell Collection, obtained from the villa Mattei (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 593, No. 1290).

³ At the kalends, ides, nones, and on days of public games and religious festivals, the expenses were not to exceed thirty sesterces: on other days three was the limit (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* ii. 21). He also reduced the price of provisions (Macrobious, *Saturn.*, III. xvii. [II. xiii.] 11). But the list of viands which he taxed is so long that Macrobious is shocked at the luxury it reveals. The funeral scene (next page) reproduces a bas-relief from the Louvre (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* No. 332, pl. 151), representing the *conclamatio*, or the appeal to the dead with loud voice and sound of instruments, to make sure that he no longer lived. One of

laws, these regulations had no force, and but little duration; the man who had made them even bringing them into discredit by his own example. This, however, was not the case with his penal laws, many of which have lasted in substance even to the present time.

III. — ABDICATION AND DEATH OF SYLLA.

WHEN Sylla had completed his work, he retired from public life; not through contempt of mankind, nor yet disgust of power, but for the sake of observing the free working of the government which he had constructed. His abdication, however (79), had the appearance of being a challenge to his enemies and an audacious confidence in his own power. But the Senate and the chief public offices being filled with his creatures; the fact that so many men were interested in the maintenance of his laws; his ten thousand Cornelians, and his hundred and twenty thousand veterans scattered throughout Italy, from whom he could at a word reconstruct a formidable army, — all this rendered his confidence by no means rash.¹ It is related that on one occasion, on sending Crassus through a dangerous country, he made the remark, “I give you for escort your assassinated father and all your murdered family.” How many sanguinary memories protected Sylla in his return to private life! And when, dismissing his lictors, he mingled with the crowd, people shuddered at contact with this fatal man. One young Roman, however, no doubt the son of some victim of the proscriptions, ventured to revile him, and pursued him with abusive language as far as his house, when Sylla contented himself with saying, “This insolence will prevent future dictators from doing as I have done;” and in fact none ever have done so again.

Sylla loved his indolence and his pleasure not less than his power. He had loitered in profligacy until the age of forty-seven, before filling the high offices of the State. From that time, it is true, he had filled them continuously; but, as soon as he felt

these instruments is the *tuba*, or infantry trumpet, the *lituus*, or cavalry trumpet. The antiquity of this bas-relief has been called in question by Clarac and Visconti.

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* i. 104.

his work accomplished, he returned again to repose. His farewell to the people was worthy of that insolent royalty which renounced itself, and of that crowd which could be bought for a *congiarium*. He glutted the populace with viands of the rarest kinds and the costliest wines, and in such profusion, that every day there were thrown into the Tiber prodigious quantities that the satiated multitude could not eat. In the midst of these festivities, Metella fell dangerously ill. She had bravely shared his fortunes; but the priests forbade this favorite of Venus to pollute his abode by funeral-rites; and while she lay dying he transmitted to her an act of divorce, and caused her to be carried out of the house. He, however, in spite of his own law, ordered her funeral to be honored with the greatest pomp.

A few months after, as he was witnessing a gladiatorial combat, a very beautiful woman of high birth, Valeria by name, who had lately been divorced from her husband, stopped in passing him, and plucked a thread from his toga. Sylla regarded her with surprise. "I desired," she said, "to have a share in your felicity." The act and words of Valeria attracted Sylla. A few days later he celebrated with her his second marriage.¹

He spent the last year of his life quietly at his house in Cumæ, and to see this man passing his days in hunting and fishing, dictating his Memoirs, reading Aristotle and Theophrastus, or at times mingling in nocturnal orgies with players and buffoons, who could have recognized the former master of the world? Two days before his death, he was at work upon the twenty-second book of his "Commentaries," which he bequeathed, with the guardianship of his son, to Lucullus. The last words written by his faltering hand still extolled his own good fortune. "Fortunate and all-powerful to his last hour," he wrote, "as the Chaldaeans had promised, he lacked only to be able to dedicate the new Capitol." In the midst of his tranquil occupations, however, sometimes the pitiless master re-appeared again. The day before he died, learning that a magistrate of Puteoli² delayed paying the contribution furnished by his city for the completion of the new temple, in the

¹ Dion., *Frugim.* 324, ed. Didot.

² Ten days before this, Sylla had pacified a sedition in Puteoli, and had prepared a system of municipal law for that city.

hope of being able to appropriate the money to his own use on Sylla's death, he ordered the offender to be brought to his house, and to be strangled in his presence. From the excitement thus caused, an abscess broke: he bled violently, and on the next day died. It has been said that his disorder was a frightful one,¹ and that his decomposing flesh bred innumerable vermin; so that the



CUMAE.²

demigod became an object of disgust and horror (78). Such an end was well deserved; but, unhappily, we must discard this very moral but untruthful picture. In human affairs justice sometimes overleaps a generation. It was not until thirty years later, that,

¹ This disease was the *phthiriasis*, or pedicular disorder (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 86). This malady, though rare, is well known to physicians. It is not mortal, however, and does not occasion this putrefaction. Appian (*Bell. civ.* i. 105) speaks of a fever which carried him off in a single night; and Plutarch, besides the pedicular disease, speaks of an internal abscess, which burst, and killed him by blood-poisoning.

² Engraving from the *Acrid*, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 183.

on the battlefield of Pharsalia, the Roman aristocracy paid the penalty of the proscriptions of Sylla.

His funeral-rites were grander than Rome had ever seen before. His veterans, summoned from their colonies, escorted the corpse from Puteoli to Rome. A *senatus-consultum* decreed him the honor of a burial in the Campus Martius.¹ The body was borne in a gilded litter, and around it were carried the insignia of



SECOND TEMPLE OF THE CAPITOL.²

the dictatorship, and more than two thousand golden wreaths sent by the cities and the legions. The army preceded and followed the corpse as if in a last triumph.

¹ Cic., *De Legibus*, ii. 22.

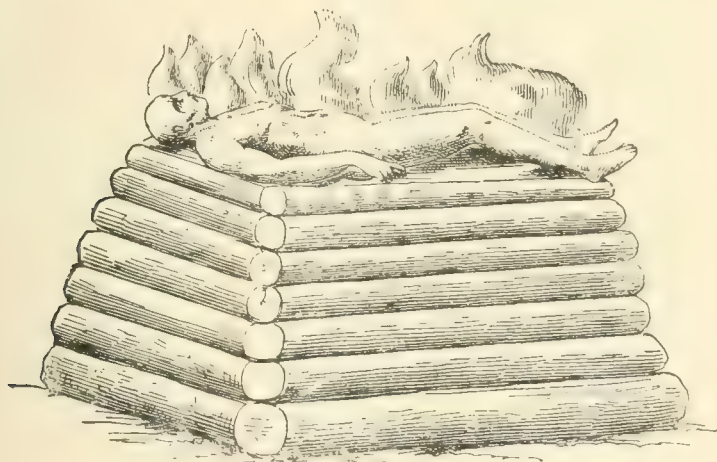
² Enlarged from a coin of the triumvir Petilius Capitolinus. In the pediment, Rome seated on bucklers, and the she-wolf; upon the apex, the quadriga of Jupiter, statues of Juno and Minerva, and two eagles. The disks hanging between the columns are bells (*tintinnabula*) used in sacrifices (Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 344), as in Roman Catholic churches. Suetonius (*Oct.* 91) relates that Augustus, having built a temple to Jupiter Tonans, near the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, saw in a dream the latter complaining that the former deprived him of his worshippers. "He shall be thy gatekeeper" (*janitor*), answered the emperor; and, in sign of the office the god was to fill to his divine counterpart, he caused the bell to be hung (*Revue de numism., belge.*, fifth series, vol. ii., 1879, p. 51, pl. iii.; cf. Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. grecq. et rom.*, p. 902).

The Senate and the magistrates, the vestals, and the priests clad in their official robes, and all the equestrian order, awaited



OLIVE-WREATH IN GOLD.¹

the litter at the gates of the city, to accompany it to the Forum. After the funeral eulogy, the senators carried the body on their



FUNERAL-PILE ²

shoulders as far as the Campus Martius, where only the kings had been buried, and deposited it upon a funeral-pile: Sylla

¹ This wreath, of perfect workmanship and very pure gold, was found in a tomb of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (*Antiq. du Bosph. Cimm.* pl. iv.).

² From a bas-relief, believed to be of the time of Nero, representing scenes from the *Iliad*. The pile is lighted to consume the body of Patroclus. (Cf. Rich, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, at the words *Ara sepulcri* or *Ara funeris*.)

having directed that his body should be burned, not buried, lest some avenger of Marius might profane his tomb.¹ He had composed his own epitaph: "No man ever did more good to his friends, or more injury to his enemies."

Thus died in the sixtieth year of his age, tranquilly and without remorse, the man whose policy was the most implacable that history has ever known. "His prosperity," says Seneca, "was a reproach to the gods."²

We shall not contradict Seneca, although the gods do not appear to us so culpable. But we feel obliged to seek an explanation for Sylla's serenity after so many massacres. It would amaze us, did we not know that the Romans made a divinity of success (*Bonus Eventus*), that the results of a victory seemed to them, like the victory itself, an act of the gods, or at least an



VESTAL.³

act directed by the gods, leaving the soul of the conqueror as undisturbed as that of the lictor striking with his axe in obedience to a consul's orders. This ancient fatalism, which filled the drama of Aeschylus and the conscience of the Greek people with religious

¹ Until the time of Sylla, the Cornelli had been buried, not burned.

² *Deorum crimen erat Sylla tam felix* (*Cons. ad Marc.* 12) Pliny (vii. 41) is equally severe.

³ Marble statue, originally belonging to the Collection Chigi, now in Dresden (*Clarac, Musée de sculpt.* pl. 771, No. 1919).

terrors, retained its sway at Rome, amidst the growing scepticism of the times, but exercised itself coldly, without attacking the grand and fathomless mysteries of the *Prometheus*. The Roman mind had not so lofty a range as that of the Greeks; and no man disquieted himself about a lack of harmony between destiny and the moral law. Even for the sceptic, the vanquished were the condemned of Fortune; and to rid the world of them was justice, not cruelty, since justice consisted in acting in accordance with the will of the gods. This is why the terrible dictator died without remorse. And thus it will ever be with those who interpose a false principle between their conscience and their conduct.

Two things mark Sylla's public life, and that which has been considered the less important of the two is in reality

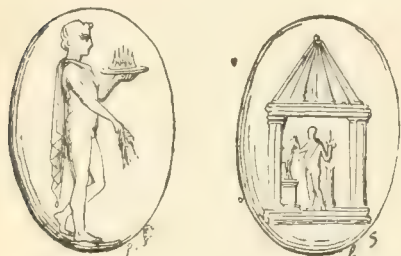
the greater. Upon his accession to power, the empire and the constitution were both falling into ruins. The former he saved at Chaeronea, and Rome lived five centuries upon his victories; the latter he sought to re-establish by his political legislation, and his



BONUS EVENTUS (PEMBROKE COLLECTION).¹

¹ Statue, of Parian marble, representing the *Bonus Eventus* of the Romans. The young god holds in his hand a cornucopia, emblem of the protection he extends over the harvests and over all kinds of enterprises. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 438 F.)

laws did not remain in force ten years. At the same time, when we regard in its whole extent this legislative reform, — the greatest which had been accomplished in Rome since the time of the decemvirs, — we are impressed with the bold genius of the man who



BONVS EVENTVS (P. 50).¹

executed it: the political constitution, the judicial organization, the administration of public affairs, the private life of the individual, all are regulated here. But Sylla deceived himself. He saw the evil; but, in correcting it, he went no further than superficial causes.

When he had crushed the tribuneship, and restored the legal authority to an enfeebled aristocracy, he believed that his task was done and that he might retire, while in reality he was about to furnish history with one of the most conspicuous examples of the impotence of mere force to found anything durable when it is not acting in accordance with the spirit of the times.

Instead of looking forward, and seeking to understand the ideas which were slowly growing in the provinces, in Italy, and even in Rome, he looked back, and in that blind endeavor to restore the past, he took no account of the new elements which for four centuries had been developing themselves in the midst of the Roman commonwealth. In the ancient time to which he returned, the slaves, the equestrian order, the Italians, we might even say the people themselves, had no political existence; nor had they in his laws. But, in giving no protection to the slaves, he rendered possible the third revolt, led by Spartacus; in taking away the privileges of the knights, he put them on the side of those who wished for a revolution; in crushing the Italians and the people, he made ready an army for Lepidus, a party for Pompey. There is no disaster, even to the nameless war of Catiline, that did not arise from this unfortunate dictatorship. An event of considerable importance had lately occurred, — the extension of the right of suffrage to the Italians; but this Sylla made no attempt to regulate.

¹ Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France*, Nos. 1738 and 1740.

In respect to the provincials he was absolutely indifferent; yet here in reality was the great problem of the time.

This royal authority, which refused to be permanent, did not, therefore, eradicate the fatal germ then undermining the Republic; and, in giving to an irrevocably doomed aristocracy the strength to resist for a while, Sylla only made the death-struggle longer and more severe.¹ It is a hard thing to wish that a people should lose their liberty; yet when that liberty is but a sanguinary anarchy wherein all is lost, — virtue, law, and the moral sense, — when the inheritance of the human race is imperilled by the fault of a people, it must be desired that they return into tutelage, rather than that the world itself fall back into chaos.

Moreover, Sylla compromised his laws in advance by depriving them of their best sanction, — the legislator's own example. No laws are durable but those which defend themselves by their harmony with the general moral sense of the people. But every day Sylla violated the ordinances he himself had made. He had recognized that murder was a crime; but, after the proscriptions were at an end, he killed Ofella and Granius without any judicial procedure. He had appointed a punishment for treason; but all his despatches were sealed with the memento of an act of perfidy.² He had restricted expenses; but his lavish gifts to the people, and the pomp of Metella's funeral, were an insult to his sumptuary laws. He had prohibited false coinage; but he himself issued a great quantity of pieces to which he gave an arbitrary value.³ He had professed to honor marriage; but from many citizens he took away their wives, and condemned the latter to new unions. He had restored the authority of the Senate; but he made senators

¹ Ihne, who much admires Sylla, is, however, obliged to say (vol. v. p. 430), "The Republic was to be saved by no laws or no personal genius." And he adds, "The whole tendency of the age was to monarchy in place of the Republic." This is a recognition of the fact that Sylla's work was in vain; and history condemns all sterile policy.

² The ring representing the treason of Bocchus, delivering up to him Jugurtha.

³ He resumed the coinage of the plated denarii, that had been stopped by Marius Gratidianus (see vol. ii. p. 634, n. 1. and p. 41 of this volume), and by the severest regulations compelled the State's money to be received without any regard to its metallic composition (Paulus, *Sent.*, V. 25, 1), unless we agree with what seems to be the opinion of Ulpian, that the text of Paulus refers to a legislation of later date. (Cf. *Mosaic. et Romanar. legum collatio*, tit. viii. 7, and Tac., *Ann.* xiv. 40, 41.) It is at any rate certain, that, from the dictatorship of Sylla to the time of the Empire, there were as many false denarii in circulation as there were genuine ones (Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, i. 231).

of common soldiers. He had punished adultery; but the disorders of his own private life were notorious. Could other men have any more respect for all this legislation than its author had? He did not himself expect it; and his words to Pompey, on the subject of Lepidus, prove that he had no hope of a peaceful sway for his new enactments. In truth, odious to the people and to the Italians, defended only by stupid nobles and a coarse soldiery, who were ready to abandon it as soon as they had wasted the money and lost the estates it gave them, the legislation of Sylla was opposed by the most active class in the State,—the equestrian order. Even during Sylla's lifetime, two men of this order had begun the struggle,—Pompey, in creating a party for himself among the adherents of Sylla; and Cicero, by his attack upon one of the dictator's freedmen (in the case of Roscius), and upon the dictator himself in a case where the young orator obtained from the judges a declaration that Sylla had not had the power to take away citizenship from the Italian towns.¹ In this re-action Pompey was to be the arm, Cicero the eloquent voice, and both were to be for a moment borne by it to supreme power.

¹ He resumed this topic in the *Pro Caccina*, 33, in the year 69 (?), maintaining that the legislative power cannot abolish certain rights, among others that of liberty, represented by the *jus civitatis*,—and that consequently Sylla had not been able to take this away from Volaterrae.

² The *bustuarius* was a gladiator who fought at the funeral-pile (*bustum*) when a dead body was burned. This custom had its origin in the ancient belief that the manes must be appeased with blood. (See vol. i. p. 210.) One of these gladiators is identified as such on the engraved stone copied from Agostini (*Gemma*, ii. pl. cix.) by the sepulchral pyramid in the background.



BUSTUARIUS.²

SEVENTH PERIOD.

THE TRIUMVIRATES AND THE REVOLUTION (79-30).

CHAPTER XLVIII.

POMPEY, LEPIDUS, AND SERTORIUS (79-70).

I. — RECAPITULATION OF THE PRECEDING PERIOD.

THE existence of nations is divided into periods which may be called organic, — of full, tranquil life ; and inorganic periods, or those of violent transformation. Nations are in the first of these epochs when they have found the form of government best suited to their present interests, and in the second, when social forces are at strife one with another. The time of the kings was, so far as we understand it, that of the harmonious formation of the Roman State in its social and political aspects. Then followed a century and a half of rivalries at home and weakness abroad. After the time of Licinius Stolo, peace between the two orders being established by equality, the fortunes of Rome were again prosperous. But after the heroic wars in Italy and Africa, — which followed one another, as we have seen, in an inevitable sequence, — and after those in Greece and Asia, which were wars rather of policy than of necessity, there succeeded, as the result of causes which we have examined at length,¹ a new period of interior distractions.

From the elder Gracchus to Sylla, during fifty years, these men, so heroic when facing Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and the Macedo-

¹ Chapters xxxv. and xxxvi.

nians, once more became the sons of the she-wolf, and murdered each other by way of deciding to whom the world should belong.

That we may be able to follow, amidst all these massacres and devastations, the twofold movement of destruction and renewal constantly going on in Rome during this period,—a movement which, under different forms and names, will continue for a half-century longer,—we shall do well to recapitulate the tragedies we have witnessed, in order the better to comprehend those which are to come.

Two centuries of war, conquest, and pillage, had resulted in concentrating all the powers of the State in the hands of a narrow oligarchy, and in the destruction of that middle class of the Roman people which once filled the legions, and constituted the rustic tribes. There were left facing each other two hostile classes,—the rich and the poor. To prevent these two classes from coming into actual collision with one another, the Gracchi had attempted by an agrarian law to reconstruct a vigorous population of petty rural land-owners, and, by giving the judicial power to the knights, to establish in the State a third class, which might maintain the balance between the other two.

The Gracchi fell by the hand of the nobles, and with them the popular cause—which was that of liberty and of the Republic—seemed to be lost. But this cause offering to ambitious men the means of producing those tumults of the Forum useful to their treasonable designs, patricians and men of consular rank now began to go over to the people, with pretence of defending the latter's interests; and the State thus became divided into two factions,—the determined conservatives and the revolutionary radicals. In reality both alike cared only for power and wealth, the generous enthusiasm of the Gracchi having perished with them. Marius, who reconstructed the popular party, had not the peculiar ability required to be its leader; and his associate Saturninus compromised it by acts of violence, as a result of which, Saturninus was killed, Marius exiled, and the oligarchy again became supreme.

A different solution for the problem of the Roman constitution was sought by Scipio Aemilianus and the second Drusus. They proposed to extend citizenship among the Italians, for the purpose of giving the State a broader base, upon which it might be more

firmlly and durably established. Aemilianus was assassinated by the leaders of the lower classes at Rome, whom he had treated with contempt; Drusus, by the knights whom he had sought to deprive of the judicial authority; and the Italians, losing all hope of legal redress, took up arms. A formidable war followed, whose horrors are sufficiently indicated by its name, "the Social War," or war with the allies of Rome.

From this fratricidal strife, the Italians, though conquered, seemed to come out victorious: they obtained citizenship; but the nobles, to render the concession worthless, included the new citizens in certain tribes which never had the opportunity to vote. The nobles also alienated the knights by withdrawing from them the *judicia*.

Marius, now returning from exile, and Sulpicius, associated with him, took advantage of this twofold error of the aristocratic party to gain over to their side the new citizens and the equestrian order. Sulpicius was murdered. Marius was compelled to flee, many times narrowly escaped with his life, and finally, coming back to Rome with an army composed of Italians and slaves, caused great slaughter of the nobles, and himself died just as the avenger of the aristocracy appeared upon the scene.

Both parties, therefore, had blood upon their hands; but the nobles had shed the most. During this fifty years the oligarchy had been five times victorious, each time marking their success by the murder of their principal opponents, and had ended with a ruthless dictatorship.¹

By a general massacre, Sylla believed he had made an end of the popular party, the Italians, and the knights; and by a whole system of laws bringing back the Republic of three centuries before, in which the patricians were everything, and the people nothing, he believed that he had destroyed all innovations of whatever kind. Essays at reform having thus failed, we are now to see what success will be obtained by the re-actionary party. This we shall learn as we follow the dramatic events of that revolution which was to lead Rome into a new organic epoch, wherein, during the four centuries to come, her destinies were to remain fixed.

¹ Murder of Tiberius Gracchus, 133; of Caius, 121; of Saturninus, 100; of Drusus, 91; of Sulpicius and the friends of Marius, 88; Sylla's proscriptions, 82.

II. — POMPEY.

THE ten years during which the Cornelian constitution lasted formed one of the most disastrous epochs through which the Republic ever passed. — the epoch in which each man was least secure of the morrow.

The hatred of the people and of the Italians, the resentment of the equestrian order, and four serious wars, were the legacy left by Sylla to his country. Who was to receive this difficult inheritance? A Senate, where the proscriptions of the two parties had left not one man above the level of mediocrity, — the unsuccessful general, Metellus Pius; Catulus, "in whom," according to Cicero, "was the material for many great men," but who, unfortunately for the State, was not a great citizen; Hortensius, who lived only for the bar and his fish-ponds; Crassus, less occupied with public affairs than with the management of his ill-gotten fortune and with buying Rome piecemeal; Philippus, who had so well contrived to steer clear of perils for twenty years, and who, having reached the highest honors, rested tranquilly there; lastly, the most capable of all these second-rate men, Lucullus, the eloquent Epicurean, the Athenian Roman who had until that time remained a subordinate, and without inclination for higher duties. These senators, having escaped from such long-continued perils, only desired to enjoy their lives and fortunes, and to occupy themselves in restoring their devastated villas. But around them were coming up a younger generation, more ardent, stronger for good as well as for ill. Cicero was then twenty-eight; Caesar, twenty-four; Cato, seventeen; Brutus still younger; while Catiline and Verres had already filled public offices.

By his age Pompey belonged to this younger generation;¹ but

¹ Born the 29th of September, 106, Pompey was the same age as Cicero. The date of Cicero's birth is usually given as 100. If that were so, he was but a little over thirteen years old when appointed, in January, 86, flamen of Jupiter: which is rather young for a pontifical office. He was made ædile in the year 65; but, according to the *lex annalis* (vol. ii. p. 413), a candidate for that office must be thirty-seven years of age, which puts back his birth to 102.

decorated with the names "the Great" and "Imperator," and having enjoyed a triumph, he stood apart. And we are here so far from equality, so near monarchy, that without having been regularly appointed to any office, without being senator, without being able to depend upon any political party, Pompey was all powerful in Rome. Cold, irresolute, and as incapable as Marius of a political conception, he has, however, been unfairly treated by modern writers, who love to judge men by trifles, and paint them by anecdotes, even apocryphal, after the manner of Plutarch. No man preserves for forty years the grand position that Pompey made for himself in early youth, unless he is in some way superior to his fellow-citizens. It is true, that, up to his last battle, he merited even more truly than Sylla the title of the "Favorite of Fortune." She did much for him: did he do nothing for her? If he met with propitious circumstances, he also knew how to bring them about, and to extract from them, by boldness or by prudence, the advantages another might have missed. His wakeful nights, his persevering labors to prepare and secure victory in advance, are not characteristic of the man who trusts himself slothfully to the favor of the gods.²

POMPEY.¹

Without being a Cato, he had his frugality, and his aversion for Oriental luxury,³ with less of affectation and with a reticent dignity which announced the man made for command. One day, being ill, and averse to food, his physician recommended him to eat a thrush. Search was made in the markets; but none could

In placing his birth in that year, we find him of the requisite age in 62 for the praetorship, i.e., forty, and for the consulship, which he held in 59, i.e., forty-two completed years. Now, from 82 to 49, Sylla's law in respect to the magistracies was strictly observed, except in the case of Pompey in 70 and in 52: later we shall see the causes for this twofold exception. When Caesar returned to Rome in April, 49, he gave himself the age of forty-two completed years upon his coins. (Cf. Cohen, *Monn. consul.* pl. xx., *gens Julia*. The coins numbered 14, 15, and 16, bear the figures 52.)

¹ Head of Pompey, from a silver coin.

² Πᾶσαν δὲ ῥαστώνην καὶ σχολὴν ἀποτρυνάμενος, διατέλει καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αἰεὶ τι πράττων τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων (Diod., xxxviii. 9).

³ Διαίτη μὲν γὰρ ἐχρήτο λιτῇ, λουτρῶν δὲ καὶ συμπεριφορᾶς τρυφὴν ἐχουσης ἀπέειχετο. Καὶ τὴν μὲν τρυφὴν καθήμενος προσεφέρετο πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὕπνον ἀπεμέριζε χρόνον ἐλάττωτα τῆς ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκης, etc. (*Id.*, *ibid.*; cf. Plutarch, *Pompr.* 2.) Lucullus had introduced the cherry-tree from Cerasus. Pompey brought from the East the use of windmills and watermills, which superseded mills moved by hand, the only kind hitherto known in Italy; and he caused to be translated into Latin, by one of his freedmen, the works of the Greeks upon medicine.

be found. Some one reminded him that the bird could always be obtained from Lucullus, who fed them in coops all the year round; but he would not act upon the suggestion. "If Lucullus had not been an epicure, Pompey could not have lived, then?" he said. He was an eloquent speaker. Even at the age of twenty he defended his father's memory, and made so favorable an impression upon the judge at whose tribunal he was pleading, that the latter, on the spot, took him for his son-in-law. He was a man of distinguished courage¹ (almost his entire life being spent in camps), also of enterprise and resolution. When all Italy was overrun by the troops of Carbo, he declared for Sylla, and brought an army to the latter, which perhaps saved him. This army Pompey was able to retain in his own service while employing it for the interests of the party. He led the troops wherever the dictator desired, — into Cisalpine Gaul, Spain, and Africa. Everywhere he was victorious; and his success made an impression upon Sylla, who believed that he could see in this young leader, always fortunate, that same fatality of success which he delighted to recognize in himself.

The terrible dictator was, so to speak, subjugated; and, that this invincible good fortune might never be arrayed against his own, he caused Pompey to enter his family, giving him in marriage his grand-daughter Aemilia. At one time, however, Sylla experienced a momentary distrust of the young general; and, after Pompey had conquered Domitius and Hiarbas, he ordered him to disband his troops. The soldiers were offended at the idea of losing the pleasure and profits of a triumphal entry into Rome; but Pompey appeased them, and returned alone. This loyalty saved him. Sylla, with all the people, went out to meet him, and saluted him with the title of "the Great." But Pompey was eager for a triumph, a magnificent triumph; and he had brought back from Africa elephants to draw his chariot; but Sylla refused it to him, for the young general was not even as yet a senator. Upon this, Pompey went so far as to bid Sylla beware, and remember that the rising sun has more worshippers than the setting. His words produced an immense effect upon the crowd; and Sylla, overcome with sur-

¹ At the assault on the camp of Domitius he fought without his helmet (Plut. 11, *Pomp.*).

prise, for the first time in his life yielded. "Let him triumph!" he said, and repeated the words (81). The people applauded Pompey's boldness, and gazed with delight upon this general who did not tremble before the man whom all the world feared.

Pompey had up to this time held no public office. He preferred to the consular dignity the position he had made for himself, without election by people or Senate. Sole among the chiefs of Sylla's party, he had never taken part in the proscriptions, or at least in the pillage that followed them. At Asculum, during the Social war, he had taken only a few books. This, again, was a happy peculiarity, a reproach to the conquerors, as it were, and a hope for the conquered. Beloved by the soldiers, respected by the people, he possessed an influence which he refused to employ, because he did not desire an obscure consulship, and he saw that the time had not yet come for him to distinguish himself in that office. He was, besides, only twenty-eight years of age and could have aspired so high only by violating the law. But he took pleasure in showing his influence by supporting a candidate whom the Senate disapproved. Notwithstanding their ill-will, Lepidus was elected, — a man who did not conceal his hatred for the new institutions (78).¹ "Young man," Sylla said to Pompey, seeing him crossing the Forum after the election, followed by a great crowd of friends, "I see you rejoice in your victory. 'Tis verily a worthy act to gain the consulship for a bad citizen. But take care: you are raising up an adversary stronger than yourself." These words nearly came true. On hearing of Sylla's death, Lepidus made an attempt to prevent public honors being paid to his memory, and at once began to talk of abolishing his laws. But this was going too fast for Pompey. Notwithstanding Sylla's recent coldness towards him,² Pompey respected himself too much to betray so soon the cause he had so greatly served. He joined with Catulus, the other consul; and the dead Sylla was honored with a final triumph. But on quitting the scene of the funeral the two consuls very nearly came to blows.³

¹ See in the *Fragments* of Sallust a violent address which this historian puts into the mouth of Lepidus, ending with nothing less than a call to arms. If it is not literally authentic, we may at least regard it as expressing his sentiments.

² He did not name him at all in his will.

³ App., *Bell. civ.* i. 107.

III. — LEPIDUS ; NEW CIVIL WAR (78-77).

THIS Lepidus, father of the triumvir, belonged to an illustrious patrician house, the gens Aemilia. In the Civil war he declared himself for Sylla, and secured a considerable fortune from the plunder of the proscribed. Acquiring a relish for this abominable food, he committed, during his praetorship in Sicily (in 81), such exactions, that Cicero gives him, after Verres, the first rank among the plunderers of the provinces.¹ He was thus in a position to construct the finest palace in the city, and decorate it with columns of yellow Numidian marble, — the first that had ever been seen in Rome.² Rich, and of noble birth, the affinities of Lepidus were entirely with the aristocratic party. But there all the highest positions were already filled; and he passed over to the other side, guided in this resolution by his marriage with one Apulia, the daughter of Saturninus, and by his fear of a prosecution for extortion, with which he was threatened. He was influenced most of all, however, by his ambition; for the honest reformers of the past generation were now succeeded only by demagogues.

Men are killed or proscribed at will, but well-founded ideas and real needs can be disposed of only by giving them satisfaction; and as Sylla's restoration had taken into account none of the new conditions which the past had produced, or which the present demanded, Lepidus had only to mention the re-establishment of the laws for distributions of corn, and the recall of those who had been exiled, when the party which Sylla believed he had smothered in blood re-appeared at once.³

¹ *In Verr.*, II. iii. 91.

² "His house," says Pliny, "was at that time the finest in Rome; but so rapid was the progress of luxury, that thirty-five years later more than a hundred surpassed it in magnificence" (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 24, 4).

³ Lepidus, during his consulship, made one of those useless sumptuary laws which democratic jealousy required, but which were never executed. He forbade the serving at banquets of foreign birds or shell-fish, and designated what might be eaten, and how it might be prepared. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 27; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* II. xxiv. 12; Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 14, 15.)

No sooner was it understood that one of the consuls was ready to undo what the dictatorship had established, than a great crowd of men began to look forward with eagerness to new tumults. The families of the victims of the proscriptions hoped to recover thereby their lost wealth and civic rights; the young men of fashion, to obtain means for their ruinous profligacy. The tribunes hoped for power; the people, for excitements which would interrupt the monotony of these dull times, when for the last three years not a storm had burst in the Forum. The knights could not pardon the nobles for the suppression of their judicial power; the poor were offended by the loss of the corn distributions; and ambitious men who were refused access to power by the oligarchy promised themselves to derive advantage from all these regrets, which were also hopes. A great province, Spain, was in the hands of Sertorius. Cisalpine Gaul had for governor a Junius Brutus of doubtful fidelity. On every side, that crowd of men who had lost position, who had so many times before caused revolutions, were calling for one now; and certain of the more conspicuous members of the Marian party ventured to return to Rome. Perperna, the prætor whom Pompey had expelled from Sicily, Caesar, the son of Cinna the consul, and others, had already arrived, and, as always happens with the proscribed, they had forgotten nothing.

Lepidus proceeded with extreme rapidity. He restored the Sempronian law for the distribution of corn to the people,¹ thereby gaining all the Roman beggars; and, to attach to himself the Italians, he promised to restore their lands to all who had been despoiled. Thus, on every side, the dispossessed saw their prospects brighten, and some went so far as to collect weapons. The men of Faesulæ, the first to be ready, rushed upon the veterans in the castella which they had established, and after killing many drove the rest out of their territory. This might well have been the signal for a general conflagration. The Senate, whom Sylla imagined he had made so strong, were terrified, but derived no energy from their terror. Between Catulus and Lepidus.

¹ Granius Licinianus, *Fr. ex lib.* xxxvi.; *Ad ann.* 78: *nullo resistente, ut annonæ quinque modii populo darentur*. This law was doubtless abolished when its author was declared a public enemy; for the re-establishment of five modii dates from the year 73. (Cf. Sallust, *Fragm.* and Cicero, *in Verr.*, II. iii. 70.)

who were already threatening each other, they knew no way to interpose, save by endeavors to obtain from each an oath that he would not take arms against the other; and the Conscript Fathers believed that they had warded off the impending danger when they had decreed that the two consuls should go at once to their respective provinces. — Catulus to Gaul, and Lepidus to Narbonensis.



CASTELLUM (FORTIFIED POST).¹

There was said to be danger of attacks in the latter province, and the Senate were guilty of the imprudence of granting a large sum of money to decide the rapacious proconsul to set off for his government. As he must, on his way, reduce the outbreak in Faesulae, he was authorized to raise troops: he had, therefore, all that he needed for levying an army.

¹ From the *U. p.* of the Vatican. Castellum, with its garrison bivouacking outside, while sentinels (*coepes*) keep watch by night within the walls. (Cf. Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, pp. 119 and 797.) [This is the mediæval notion of a castellum, and bears no trace of an early date. — *Ed.*]

While Lepidus slowly moved on his way, Catulus went forward with the reconstruction, begun by Sylla, of the Capitoline temple, which towered majestically above the Forum,¹—an immense work.



MINERVA OF TIVOLI.²

of which there now remain only the massive foundations underlying the “Senator’s Palace” in Rome, and upon which, in the time of Catulus, stood the Tabularium, or Record Office. Under

¹ The inscription engraved on it by order of the Senate yet remains: *Q. Lutatius Q. F. Q. N. Catulus Cos. substructionem et tabularium ex sen. cons. faciundum curavit.*

² Statue of Greek marble, discovered at Tivoli, at Hadrian’s villa (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. ii, pl. 12, and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 461, No. 857).

the façade he placed a Minerva of Euphranor, which the people were accustomed to call the Catulan; but he reserved for the Temple of Fortune, consecrated by his father after the Cimbrian war,



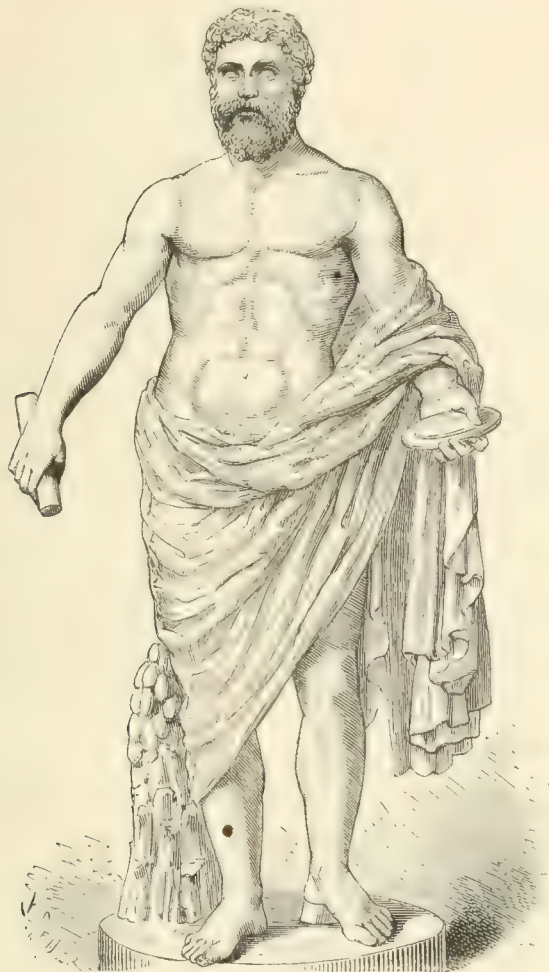
FORTUNE.¹

two statues by Phidias, stolen, like the former, from Greece.² The Romans, incapable of creating masterpieces like these, knew at least how to love them, and especially how to steal them. The temple was filled with offerings of all kinds sent by cities,

¹ Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 155, No. 834. Statue in the Royal Museum at Berlin, called by Clarac the *naval* Fortune, on account of the rudder she holds in her right hand, which is due, however, to modern restoration.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 18, and xxxiv. 19.

kings, and nations. From this collection one object was missing, which should have been there,—an exquisite work of art, made of gold, and adorned with precious stones, which the King of



STATUE OF JUPITER.¹

Syria had destined for the Capitol, and which his envoy, passing through Syracuse, had had the imprudence to show to Verres, who thereupon stole it; and this royal gift, destined for Jupiter, king

¹ Fine statue from Lord Leicester's collection at Holkham, given by Clarac (*Musée de sculpt.* pl. 396 D, No. 678 B). The calm expression of the face, the regularly waved hair, as well as the patera and the sceptre, have given this figure the name of "the propitious Jupiter."

of the gods, went instead to decorate the boudoir of the "Swallow," (*Chelidon*), one of this Sicilian satrap's mistresses.

The festival of the dedication of this temple lasted for several days, and was marked by a novelty that Cato would have anathematized—Catulus, to shelter the spectators from the sun, caused his theatre to be covered with coarse awnings, later to be replaced by the immense and splendid velaria of the Empire.¹

While his colleague was occupied with these pious cares, and this solicitude for the comfort of the people, Lepidus was passing through Etruria, collecting men, provisions, and arms from the populations who had been so cruelly treated by Sylla, and calling out the veterans of Marius and Carbo. Junius Brutus, the governor, declared for him. Caesar, who was on his way home from Asia, was urged by L. Cimma, his brother-in-law, to do the same; but the character of the leader and the strength of the party did not appear to him secure enough, and he waited.² However, by the promise of annulling the acts of the dictatorship, Lepidus had soon augmented his army, and when the Senate, at last disquieted, recalled him, under pretext of his presence being needed for the consular comitia, he marched upon Rome, preceded by the declaration that he came for the purpose of re-establishing the people in their rights, and assuming a second consulship, in fact, the dictatorship.

The Conscript Fathers made an attempt to negotiate; but they were received in such a manner that it became evident hostilities could not be avoided. The situation at Rome appeared dangerous. Cethegus and other ruined young nobles traversed the disorderly quarters of the city, talking of an approaching revenge. The tribunes of that year, chosen under the influence of the late dictator's laws, were feeble and timid. But, if the clash of arms were to silence the voice of the law, was it not possible that one of these officers, at the approach of Lepidus, might find enough of the old courage to stir up the crowd, and put the Cornelian Senate

¹ Val. Max. ii. 16; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* x. 6.

² In 77 and 76, however, he began the war against the partisans of Sylla by accusing two of them, — Cn. Dolabella, the former governor of Macedon, and Antonius, who had cruelly oppressed Greece. In taking up the part of accuser, Caesar merely followed the example of the young nobles, who were accustomed to make their first appearance in this manner; but the choice of his victims marks the direction of his feelings.

between two dangers? A senator whom we have long known roused men's minds by an energetic address, which Sallust has preserved for us, rewriting it somewhat less, perhaps, than usually is the case with speeches reported by him. Philippus reproached the senators sharply for their irresolution: "While you are shuffling and evading, and recasting your speeches, and adorning them with quotations from the poets, you hope for peace, rather than defend it; nor do you understand that your supineness takes from you your dignity, from him his fear.

"Do the demands of Lepidus trouble you? He who says it is his pleasure that to every man should be restored his own, and keeps his grasp on the property of others; that laws imposed by violence should be set aside, yet himself wields the sword; that the right of citizenship be confirmed, who denies that it was ever lost; that for the sake of peace the tribunitian power should be again intrusted to the popular suffrage, that very thing from which all our disorders have sprung!

". . . If this is what you want, if so great amazement has fallen upon your minds, that, forgetting the crimes of Cinna (at whose entrance into the city decorum and all distinction of rank disappeared), you nevertheless propose to intrust yourselves, your wives and children, to Lepidus, what need of decrees? What need of help from Catulus? Since you will, put yourselves under the protection of Cethegus and the other traitors who thirst to begin the work of fire and pillage. . . . As for me, I think that the interrex Appius Claudius, the proconsul Catulus, and all others who have the imperium, and are charged with the defence of the city, should *see to it that the Republic be not endangered*."

This decree was passed, and Catulus made or renewed, and extended, the law *de vi publica*, which forbade fire and water to the authors of public disturbances;¹ and at the same time he increased the levies, which were easily obtained through the joint action of Pompey. Too young to aspire to the consulship, too full of his own renown to consent to reach that position by passing through the inferior offices, Pompey seized this new occasion to defy the laws while serving them. A decree of the Senate

¹ It is this law of which Cicero made use against Catiline (*Pro Caelio*, 29).

associated him with Catulus in the command of the army, and he was its real head. The proconsular troops, joined by many of the veterans who were threatened with being obliged to restore the lands that had been granted them, established themselves upon the Janiculum, upon the hills of the Vatican, and at the Milvian Bridge,¹ to defend the passage of the Tiber.

The second-rate personage who was now posing as the successor of Marius had not been able to conceal his projects long enough to give time for organizing his forces, and did not put them in execution with rapidity enough to take his adversaries by surprise. Encamping between the Tiber and the Cremera, he despatched emissaries into Rome for the purpose of raising a disturbance; but no one responded. The populace crowded the walls and the river-bank to behold a spectacle of far deeper interest than gladiatorial combats, — two armies engaged opposite the Campus Martius. The battle was very short. Sylla's veterans, re-enforced by all the nobles, charged so hotly that the raw troops of Lepidus gave way, and fled with their chief in the direction of Bolsena. Lepidus had the design of making for the Samnite mountains; but the manœuvres of his adversaries shut him up in Etruria. Here he suffered a second repulse, which caused him to retreat towards the sea; and while Catulus, with prudent moderation, continued driving him in that direction, Pompey had time to hasten into Cisalpine Gaul, where M. Junius Brutus had shut himself up in Modena. In want of provisions, or perhaps forced by some treason, Brutus surrendered, stipulating for his life; but on the following day Pompey had him put to death. A son of Lepidus, and a Scipio, — perhaps the consul of the year 83, — who during Sylla's proscriptions had fled to Massilia, were taken in the Ligurian city of Alba, and also put to death. Cisalpine Gaul being thus pacified, after the Roman fashion, by murders, Pompey rejoined Catulus, who had just inflicted a second defeat upon Lepidus under the walls of Cosa.

Opposite this city rises from the sea Mons Argentarius, a promontory sharply defined on all sides, and attached to the continent merely by two sand-banks enclosing a lagoon.² These

¹ See vol. i. p. 260, the plan of Rome, and p. 306, that of the Veian territory.

² This rock, seven miles long and four in breadth, owed its name to silver-mines existing there in early times.

sand-banks Lepidus cut, and made of the promontory an island. He could not, however, long hold the position, for lack of provisions; and he embarked by night for Sardinia, in the hope of



from the French Ordnance Survey
 Depth
 from 0 to 10 fms from 10 to 50 fms from 50 to 100 fms above 100 fms
 Scale: 168,000
 1 2 3 4 5 fms.

MONS ARGENTARIUS.

raising an insurrection among the people there, while his lieutenant Perperna was to secure Sicily; thence they could give assistance to Sertorius, and make an attempt to reduce Rome by famine, cutting off her supplies from the two islands, her principal granaries. Fatigued and disappointed, Lepidus fell ill, and a letter written by his wife completed his misfortunes. This letter came by accident into his hands, and was of a character to leave him in no doubt as to the fidelity of Apuleia and the esteem she entertained for her husband. "The unfortunate man," she wrote to her lover, "has no

common sense." A few days later he died. Thus ended the first act of the new Civil war (77).

This time the victorious party did itself honor by its moderation, and a few years later the Senate, upon the suggestion of Caesar, granted an amnesty to the partisans of Lepidus.

The insurrection had the effect of uniting Pompey with the Senate, and gave him back his army. Catulus directed him to disband it, it is true; but he paid no attention to this order, and the Senate did not dare to urge the point. In the aristocratic party, therefore, Pompey saw no one above him: in the opposite party it might even be doubted whether the chiefs, if they were victorious, would admit him to a share. Certainly he would have felt the force of a democratic re-action, and he determined, that, if it should ever take place, it should at all events be by his agency. He was, moreover, a good enough citizen to wish that the re-action should come slowly, without any violent shock, and without further proscriptions. Under these circumstances, therefore, he accepted the position of Sylla's executor, and, having destroyed Lepidus, now went to encounter Sertorius.

IV.—SERTORIUS; CONTINUATION OF THE CIVIL WAR (80-73).

WE know the character of Sertorius, this Sabine, who, like Marius, had neither ancestors nor posterity, and, like him, was a better general than statesman. He had distinguished himself in the Cimbrian war, and his long campaigns in Gaul had so well familiarized him with the language and habits of the barbarians, that he was able more than once to penetrate the camp of the Teutones in disguise, and obtain information as to their numbers and plans. During the Social war he acted as the Senate's agent with the Italian Gauls, and was able to retain them faithful to Rome. Later he sought the tribuneship. The partisans of Sylla prevented his obtaining it, and this rebuff threw him forever into the party of his former general. Reserved in manners, of African sobriety, of small appetite, brave even to rashness, — which caused

him many wounds and the loss of an eye,—fruitful in military contrivances, and of an activity that no fatigue could weary, Sertorius had all the qualities necessary to the chief of a guerilla band, and his antecedents made him the last hope of the Marian party.¹

After the insurrection of the slaves against their masters, of the plebeians against the nobles, and of the Italians against Rome, we have seen that all the nations in the eastern part of the Empire aided Mithridates with their good wishes or with their military strength, in his attempt to overthrow a hated authority. Fortunately for Rome, it happened, that, although there was a common consent in hatred, it was impossible to have unanimity in counsel or in action. She would have fallen beneath the weight of a world united against her; but she triumphed over adversaries who came successively to strike ill-concerted blows at her colossal power.

After the defection of Scipio's army, Sertorius had gone into Spain (82) with the title of praetor conferred upon him by the Marian party, in virtue of which he had legal authority in those provinces. He studied the country, its resources, the spirit of that valiant race whose maidens chose their husbands among the bravest, the preferred suitor being the one who could offer to his bride the right hand of an enemy he had himself slain; and the Roman general won them by his gentle conduct, which was in strong contrast with the rapacity and insolence usual in governors of provinces. He had already served in the peninsula as military tribune, and had gained the respect of the Spaniards by the adroitness of a stratagem which he employed in defeating them.

A Roman garrison at Castula (Cazlona) had by their insolence exasperated the inhabitants, who called the men of a neighboring city to their aid, opening to them by night one of the city gates. A considerable number of Romans perished; but Sertorius had been able to make his escape. Followed by all the Roman soldiers whom he could rally, he at once made the circuit of the city, re-entered by the gate which the Spaniards had not closed; and the latter, surprised in their turn, were put to the sword. In the

¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* xv. 17; Suetonius, *Caes.* 5.

morning, with his soldiers, whom he had caused to put on the dress and arm themselves with the weapons of the barbarians whom they had slain, he marched to the other city. Its inhabitants



COIN OF ANNIUS AND TARQUITIUS, HIS QUÆSTOR.¹

came out to meet the approaching force, believing them to be their friends. Sertorius attacked them, and the whole population were either slain, or sold into slavery. The fame of this affair spread throughout Spain, and from that time the name of Sertorius was held in high honor. When it was

known that he had come into the province invested with the supreme command, and when the Spaniards saw him diminish the subsidies, and excuse the cities from lodging his troops, by living with them in tents, volunteers came to him in crowds. Ready to deceive themselves at any time, they now believed that this Roman, proscribed at Rome, would henceforth fight for them.

Sylla, meantime, had not forgotten him, and a considerable army arrived in Gaul under the command of Annius. Livius Salinator, one of the lieutenants of Sertorius, sent to guard the passes of the Pyrenees, had at first repulsed all attacks, but was soon after assassinated by a traitor; upon which his troops dispersed, and Annius effected an entrance into the provinces (81). Sertorius was too weak to make a stand against him, and fell back as far as Carthagena.

Sylla was victorious on all sides. Every land obeyed him, and expelled those whom he had proscribed: the sea alone was free. Sertorius, with three thousand men, embarked upon the Mediterranean, and for many months roved the Spanish and African coasts. Once he made a descent on the Pityusæ,² and another time pillaged the country at the mouths of the Baetis. Disgusted, however, with this precarious existence, which assimilated him to his allies the pirates, he at one time is said to have entertained the idea of renouncing a struggle so unpromising, and seeking, afar from the enslaved world, a tranquil abode in the Fortunate Islands (the

¹ C. ANNIUS T. F. T. N. PROCOS. EX S. C. Bust of Juno Moneta. On the reverse C. TARQVITIA. Victory in a biga. Silver coin of the Annian and Tarquitian families.

² Now Iviza and Formentara, on the Spanish coast, seven hundred stadia from the promontory of Denia (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 5).

Canaries).¹ But his soldiers had little taste for the sweets of the golden age: they persuaded him to abandon a design which he had probably suggested in the hope of stimulating them to renewed efforts.

The Marusians, a Moorish people, were at that time in arms against their king, Ascalis, who had been aided by one of Sylla's lieutenants. Sertorius defeated this prince and his auxiliaries, and took by storm the city of Tingis on the African coast, commanding the entrance of the Mediterranean, and looking across to Spain, whither Sertorius hoped to return. The rumor of his successes had spread



PUNIC COIN
OF TINGIS.²



STRUGGLE OF HERCULES WITH ANTAEUS.³

through the province, and many marvellous incidents were added thereto. He had, it was said, discovered the body of Antaeus the giant, and, alone of living men, had seen those bones, sixty cubits in length. The Lusitanians, oppressed by Amnius, invited him to put himself at their head. He accepted, and, passing through the Roman fleet, he landed in the peninsula with an army of nineteen hundred Romans and seven hundred Africans: the Lusitanians furnished him with four thousand foot and seven hundred horse. It was with less than eight thousand men that he ventured to declare war upon the master of the Roman world. But his sol-

¹ Plut., *Sertor.* 8; Florus, iii. 22.

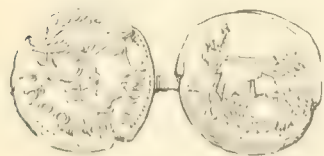
² Two ears of corn and four Punic letters representing the word *Tinga*. Bronze coin of Tingis (Tangier).

³ From a painted vase in the Campana Collection of the Louvre.

diers had the most absolute confidence in this leader, whom they regarded as a second Hannibal, — a man who could find supplies where none were visible, could keep his army well provisioned in the poorest regions, and retain the fidelity of his allies while making the heaviest demands upon them; who distracted the enemy by the rapidity of his movements, and re-appeared as formidable the day after a defeat as he had been on the eve of a victory.¹

Sertorius began by defeating the propraetor of Baetica, while one of his lieutenants conquered and killed the governor of the Citerior province (80). Metellus, charged by the dictator to arrest these dangerous successes, could not bring his adversary to a battle (79). Sertorius, who knew the mountain-passes as well as the most experienced native hunter, had adopted the local methods of fighting, and his soldiers were as prompt to retreat as they had been to attack. With his large and heavy army, Metellus could not reach these agile mountaineers, who made their campaign without tents or wagons, who ate as they could, and slept under the stars, who were found everywhere, and could be captured nowhere. Vainly did Metellus lead his heavy infantry from one end to the other of his province, for the Spaniards never dared attack him in his intrenchments, which were always constructed with ditches and palisades, after the old Roman fashion: in reality he held nothing outside of his fortified camp, and had much difficulty in victualling his troops. The unexpected attacks of the enemy, his rapid movements, his bravado, disconcerted the methodical general. Sertorius gave his troops the example of

audacity. Splendidly armed, he was always in the front, and made the boldest ventures personally. One day, he challenged Metellus to single combat. Thus it was that in him the Spaniards saw again alive the great adversary of Rome whom Carthage



COIN OF L. MANLIUS.²

had sent to their fathers.

Notwithstanding the confidence he had at first displayed, Metellus

¹ See vol. ii. facing p. 50, the map of Spain.

² L. MANLI. PROQ. Head of Pallas. On the reverse L. SVLLA. IM.; Sylla in a quadriga. Gold coin of Lucullan weight, of the Manlian and Cornelian families.

was compelled to call to his aid the proconsul of Narbonensis, and sent forward his quaestor with a division to meet the three legions and fifteen hundred horse who were sent to join him. But Sertorius prevented the junction; the quaestor and his division were captured, and, when Manilius emerged from the Pyrenees, he was so completely defeated that he was almost the only man to escape, and find shelter at Ilerda (Lerida). The road into Gaul was now open to Sertorius; but an attack made



COIN OF ILERDA
(LERIDA).¹



VIEW OF LERIDA.²

by Metellus on Lacobriga in Lusitania, near the mouth of the Douro, recalled him. The proconsul believed himself this time sure of success; but the place was nevertheless relieved, and his legions were compelled to abandon the province.

¹ ILERT., in Celtiberian, over a wolf. Reverse of a bronze coin of Ilerda. The wolf is an extremely rare symbol in ancient numismatics. (Note by M. Cohen.)

² Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, pl. 69.

Notwithstanding the presence of this great army, Sertorius was really master of all Spain. He settled disputes between nations and individuals; levied troops, which he quartered in barracks, not to be burdensome to the inhabitants; he fortified the cities and the passes of the mountains; he drilled the native levies in Roman tactics, and above all devoted himself to gaining their confidence. He had been able to persuade them that he was in direct communication with the gods; a white hind that always followed him being the divine messenger. If he secretly received important news, it was the hind who had whispered it in his ear, and, when he repeated aloud what the event soon confirmed, the artifice was successful with the childish credulity of the Spanish people. Moreover, he commanded their respect by his care in preventing any license on the



THE HIND OF SERTORIUS.¹

part of his troops. One day, he caused an entire cohort to be put to death as a penalty for their excesses. Hence the devotion of the people was absolute, and, like the Aquitanian chiefs, he was surrounded by a faithful band ready to die for him.

It was not, however, an army easy to keep in

order; but he employed every means to this end. Once his Spaniards, eager to fight, engaged the enemy without his orders, and were repulsed. A few days later he called the army together, and caused two horses to be brought into the field.—one led by a feeble old man, the other by a very robust soldier,—and directed each man to pull out his horse's tail. The soldier seized the tail of his horse with both hands, and exhausted himself in vain efforts; the other pulled out the hairs one by one, and presently had accomplished his task. "You see, fellow-soldiers," said Sertorius, "that perseverance is worth more than energy, and that many things which cannot be overcome when they are together,

¹ From an engraved stone in the Maffei Collection (De Brosses, *Hist. de la répub. rom.* vol. i. pl. iii. No. x.).

yield themselves up when taken little by little." This eloquence in action, of which Hannibal had already made use,¹ impressed the minds of the barbarians much more than any long oration, and the Spaniards felt that their leader was as wise as he was brave.

The defeat of Lepidus in Etruria gave Sertorius an important re-enforcement (77). Perperna went over into Spain with the considerable remnant of that army: it was his wish to act independently; but his soldiers obliged him to place himself under the orders of the most famous of the Marian chiefs. With him came several senators and Romans of distinction. Sertorius formed of them a Senate of three hundred members, and, to show plainly that he remained a Roman still in the midst of barbarians, he admitted no Spaniard to this body, even refusing them also the higher grades in the army.² This was an error on his part, for the Spaniards had hitherto believed that the exiled Roman would fight for them; and they now began to

see, that whether it were the party of Marius or of Sylla, the popular or the aristocratic faction, all alike had but one desire, — to maintain for their own advantage the rule of Rome over the prov-



COIN OF OSCA.³

inces. Sertorius had gathered at Osca (Huesca) the sons of the most important Spanish families, to have them instructed in the learning of Greece and Rome; and he took pleasure in observing their work, and distributing to the most studious the golden amulets that were given as rewards to noble youth in the Roman schools. The Spaniards had regarded these proofs of interest as an honor, and a pledge that their children should one day fill offices in the Republic. It now occurred to them that perhaps their sons were detained at Osca as 'hostages for the parents' fidelity; and their zeal would have cooled, had not Metellus opened his career by threats and by the imposition of new taxes. Corneille represents Sertorius as saying, —

"Rome n'est plus dans Rome; elle est toute où je suis."

¹ See vol. i. p. 666.

² The same has been French policy in Algiers towards the natives serving under the French flag.

³ OSCA. Man's head. On the reverse DOM. COS. ITER. IMP. Instruments of sacrifice. Silver coin of Osca, stamped with the name of Domitius Calcinus, Caesar's lieutenant in Spain.

The idea is noble, and it may have been the thought of the exiled man; but it was unwise to show it too plainly.

Immediately upon his recent successes, Sertorius had incited the Aquitanians to revolt, and they had defeated a proconsul, and killed a praetor. It was easy for him also to persuade Narbonensis, which had lately furnished recruits to Lepidus,¹ and whose tribes were not yet all of them trained to obedience. One of his lieutenants even went so far as to guard the passes of the Alps, and he himself received from Rome urgent solicitations to make



SWIFT VESSEL (CELES).²

a descent into Italy: for more than one man, even among the nobles, would have been glad to see the downfall of an order of things, which, while serving the oligarchy, placed too serious hindrances in the way of the personal avidity of the oligarchs.

The Senate kept a fleet in the Spanish waters; but it was constantly occupied with the pirates, of whom we shall soon have to speak, and who, in this apparent dissolution of the Roman Colossus, had taken the sea for their share. As natural allies of the enemies of Rome, they rendered Sertorius all the services desired of them. He had opened to them at the most easterly

¹ Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* iii. 20, and *Proqu.* of Sallust. There were frequent agitations in this province: about the year 90 an insurrection of the *Salluvii* (Livy, *Epit.* lxxiii.); in 83 there was a defeat of the Gauls by Val. Flaccus. The date of the defeat and death of the praetor Val. Præconatus is uncertain. M. Desjardins (*op. cit.*) places it, with good reason, at about this time.

² From the Column of Trajan. These open vessels were employed by the pirates as swift sailers. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 57; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* x. 25; Scheffer, *Mil. nav.* p. 68.)

point of Spain the triple promontory of Diana.—a fortress which served as a trading-post for prisoners and prizes, a watch-tower¹ whence to keep a lookout over the sea and run out suddenly upon transports, and a shelter where their light craft lay concealed from the heavy war-ships. The situation, therefore, was becoming grave. A civil war threatened the gates of Rome, and the work of Sylla seemed about to fall into ruin. Notwithstanding their reluctance to call upon Pompey for further services, the Senate sent him to the help of Metellus, with proconsular authority and the office of governor of Hither Spain, thus violating the constitution of Sylla in the very attempt to save it.

Pompey had not disbanded his army, and he now in forty days had completed his preparations, and took the road to the Alps with thirty thousand foot and a thousand horse (76). To avoid the passes guarded by the bands of Sertorius, and to signalize the opening of his expedition by a bold march, he made for himself a new road, which was probably across the Cottian Alps. The Spanish cohorts, thus baffled, fell back upon the Pyrenees, abandoning the Narbonensis, which expiated its revolt with fire and sword. Sylla's former lieutenant seemed animated by the inexorable spirit of the dictator. "His road was marked by massacres all the way to Narbo," says Cicero. Then followed confiscations; whole populations were driven out; the Helvii and the Arecomici lost part of their territory, which went to recompense the fidelity of Massilia; the Ruteni (Rouergue) were united to the Province; and finally, when Pompey passed over into Spain, he left as governor in Gaul the hardest and most rapacious of men,—the proconsul Fonteius.³



COIN OF VALENTIA.²

Sertorius did not defend the mountain-passes, being at that

¹ This was an old establishment of the Massiliots, who had constructed these towers, of which the tallest was well named τὸ Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον, a word signifying the post of the day-sentinel (Strabo, iii. 159).

² VALENTIA. Cornucopia and thunderbolt crosswise. Reverse of a bronze coin of Valencia.

³ A fragment of Sallust, No. 569, mentions, in connection with Pompey's stay in Narbonensis, the meeting of the provincial assembly. Everywhere we find this institution, whose importance we have already noted (vol. ii. p. 250).

time occupied with the siege of Lauron (Liria?),¹ not far from Valencia; and Pompey, boasting that he could easily drive him from his position, marched at once upon the city. "I will teach this schoolboy," Sertorius said, "that a general should look behind



THE NYMPHAEUM OF LIRIA.²

him as well as before." He first took from Pompey a legion, and starved him in his camp; then defeated all his detachments.

¹ Near Liria has been found a Nymphaeum, and an inscription purporting that a Sertorius and his wife Sertoriana Festa contributed to the construction of this Nymphaeum, *in honorem Eucharistiarum et patronorum suorum* (C. I. L., vol. ii. No. 3786). This Sertorius Euphoristus Sertorianus was the freedman of some Spaniard, one of whose ancestors had taken the name of the great general who had given him Roman citizenship. In No. 3744 reference is made to the freedman of another Sertorius. The concession of the *jus civitatis* was a prerogative of the sovereign, that is to say, of the Roman people; but their generals had taken the right of according this recompense in the provinces, as generals of modern nations in remote expeditions can by delegated authority confer certain promotions and decorations. This Marius and Pompey had done, and their acts were ratified by a law (Cic., *Pro Balbo*, 8). After the pacification of Spain, certain concessions made by Sertorius must have been confirmed, or usage caused them to be accepted.

² Delahorde, *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 118; Cic., *Pro Fontino*, 2.

captured Lauron under his eyes, and forced him to retire as far as the Montserrat to establish his quarters in the country of the Ialetani and Indigetes, in the north-eastern angle of the peninsula. Such were the disasters of the campaign Pompey had so vain-gloriously begun (76).

Sertorius passed the winter in reconstructing his army, "exercising his soldiers incessantly, according to the ancient method,"¹ and fortifying his position upon the Ebro, to prevent the junction of the Senate's two armies,—that of the north under Pompey, and of the south under Metellus. After having subjugated a few Celtiberian towns, one of which, Contrebia,² detained him forty-four days, he summoned to his camp the deputies of the cities which supported his cause, explained to them his plans, and obtained from them the means of renewing his munitions of war and of clothing his soldiers. At the return of spring he sent Perperna into the country of the Ilercaones, near the mouths of the Ebro, to deprive Pompey of any provisions by sea. He himself went up the valley to make it impossible for his adversary to obtain food from the upper country; and he



COIN OF ILERCA-
VONIA.³



COIN OF ITALICA.⁵

stationed two other lieutenants, Herennius and Hirtuleius, on the seacoast, for the purpose of keeping Metellus in check; the latter being encamped in Baetica. Unfortunately, Hirtuleius was defeated by Metellus near Italica,⁴ and Perperna by Pompey, which rendered a junction of the two generals possible. They marched towards each other along the eastern coast, in order to keep within reach of the fleet. To interpose his army, Sertorius threw himself into the difficult country

¹ Sall., *Fragm.* 250.

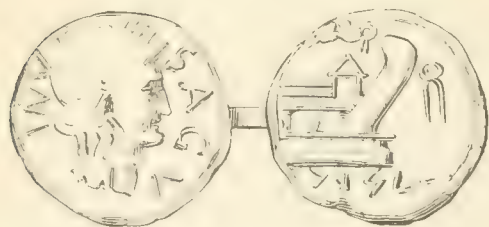
² The story of a part of this siege is found in a fragment of book xci. of Livy, recovered in the last century in a palimpsest of the Vatican.

³ M. H. I. ILERCAVONIA DERT(osa). Sailing-vessel. Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Ilercavonia.

⁴ The men of that time, even the best of them, held the lives of others in very slight esteem. Sertorius killed the messenger on the spot who brought him news of the defeat at Italica, that the bad news might not be spread through the camp. (Frontin., *Strateg. m.*, ii. 7, 5.)

⁵ ITALIC(a) PERM(isso) AVG(usti). Legionary eagle between two military ensigns. Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Italica.

whence the Xucar (Sucro) and the Guadalaviar (Turia)¹ descend into the fertile plains of Valencia and Elcha.² Pompey, who was attacked first, was defeated on the banks of the Sucro. Sertorius was expecting on the following day to destroy him, when Metellus appeared. "If this old woman



COIN OF SAGUNTUM (P. 763).³

had not come up," Sertorius said. "I would have whipped the boy soundly, and sent him back to Rome;" and, appointing a place for his troops to meet him again, he dispersed them. The battle of the Turia, therefore, was both a victory and a defeat, and Sertorius would have needed a great success before he could escape from the peril into which he was thrown by the junction of these powerful armies: in reality he was defeated, since he had failed in the attempt to separate his two adversaries.

The generals met near Saguntum. At the approach of his superior both in age and dignity, Pompey ordered his fasces to be lowered; but the older general, knowing his young colleague's vanity, would not suffer this. The only prerogative that he reserved was to give the watchword when the two armies camped together. They were about to separate, owing to the difficulty of obtaining provisions, when suddenly Sertorius attacked them. His white hind had disappeared since the last battle; but some soldiers, finding her, brought her back to him. He bought their silence, and, making known to the army that the return of this divine messenger was a presage of good fortune, he advanced, covering his march in the intention of capturing some foraging detachments sent out by the enemy. He fell, however, upon one of Pompey's divisions near enough to the main camp for Pompey to be able to despatch his entire army to their aid; which resulted, however, in the loss of six thousand men. But, always unlucky in his lieutenants,

¹ The Turia or Guadalaviar, which falls into the sea near Valencia, traverses, a few leagues above that city, a chasm whose precipitous walls are six hundred feet high and thirty broad.

² The "grove of palm-trees at Elcha" (next page) is from Laborde's *Voyage en Espagne*, vol. i. pl. 141.

³ SAGV. INV(icta). Head of Pallas. On the reverse a Victory crowning the prow of a vessel, pincers, and a Celtiberian inscription. Bronze coin of Saguntum.



GROVE OF PALM-TREES AT ELOHA.



Sertorius learned, that at the same moment, Perperna, being attacked by Metellus, had left five thousand dead upon the field. An attack attempted on the following day upon the lines of Metellus, near Saguntum, proved unsuccessful. Sertorius again sent away most of his troops for a time, thus avoiding the necessity of paying



THE WATERFALL OF CHULILLA, ON THE TURIA.¹

and supporting them in the interval; and with the remainder he returned into the mountains, whence he directed his efforts against the right flank of the combined army, while his allies the pirates were to cut off the supplies expected by sea. Winter approaching, Metellus now took up his quarters in Baetica.

¹ Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, vol. i. pl. 113.

Pompey, with more confidence, marched against Sertorius; but his legions, exhausted by cold, hunger, and incessant fighting, only reached, in much disorder, the country of the Vaccaei (75).

The Roman world was at that time unusually disturbed. War raged everywhere, by land and sea, in Asia, in Thrace,¹ in Spain, all along the coasts, where the landing of pirates to murder and

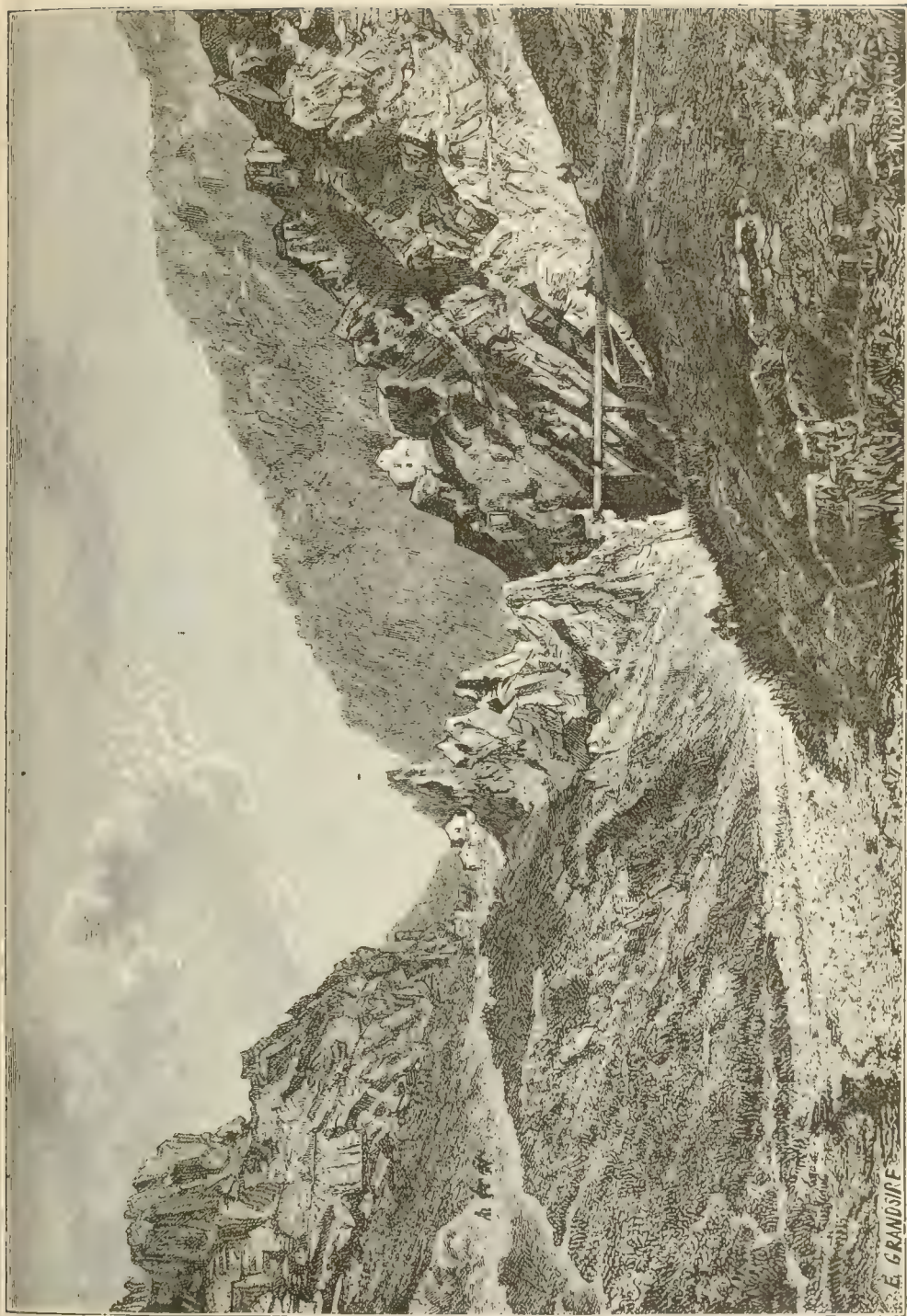


RUINS OF THE AQUEDUCT OF CHELVES, NEAR SAGUNTUM.²

pillage was constantly an object of apprehension. Even nature seemed full of threats. A pestilence, beginning in Egypt, attacked the domestic animals; and this destruction of oxen and horses brought ruin to agriculture, so that for three years famine deci-

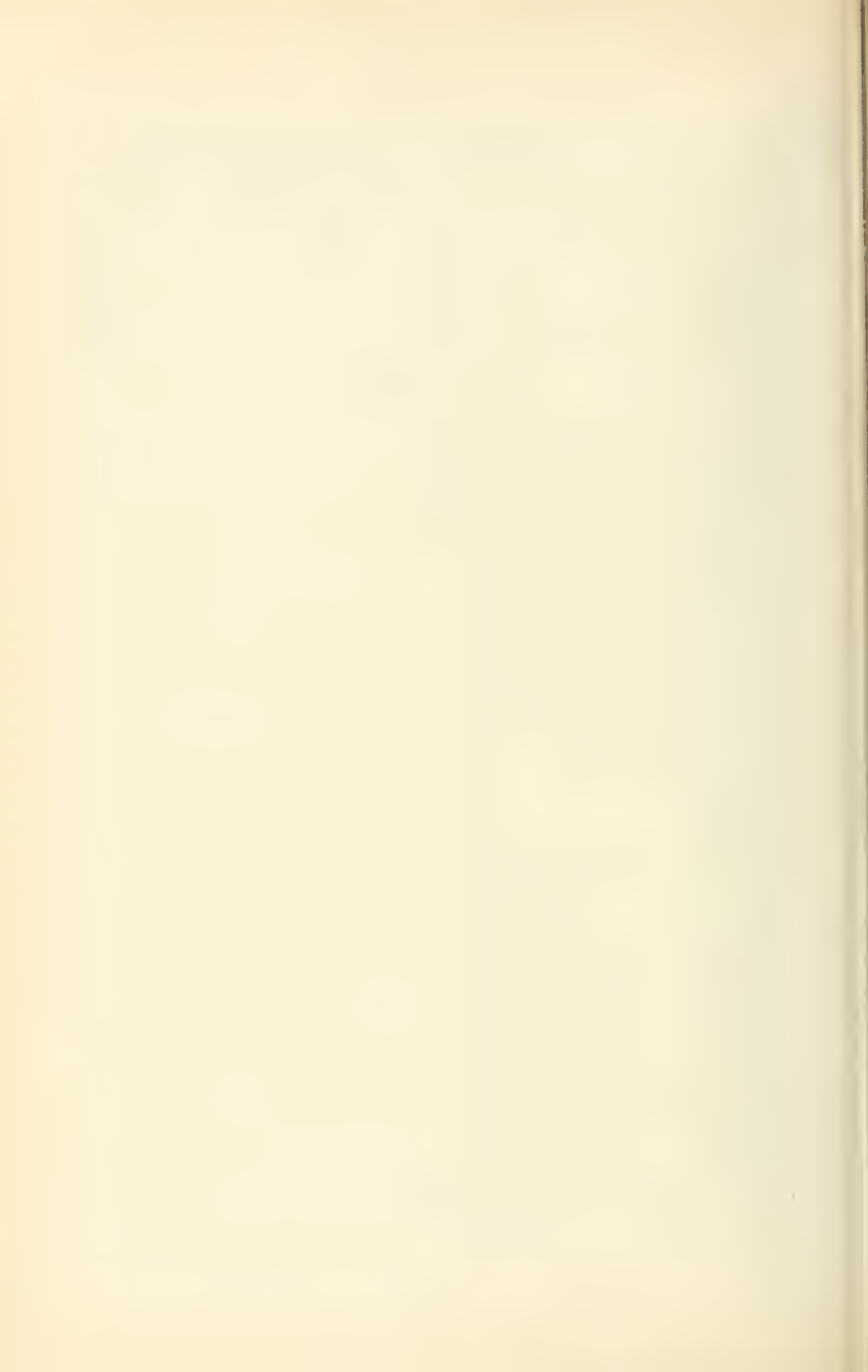
¹ During the whole duration of the war with Sertorius, the Senate was obliged to maintain in the eastern peninsula as many as five legions against the Dalmatians, the Thracians, and the mountaineers of the Haemus (Balkans). This murderous strife, without profit and without glory, was temporarily ended by a brother of Lucullus, who advanced as far as the Danube and the Euxine (72-71). Macedon gained in this way a little tranquillity, and the Via Egnatia, which Cicero calls "our military road," somewhat more security for convoys passing from Europe into Asia.

² Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, vol. i. pl. 124.



PASS OF DESFILADES.

E. GRANDSIRE



mated the population. The Senate exhausted the resources of the treasury in contending with this destitution, and found it impossible to feed their armies, while in the city the famished populace broke out in riots, in one of which Cotta the consul, an estimable man, narrowly escaped being killed. He had ventured to say to the people, "Why, then, should you be at ease in Rome when the armies suffer for food?" The army of Pompey had received no pay for two years, and was in danger of being starved. Their general wrote a haughty and threatening letter to the Senate, in which he said, "I have exhausted all that I have, both money and credit, and in these three campaigns you have scarcely given us a year's subsistence. Can I, then, supply the public treasury, or can I maintain an army without food or money? . . . Our services are well known to you; and in your gratitude you give us poverty and hunger. I therefore warn you, and I beg you to reflect. Do not compel me to take counsel only of necessity. . . . I warn you that my army, and with it the whole Spanish war, will be transferred into Italy." Notwithstanding the tone of this letter, the consul Lucullus, who feared that Pompey might return to dispute with him the command in the Mithridatic war, made haste to send to him corn, money, and two legions.

Mithridates followed all these movements with an attentive eye. Ever since Sylla's death he had been determined to take up arms again. The successes of Sertorius promised him a useful diversion; and he sent to offer this general forty ships and three thousand talents, asking, in return, the cession of Asia. Sertorius would only agree to abandon Cappadocia and Bithynia. "Our victories," he said to his counsellors, "should aggrandize, and not diminish, the dominion of Rome." — "What will not Sertorius command," Mithridates rejoined, "when he is at Rome, if now, a proscribed man, he makes conditions like these?" He accepted them, however; and Sertorius sent to him one of his officers, Varius, with some troops. The pirates were to serve as a bond connecting the two allies. Fortunately for the Republic, the matter went no further than an interchange of negotiations. The pirates were not susceptible of discipline; and, with three thousand miles between them, Sertorius and Mithridates could not form any scheme of concerted action.

This alliance with an enemy of Rome served as a pretext for Metellus to put a price upon the head of Sertorius. He promised as a reward for the murder a hundred talents and two thousand *jagera*, but could not shake the fidelity of any soldier of the guard of Sertorius. After the battle of Saguntum, proud of having conquered where his young rival had experienced a reverse, Metellus had assumed the title of *imperator*, and had required wreaths of gold from the cities, and, from all the poets of the province, songs, in honor of his prowess.

In the south and east of the Spanish peninsula almost all the nations recognized the authority of the generals of the Republic; but nothing was settled until the latter should have overthrown the great soldier, who, with Hannibal and Caesar, sums up all the military science of that century. The two proconsuls decided to penetrate into the valley of the Upper Ebro, a difficult country, having a population rugged as their own mountains, and attached to the man, whom, in spite of all things, they believed to be the defender of Spanish independence. Metellus and Pompey advanced, driving Sertorius before them, and on one occasion believed that they had surrounded him on the banks of the Bibilis, at that time swollen by rains. But Sertorius discovered a passage: he then made a great fence of trees in a semicircle in front of the ford, and set them on fire while his army crossed.¹ The Romans, after some delay caused by this novel obstacle, renewed the pursuit on the opposite bank, and so sharply, that Sertorius narrowly escaped being captured at the gate of Calagurris (Calahorra). The Spaniards took him on their shoulders, and passed him from one to another up to the walls,² whilst in the rear his guard held back the enemy by the sacrifice of their own lives.



COIN OF
CALAGURRIS
(CALAHORRA).³

A few days later, Sertorius escaped from the city, notwithstanding the vigilance of the besiegers, rejoined his troops, and resumed his incessant attacks upon the rear and flanks of the Roman legions, present everywhere, and never within reach. The proconsuls, no longer able to feed

¹ Frontinus, i. 5, l.

² Plut. (*Sert.* 11) cites the fact, without naming the city where the occurrence took place.

³ C. VAL. C. SEX. AEDILES. Ox's head, front view. Small bronze of Calagurris.

their armies, were compelled to retire, — Metellus into Further Spain, Pompey into Gaul, where he established his winter-quarters (74).

Here serious perils were to be apprehended. The Gauls of the province, seeing that the Spanish war still continued, had taken up arms again, and attacked Massilia and Narbo, which Fonteius had with difficulty been able to protect. Pompey was obliged to occupy the winter in extinguishing a revolt which cut his communications with Italy, and prevented him from obtaining supplies from Narbonensis.

The military events of the years 73 and 72 are unknown. If we are to believe the stories spread abroad by his enemies, Sertorius lost in luxury and profligacy that activity which hitherto had been his chief strength. Hatred and envy kept watch about him. The senators whom he had called together saw themselves with vexation compelled to obey an adventurer. They tried to make him odious by overwhelming in his name the Spaniards with exactions. All this is extremely improbable. This vicious luxury suddenly appearing in the life of the hardy soldier is not credible, and he was not the man to allow extravagance by which his projects were likely to suffer. But some of the exiles who had gathered around him, feeling that they had sacrificed enough, sought the opportunity to make their peace with Rome, even at the expense of the valiant leader who had saved them. And, furthermore, the war had become wearisome, even to the Spaniards. The charge of feeding and clothing the army of their liberators appeared very heavy; signs of discontent became visible, which Sertorius repressed with severity; and embittered by this unexpected resistance, rendered suspicious, also, because he believed himself surrounded by invisible enemies, he was tempted to commit acts which alienated the public mind even more. Many of the Spanish children left at Osea were sold, or were murdered. A proscribed chief who defends himself by punishments is already half conquered. A conspiracy being formed, of which Perperna was the head, Sertorius was assassinated at a banquet.

Perperna, who took his place, had neither his talents, nor the confidence of the soldiers. He experienced only reverses, and ended by falling into the hands of Pompey. To save his life, he made a proposal to deliver up the letters which had been written to

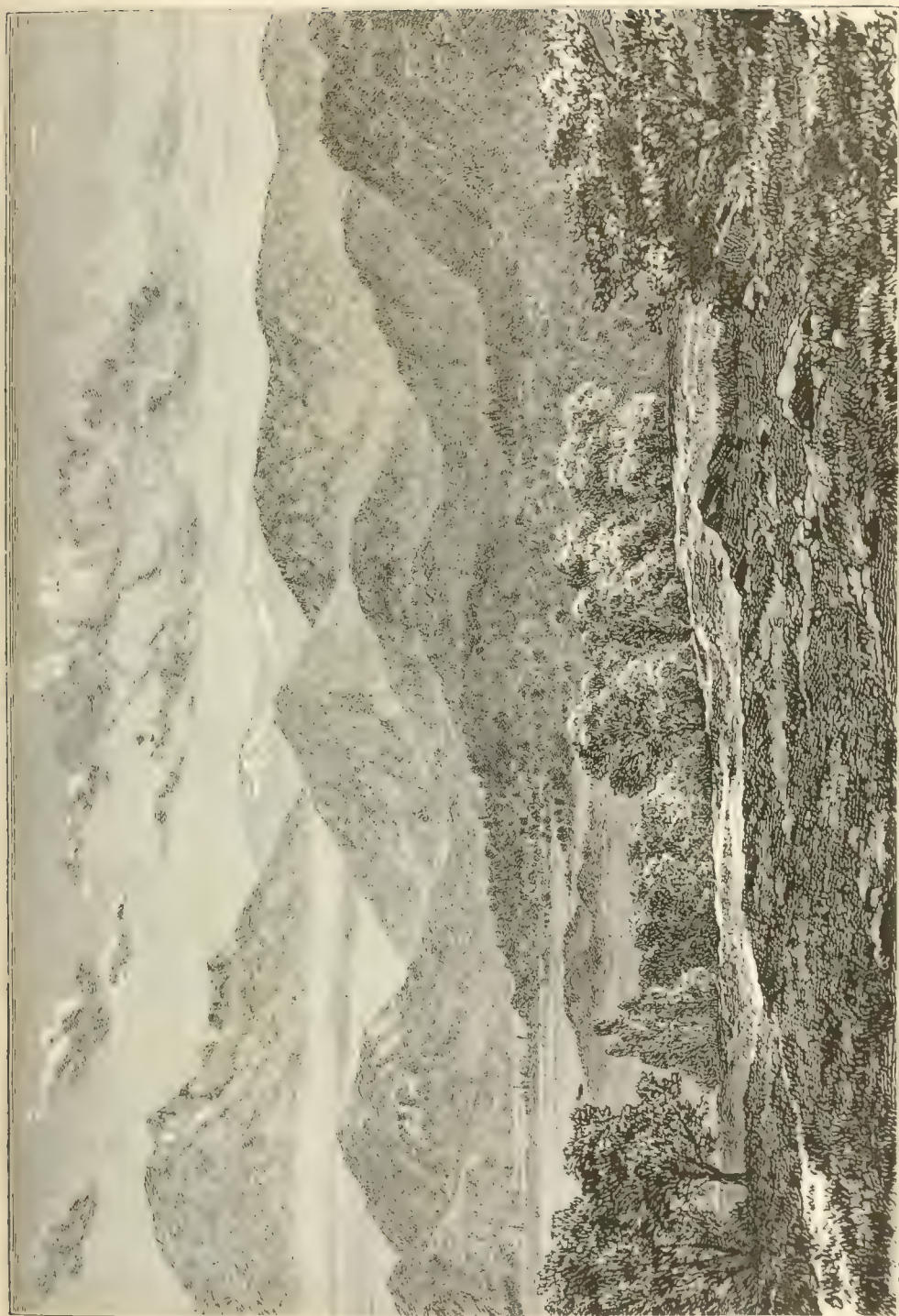
Sertorius by Roman nobles, asking him to come into Italy. Pompey had already the intention of breaking with the Senate, and had no desire to abandon to their vengeance the very men whom he intended to make his friends: he therefore burned the letters without reading them, and caused the traitor to be put to death. The other conspirators met the same fate, one alone excepted, who, hidden in a barbarous village, lived in wretchedness, hated and despised by those who sheltered him. Plutarch takes delight in these stories of divine vengeance, and he is right. Crime brings its own punishment with it more frequently than we are wont to believe.

However, much blood was yet to be shed before peace could be restored to Spain. The native chiefs, who, though associated with Sertorius, had fought only for their own profit, seized upon the strongholds, and defended themselves for a year with the resolution that Spaniards have always shown when besieged. At Calagurris they went so far as to kill their own women and children, and feed upon the salted flesh.¹

After the death of Sertorius, Metellus returned to Italy, and the later operations of the war were conducted by Pompey, who appears to have finished it alone, and certainly obtained all the honor of it. In the re-organization of the two provinces he laid the foundation of the influence which he had later in that country, where there are still several triumphal arches, to which tradition attaches his name. He granted citizenship to many Spaniards who had served under him. In the country of the Vascones he built a city called by his own name, *Pompelo* (Pampeluna); and in the upper valley of the Garonne he founded for the remnant of the troops of Sertorius the city of *Lugdunum Convenarum* (St. Bertrand de Comminges);² he also erected on the crest of the Pyrenees an ostentatious monument, with an inscription to the effect that, between the Alps and the Pillars of Hercules, he had taken eight hundred and seventy-six cities.

¹ *Quamquam diutius armata juvenis sui viscera visceribus suis aleret, infelices cadaverum reliquias sabbare non dubitavit* (Val. Max., VII. vi. 3).

² The limits of Narbonensis are marked, therefore, by *Lugdunum Convenarum*, Toulouse, the country of the Ruteni Provinciales, and the Rhone from Geneva to the sea. Cicero says, in the *Pro Pontico*, that the Italians crowded into this rich country, whence Caesar later derived vast supplies.



ST. BERTRAND DE COMMINES.



A new war in Italy awaited the vainglorious general: Crassus summoned him against the gladiators, as Metellus had called him against Sertorius.

¹ Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2133 of the catalogue.



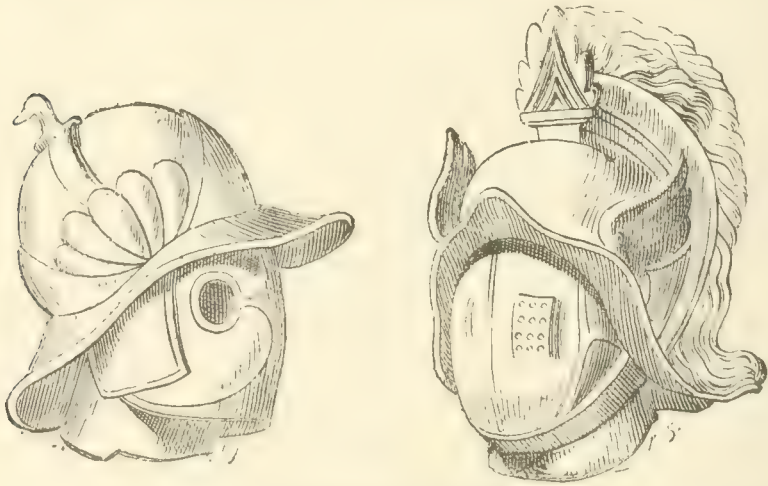
EAGLES SUPPORTING A WREATH.¹

CHAPTER XLIX.

SPARTACUS; RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POWER OF THE TRIBUNES; WAR WITH THE PIRATES.

I. — THE GLADIATORS (73–71).

A CERTAIN Lentulus, called *Batuatus*, or the fencing-master,¹ a freedman of some member of the Cornelian gens, kept gladiators at Capua, and let them out for hire to the Roman nobles, for their games and festivals. Two hundred of these,



GLADIATORS' HELMETS.²

mostly Gauls or Thracians, made a conspiracy to escape. Their plan being discovered, seventy-eight, warned in time, fled from their master's vengeance. Entering a cook's shop, they seized the spits and knives, and thus armed made their way to the mountains, as

¹ *Batuo* signifies "to fence," whence are derived the French words *battre*, *bataille*, *bâton*.

² From Mazois, paintings in the house of Scaurus at Pompeii.

any Calabrian will now do who has brought himself within the law. Upon the road they met some wagons loaded with gladiatorial weapons: these they captured, and thus armed occupied Mount Vesuvius. This volcano had been dormant since the memory of man, and vegetation covered its slopes. The band easily found a secure place in which to hide themselves, and immediately “elected three chiefs,—two Gauls (Crixus and Oenomaüs), and a Thracian, Spartacus, who with great strength and extraordinary courage united a prudence and gentleness more characteristic of a Greek than of a barbarian. It is related that when he was brought to Rome to be sold, as he lay asleep a serpent was seen coiled upon his face. His Thracian wife was possessed by a prophetic spirit, and practised the arts of magic. She declared that this sign foretold to Spartacus a great and formidable power, and that the end should be prosperous. She was with him at that time, and accompanied him in his flight (73).

“They defeated some soldiers sent against them from Capua, and joyfully took possession of their weapons. The praetor Clodius,



A SORCERESS.¹

¹ Marble statue, from the Capitoline Museum.

coming from Rome with three thousand men, besieged them in their fort. The only way of descent was by a narrow and difficult foot-path, which Clodius guarded. Elsewhere there were precipices clothed with wild vines. The band of Spartacus cut vine-branches

and made strong ladders, by which they descended the cliffs safely; one who remained above throwing their weapons down to them. The Romans, being suddenly attacked, fled, and left their camp in the power of the gladiators. After this success many herdsmen and active shepherds of the neighborhood joined them; some of these they armed, and others they employed as scouts and skirmishers."

A second general was sent against them,—the prætor Publius Varinius. They defeated one of his lieutenants, who attacked them with two thousand men; and a second officer had a narrow

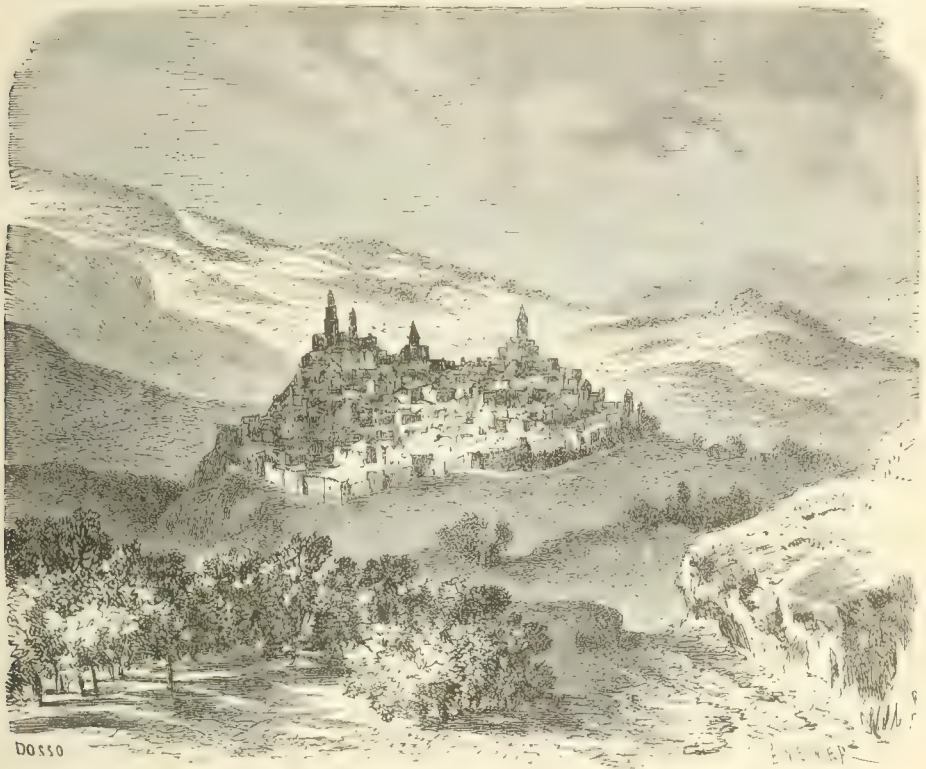


A SHEPHERD.¹

escape with all his corps. Varinius himself was several times repulsed, losing his lieutenants and his war-horse, which Spartacus appropriated. This bandit chief showed himself a skillful general and prudent tactician. He was never dazzled by success, and, while his followers made war like slaves let loose against their masters, he matured plans of attack, and, still better, plans for retreat. He under-

¹ Statue (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. VI. pl. 34)

stood perfectly well that bands like his could not permanently get the better of the Roman power, and it was his intention to lead them towards the Alps, so that, crossing these mountains, they should each make his escape to his native country,—Gaul or Thrace. But to obtain revenge and pleasure, to kill the men, to ravish the women, to hold their orgies in some captured villa whose owners should be their cup-bearers, to celebrate for a dead



VIEW OF NUCERIA.¹

comrade pompous funeral-rites, at which three hundred Romans should fight in their turn as gladiators,—this was all that these degraded creatures desired from liberty. When Spartacus spoke of marching northwards, his ribald band refused to follow him.

The Senate had at first been ashamed to despatch legionaries against enemies like these: but now they had begun to be formidable. Many farms had been laid in ashes, and even cities—Nola

¹ From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

Nuceria, Cora, Metapontum—had been sacked with the fury of men who at last could glut their long pent-up revenge. On one occasion, to save the remnant in a city where his gladiators were killing everybody, Spartacus was obliged to sound an alarm, as if the legions were approaching, and his band must escape with all haste to avoid capture. He made Thurii



COIN OF METAPONTUM.¹

his depot, and established workshops and stores of arms: from this place he issued an appeal calling all the slaves to liberty, and a hundred thousand men had soon gathered about him.

Necessity now silenced the scruples of the Senate: two consular armies were made ready against these bandits who had proved themselves such valiant soldiers (72). Gellius, one of the consuls, fell unexpectedly upon a body of Germans, who through pride had withdrawn from the army of Spartacus, and cut them to pieces. But he was less fortunate with the main army. Lentulus, his colleague, who had divided his force with the intention of surrounding the enemy, experienced, in turn, grave reverses; and another army of ten thousand men, arriving from Cisalpine Gaul, had the same fate. At the elections of 71 no candidate presented himself to solicit the dangerous honor of fighting the hero who had appeared in a slave's frock.

Crassus, that lieutenant of Sylla to whom was due the main credit of the victory at the Colline Gate, offered himself, and was commissioned for the Servile war, with the title of praetor. Attracted by his renown, many volunteers came forward, and eight legions were soon organized. He encamped in Picenum to await Spartacus, who was advancing in that direction, whilst his lieutenant Mummius and two legions, expressly prohibited from fighting, or even skirmishing, made a wide circuit to follow the enemy at a distance. But, on the first occasion that offered, Mummius gave battle to Spartacus, and was defeated with great loss, while those who survived threw down their arms and fled. Crassus was very severe to Mummius and his soldiers. Five hundred among those who had set the example of cowardice were separated from the rest, and every tenth man put to death.

¹ This coin represents the river Achelous personified as a horned man, holding the reed and the patera (De Launay, *Metap.* pl. 2).

"Spartacus now retreated through Lucania towards the sea, and in the straits, meeting with some Cilician pirate-ships, he had thoughts of attempting Sicily, where, by landing two thousand men, he hoped to rekindle the war of the slaves. But, after the pirates had struck a bargain with him and received his money, they deceived him, and sailed away. He thereupon retired again from the sea, and established his army in the peninsula of Rhegium: there Crassus came upon him, and set to work to

COIN OF RHEGIUM.¹

build a wall across the isthmus. thus keeping his soldiers at once from idleness, and his foes from forage. This great and difficult work he perfected in a space of time short beyond all expectation, making a ditch from one sea to the other, over the neck of land three hundred stadia long, fifteen feet broad, and as much in depth, and above it built a wonderfully high and strong wall;² all which Spartacus at first slighted and despised. But when provisions began to fail, and he found he was walled in, taking the opportunity of a snowy, stormy night, he filled up part of the ditch with earth and boughs of trees, and so passed his army over.

"Crassus was afraid lest he should march directly to Rome, but was soon relieved of that fear when he saw his enemies dividing. He defeated one corps of them, but could not pursue the slaughter, because Spartacus suddenly came up, and checked their flight. Now he began to repent that he had written to the Senate to call Lucullus out of Thrace, and Pompey out of Spain; so that he did all he could to finish the war at once, knowing that its honors would accrue to him that came to his assistance. Resolving, therefore, first to set upon those that had mutinied and encamped apart, he sent six thousand men to surprise them; but, being discovered by two women that were sacrificing for the enemy, they had been in great hazard, had not Crassus immediately

¹ Heads of Apollo and Diana coupled. On the reverse PHINON and a tripod. Bronze coin of Rhegium. (See vol. i. p. 557, another coin of this city.)

² Probably this was in the region of Castrovillari and Cassano, where the breadth of the isthmus is only about twelve or thirteen leagues. Three hundred stadia are fifty-five and a half kilometers, about thirty-eight miles.

appeared, and engaged in a battle which proved to be a most bloody one. Of twelve thousand three hundred whom he killed, two only were found wounded in the back, the rest all having died standing in their ranks, and fighting bravely. Spartacus, after this discomfiture, retired to the mountains of Petelia (Strongoli, in Calabria), followed by the lieutenant and the quaestor of Crassus. But when Spartacus rallied, and faced them, they were utterly routed, and fled. This success, however, ruined Spartacus, because



COIN OF PETELIA.¹

it encouraged the slaves, who now disdained any longer to avoid fighting, or to obey their officers, but upon the march northwards came to them with sword in hand, and compelled them to march back again through Lucania against the Romans,—the very thing which Crassus desired; for news was already brought that Pompey was at hand, and people began to talk openly that the honor of this war was reserved for him.

“Crassus, therefore, eager to fight a decisive battle, encamped very near the enemy, and began to make lines of circumvallation; but the slaves made a sally, and attacked the pioneers. As fresh supplies came in on either side, Spartacus, seeing there was no avoiding it, set all his army in array, and, when his horse was brought him, he drew out his sword and killed him, saying, if he got the day, he should have a great many better horses of the enemies’, and, if he lost it, he should have no need of this. And so, making directly towards Crassus himself, through the midst of arms and wounds, he missed him, but slew two centurions that fell upon him together, standing his ground, and bravely defending himself until he was cut to pieces” (71).²

Of this formidable army only the fragments now remained, who, returning too late to the first design of their brave leader, made their way northward, seeking the Alps. Pompey, on his return from Spain, encountered them, and slew five thousand more. “Crassus has conquered Spartacus in battle,” he wrote to the Senate; “but I have plucked up the whole war by the roots.”

¹ Head of Ceres. On the reverse ΠΕΤΗΛΙΩΝΣ: Jupiter, wielding his thunderbolt, and walking; a star and letter Η. Bronze coin of Petelia.

² Plut., *Crass.* and Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 14.

Spartacus had, as far as possible, reduced the horrors of this war. In Rhegium were found three thousand Roman prisoners whom he had spared. The Senate, however, had no pity for those who had caused Rome to tremble. Six thousand crosses were set up on the high road between Capua and Rome, and as many prisoners hung upon them. The conquerors, rejoicing, and wreathed with flowers, returned to Rome along this dolorous way, beneath the cries of pain and the maledictions of the dying wretches.

ROMAN WARRIORS.¹

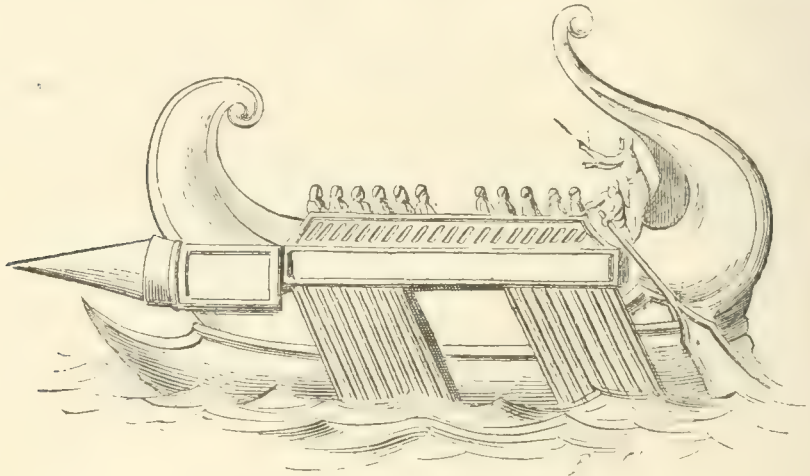
Pompey, who had been absent seven years, was impatiently awaited by the people, who loudly extolled the fame of the “invincible hero.” Crassus obtained only an ovation. He had fought against a hundred thousand enemies; but Rome was not willing to avow that a second time she had trembled before her slaves.

II. — RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POWER OF THE TRIBUNES (70).

AT Athens, in the Temple of Minerva, were certain movable columns which turned under the hand, at the slightest touch: upon these columns the laws were engraved. It was an image of the mobile character of those ancient republics, changing under the people's hand, at the will of circumstances or of one man, and, as in a fatal circle, forever turning, — going from Solon to Pisistratus, from Hippias to Clisthenes, from Aristides to Cleon. As soon as Rome had lost the love of her old laws, and the virtues which sustained those laws, her life, like that of Athens, became one perpetual revolution. Powers in the State not being separated from one another, a consul, a tribune, or the sovereign assembly destroyed on the morrow what they had established the day before.

¹ From Nicolini, *Op. cit.* vol. ii. pl. iii., a painting in the gladiators' barracks at Pompeii.

During his consulship, Lepidus had restored the distributions of corn at reduced price, which Sylla had suppressed. In 77 Lepidus failed in an attempt to destroy by violence the dictator's entire work: but the year following, the tribune Licinius, supported by Caesar, very nearly succeeded in this. If he obtained nothing, he at least spoke to the people, and notwithstanding the Cornelian law, which had left the tribuneship only a vain shadow, *inanis species*,¹ he forced the consuls to reply by his sarcasms. Shortly after,

GREEK PIRATE VESSEL (HEMIOLIA).²

he fell by an assassin's hand.³ He bore the same name with that tribune of the people created four centuries earlier upon the Sacred Mount, and it is possible he may have been his descendant. If he fell under the hand of the nobles, he atoned, perhaps, not only for himself, but for the founder of an office which now seemed to many more odious than ever. But the ally, which in the time of Coriolanus had been useful to the first tribunes, now served them again. A famine, caused by the scanty harvests, and, above all, by the

¹ Discourse of Licinius Macer in the *Fragments* of Sallust.

² Enlarged from a coin

³ Cic., *Deut.* 60. Macer says, *circumventus est*, and, further on, *ad certum usque insontis tribuni dominatus est*, the consul Curio. This period was more agitated than the paucity of documents which remain concerning it would lead us to believe. In the *Pro Cluentio*, 31, Cicero speaks of a quaestor who sought to excite insurrection in the army, and of another senator condemned for having caused the revolt of a legion in Illyria. Macer (in Sall., *Hist. fragm.*) speaks of the despotism exercised by Catulus, of the tumults which took place during the consulships of Brutus and Mamercus, of the tyranny of Curio, whom he accuses of having killed Licinius, etc.

depredations of the pirates, who arrested the supplies on their way to Rome, exasperated the people. To appease them, one of the consuls of the year 75, C. Cotta, re-established the distribution of five bushels of corn monthly, *annona*,¹ and made a proposal to restore to the tribunes the right of haranguing the people and of holding other offices. The tribune Opimius, however, who brought forward a law contrary to those of Sylla, and attempted to oppose his veto to a decree of the Senate, by a decision of the praetor lost both his property and his office.²

The re-action, therefore, went on slowly, but it went on, aided by the very abuse which the Senate made of their victory, giving up the allies to pillage, and selling the verdicts of the tribunals. "These disorders will never cease," said the tribune Quinctius, "until we have re-established in their rights those vigilant magistrates whose incorruptible activity caused a wholesome fear." He even obtained the condemnation of C. Junius, the presiding officer of a tribunal, and he accused many judges.⁴ But Lucullus, at that time consul (74), stopped him, perhaps by buying his silence.

The year after, there came to the tribuneship a man of talent and audacity, Licinius Macer, one of whose speeches has been saved from the wreck of time. "What a difference," he exclaimed, "between the rights transmitted to you from your ancestors and the slavery imposed on you by Sylla! . . . Those who have been set up to defend you have turned the whole power you gave them against you. They have submitted themselves to the rule of a faction, who in time of war have assumed the control of the treasury, of the army, and of the provinces. In all these civil commotions, though other objects are pretended, the contention on

THE ANNONA.³

¹ It is not said that Cotta re-established them; but Macer speaks of these distributions as being very recent, and before this mentions Cotta as chief of a third party, who sought by frivolous concessions to deceive the people (Sall., *Hist. fragm.*).

² Cic., *In Verr.*, II. i. 60: *bona, fortunas, ornamenta omnia amiserit*.

³ ANNONA AVGUSTI CERES. Bronze of Nero's time. The *annona*, indicated by her cornucopia, is standing before the seated figure of Ceres: the goddess holds out to her ears of corn.

⁴ Cic., *Pro Cluentio*, 33, 34; Ps. Ascon., p. 103; Plut., *Lucull.* 5.

both sides is for sovereignty over you.¹ . . . One thing only has continued to be the aim of both parties,—to take from you the tribunitian power, the weapon prepared by your ancestors for the defence of your liberty.

“Give not to slavery the title of tranquillity. . . . Reflect, too, that, unless you gain the mastery, they will press you harder than before, since all injustice seeks to increase its safety by severity.

“‘What think you that we should do, then?’ some one will say. First of all, I think that you should lay aside your present fashion of talking much and doing little, and of forgetting liberty the moment you leave the Forum. You yourselves, by executing the lordly commands of the consuls and decrees of the senators, give them your sanction and authority, and increase and strengthen the despotism exercised over you. . . . I do not recommend armed violence, or a secession, but only that you should forbear to shed your blood in their behalf. Let them hold and exercise their offices in their own way; let them obtain triumphs; let them pursue Mithridates, as well as Sertorius and the remnant of the exiles, with the images of their ancestors: but let danger and toil be far from you who have no share in the advantage of them; unless, indeed, your services have been repaid by the late law for the distribution of corn,—a law by which they have estimated the liberty of each individual at the price of five bushels of corn, an allowance not more liberal than that which is granted to prisoners.”

Macer did not counsel a refusal to pay taxes,² as has been done in modern times, for the reason that there was no longer any tax paid in Rome. He proposed the refusal of military duty,—

¹ Plinius (i. 15) brings forward this idea, whose truth was to be made apparent to the Romans of that day:—

In principatu commutando sapientius
Nil præter domini nomen mutant pauperes.

—“By the change of rulers the poor usually gain nothing but a change of masters.”

² Macer adds a sentence worth remembering for the comprehension of the corn-laws: “This corn which they give you is your own property (*vestrum verum*), and this paltry boon suffices not to relieve you from domestic anxieties (*neque absoluit cura familiari tam parva res*).” He was right on the first point, and all the customary declamations on this subject will never make it true, that, to the mind of the ancients, the tribute of natural products paid by subject nations was not the property of the Roman people themselves. (See vol. ii. p. 473.) On the second point also he was right: a family could not live upon its five *modii* monthly. This assistance given to the Roman poor no more relieved them from the necessity of labor than does the aid we furnish to our objects of charity enable them to live in idleness.

a new and serious suggestion, for Sertorius and Spartacus were not yet defeated; Mithridates was again assuming the offensive; Thrace required repeated expeditions; and the pirates covered the seas. If he had been listened to, the nobles would certainly have sacrificed their animosities for the safety of Rome; but, to follow their tribune, the people required a spirit of discipline and a resolution which they no longer possessed. Men continued, therefore, in the words of Macer, to speak instead of acting; but they spoke much. They cried out against those tribunals which Sylla had established, where the senator who had devoured a province was secure of impunity on condition of abandoning a portion of his plunder to his colleagues who had remained at home, and who were now his judges. Men extolled the beneficent severity of the early censorship, the good results of the tribunes' veto,—things all now dead, but which, if they could be restored to life, would give back tranquillity and dignity to the State.

Far off in Spain, Pompey heard these complaints. Such had been the skilful moderation of his conduct, that both parties feared him equally, and at the same time both looked to him with hope. He assumed the position of mediator, writing to Rome, that if, before his return, harmony should not have been restored between the Senate and the people, he himself would labor to adjust matters immediately upon his arrival.¹ Another general, who became an emperor, began his political career thus eighty years ago. The Roman Senate was neither more clear-sighted nor stronger than the French Directory. Living, like the latter, by expedients, and from day to day, the Senate accepted, for the sake of gaining a little time, this ominous interposition of a military chief, and made reply to the tribunes that it would be necessary to await the return of the great Pompey (72).

He arrived at the close of the following year (71): and the applause of the people won him completely. The whole city went out to meet him. He accepted, rather than solicited, the consulship and a triumph. Having been a general before he was a soldier, he now became consul without having been quaestor, aedile, or praetor.²

¹ Sall., *Hist. fragm.*

² He was so much a stranger at this time to civil affairs, that he asked his friend Varro to prepare for him memoranda on the home administration, a sort of consular manual, *εὐραγωγικόν*, as to what a consul should say or do in the Senate (Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.* xiv. 7).

Crassus, who, notwithstanding his public services and his profuse liberality towards the people,¹ was almost forgotten in this triumph of his rival, dared not show his discontent; and it was only after obtaining Pompey's approbation, that he solicited the second consulship.

There are two kinds of ambition,—that of superior men who feel themselves able to accomplish great things, and that of the incapable, who seek power for the mere enjoyment of it. To the Gracchi, Sylla, and Caesar, belongs the former kind of ambition: Marius and Pompey had only the latter. For six years Pompey had kept aloof from party strife; but, when war was at an end, the Forum resumed its power. It was there that reputations were now to be won, and authority to be gained. Either Pompey must fall quickly into obscurity, or he must at last speak and show his colors. Should he take sides with the Senate, or with the people? Neither his own antecedents nor the welfare of the State acted as the deciding influence. The Senate had leaders after its own heart,—men filled with the *esprit de corps*, having but little personal ambition; partisans of law and order,—such law and order, at least, as Sylla had created. Catulus, for example, was the oracle of this assembly, and Lucullus its hero. In the Senate, Pompey would have been simply absorbed. He remembered, that, after his successes against Lepidus, the attempt had been made to compel him to disband his army. Sylla, moreover, had left nothing more to be done for the nobility by which their gratitude could be secured: the people, on the contrary, awaited everything, and could bestow everything in return. Pompey went over to the people.

In an assembly convoked by a tribune at the gates of the city before the triumph of Pompey, the latter had declared that the popular magistracy must be set free from its restrictions, that the provinces must be relieved from pillage, and the tribunals purged from venality, that is to say, that at every point the authority of the Senate must be overthrown, and the work of the dictator undone.² Very early in his official career, a Pompeian law, sharply contested by the senatorial leaders, but supported by Crassus and

¹ Plutarch, in *Crassus*. He had invited the populace to an entertainment where ten thousand tables were set, and had distributed among them corn enough to last three months.

² Cic., in *Verr.*, I. 15. This tribune was M. Lollius Palicanus, and acted as Pompey's agent in the affair. See vol. i. pp. 122 and 524, and the coin commemorating this occurrence.

Caesar, restored to the tribuneship all its rights. Pompey's legions, encamped near the city, had rendered it impossible for the Senate to make an effectual resistance (70).

After the people came the turn of the knights. They obtained the re-establishment of their privileges of farming out the revenue of the province of Asia, and they claimed the judgeships as eagerly as the people had clamored for the old tribunate. But on this latter point Pompey left the chief part to others.

Cicero, though very brave in the Forum or the curia, wherever speech is a weapon, had less courage in the ordinary routine of life. After the two orations, one of which at least was a direct attack on the Cornelian legislation, he went off prudently to Athens and Rhodes to obtain from the Greeks the sole treasure they still possessed, — the art of Isocrates.¹ Rome had already seen great orators, but never before that harmonious fluency, that brilliancy, that inexhaustible raciness, that clearness of style, which permanently stamped the Latin language. At thirty years of age (76) he entered official life as quaestor in Sicily, filling the position with honor, and he was soliciting the aedileship at the time when the Sicilians intrusted to him their cause against Verres.³ Cicero saw, that in the midst of the re-action at this time going on, and in which he cordially sympathized, such a case might be raised to the height of a great political event.⁴ Although a member of the Senate since his quaestorship, he belonged to the equestrian order. Here lay his friendship, his interests, and hence came his political ideas. Cicero desired to have the judgeships given back to the knights, according to the law of Caius Gracchus, for the purpose of reconstructing that third rank which would maintain the balance of power in the State.⁵ Now Verres was a senator; the



COIN OF
RHODES.²

¹ This residence of two years in Greece (79-78) is explained by motives of health and the desire to complete his literary education. This may be the real explanation. In 79 Sylla had abdicated.

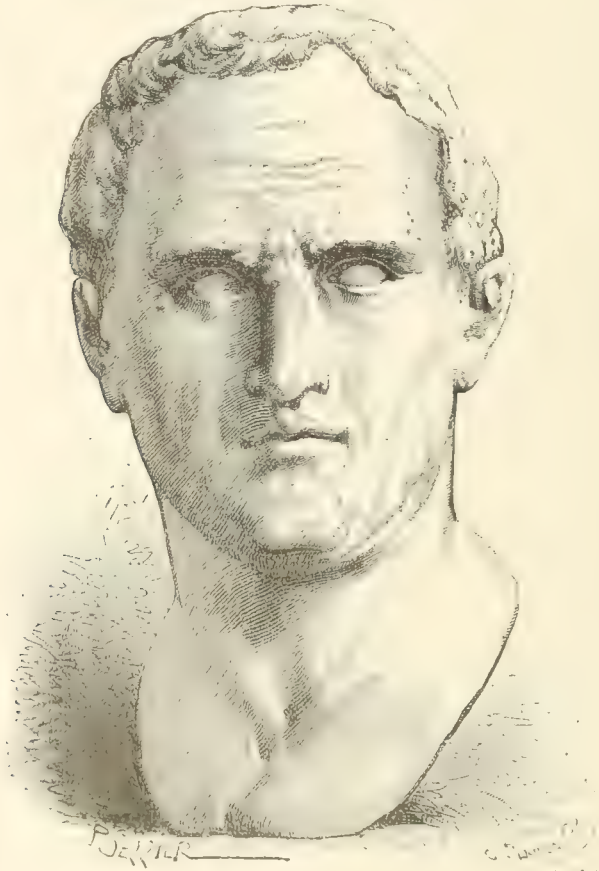
² Head of the sun with rays, right profile. Rhodian drachma. See p. 188, the Rhodian rose. [The Colossus of Rhodes had been an image of Helios, perhaps copied on the coins. — *Ed.*]

³ Verres had been for three years praetor in Sicily (73-71).

⁴ Cicero says expressly (*In Verr.*, II. v. 69) that the law concerning the judicium was proposed in consequence of the prosecution of Verres.

⁵ Cicero served at once his own interests and those of his party. Hortensius was the leader at the bar, and the Verrine orations deprived him of his superiority. Ultimately the

Metelli and the Scipios supported him; Hortensius, the consul-elect, was his counsel; and the accused said openly that he was sure of acquittal because he had divided his three-years' plunder into three parts, — one for his advocate, one for his judges, and the third only for himself. Cicero attacked him boldly, and in the opening sentences of his speech showed his policy (70).

CICERO.¹

"There has long existed an opinion fatal to the Republic; and even among foreign nations it has become a matter of common remark, that in your courts a rich man cannot be condemned." He then refers to the words of Catulus, reproaching the senators who by their venality as judges had re-established the tribunitian

two advocates often pleaded on the same side; but Hortensius always allowed Cicero to speak last. (Cf. *Pro Murena*; *Pro Rabirio*, etc.)

¹ From a bust of Parian marble in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3294.

power, and to Pompey's words: "The provinces have been pillaged, and justice sold to the highest bidder. These abuses must be arrested."¹

"This I undertake," he exclaims: "this duty of my aedileship, most glorious and most honorable, I promise to perform . . . everything shall not only be made public, but also, where evidence can be had, shall be matter of legal action, — everything of an infamous and disgraceful character that has been done in judicial business within the ten years of the jurisdiction of the Senate."² And he ventured to add, forgetting Rutilius and the many scandalous acquittals, "The Roman people shall learn through me why and how it is, that, when the equestrian order exercised jurisdiction for almost fifty years in succession, in no case of a Roman knight acting as judge did there ever occur the slightest suspicion of venality."

Verres, in alarm, fled after the first hearing, abandoning to the Sicilians forty-five million sesterces. But the avenging eloquence of Cicero pursued him even in his exile. The orator wrote what he had not been able to deliver: he unrolled the long picture of the crimes of Verres, and ended, as he had begun, with threats against the nobles. "So long as force constrained her, Rome endured royal despotism; but on the day when the tribuneship recovered its rights, your reign, mark you, was ended." Their power, indeed, could not survive these scandalous revelations. An uncle of Caesar, the praetor Aurelius Cotta, carried a law³ by which, according to the wise arrangement of Plautius Sylvanus, the judicia were divided between the senators, the knights, and the tribunes of the treasury.⁴

¹ He says of the Senate (*De Leg.* iii. 12), *Non modo et censores, sed etiam et iudices omnes potest defatigare*. In 71, however, the Senate had timidly asked for a law against the venality of the judges; which law neither L. Lucullus nor his brother Marcus, who succeeded him in the consulship, were willing to propose (*Cic., Pro Cluentio*, 49).

² Upon the corruption and venality of the tribunals, see Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 22, 35, 37; Walter, *Geschichte des röm. Rechts.* ch. xxviii. § 237, 238; Ascon. in *Cic., In Verr.*, II. v. 141-145; and *Cic., Ad Att.* i. 16. When venality did not succeed, they had recourse to entreaties. See a singular example of these supplications in *Cic., Pro Scauro* (Orelli), p. 28.

³ See *In Verr.*, II. iii. 96, the efforts of Aurelius, who spoke every day from the rostra against the senatorial courts.

⁴ The tribunes of the treasury, *curatores* of the tribes (see vol. i. p. 242), were originally the army paymasters (cf. Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* vii. 10; Varro, i. 4; Gaius, *Inst.* iv. 27; and Festus, s. v. *Aerarii*). It is not known in what way the *tribuni aerarii*, originally officials,

Cicero gained a brilliant victory. It did not, however, prevent the accuser of Verres from defending, a few years later, Fonteius, the spoiler of Narbonensis. In the eyes of the great advocate, his art took precedence even of justice itself. Concerning the latter, he was not always solicitous, for his language was "that of the cause, not of the speaker;"¹ and there are always to be found artists in pleading for an impossible defence.

This year (70) was one of expiation for the senators. The restoration of the tribuneship to its early rights took from them half what Sylla had given them, and the prosecution of Verres deprived them of the rest. Humiliated as a political body, they were personally attacked by the censorship, which also re-appeared at this decisive date. Sixty-four senators were expelled: the nobility itself, which Cicero still pursued with his sarcasms, was thus degraded.²

Notwithstanding all the blood shed by Sylla, his political work had not lasted eight years, and the constitution of the Gracchi was again emerging.

When the censors made out their list of the equestrian order, Pompey, who, although consul, was not yet senator in rank,³ appeared as knight merely,⁴ in order to do honor to the new power of his order. He came into the Forum, leading his horse by the bridle. "Have you made all the campaigns required by the law?" the censor asked; and Pompey replied, "I have made them all, and under myself as general." This haughty answer was an insult to his country's law and to the principles of equality:

became a class in the State: doubtless they were required, by reason of their financial responsibility, to possess a certain amount of property, and the name of *aerarian* tribunes came at last to be applied to all who had that amount, as that of "knight" was taken by all of the equestrian census. In the latter days of the Republic this was four hundred thousand sesterces, and that of the *ducenary* judges in the time of Augustus was two hundred thousand. It may be supposed that the tribunes of the treasury had an intermediate fortune, three hundred thousand sesterces; for they are placed in the judicial laws of Augustus between the knights and the *ducenarii*. In this case they would have been citizens of the second class; the knights forming the first, and the *ducenarii* the third.

¹ Cic., *Pro Cluentio*, 50.

² *In Verr.*, II. v. 71.

³ And could not be, since he had not before his consulship filled any senatorial office, which would have given him the *jus sententiæ dicendæ*.

⁴ Soon after, in 67, Roscius Otho, the tribune, fixed the census of the knights at four hundred thousand sesterces (about sixteen thousand dollars), and assigned to them in the theatres fourteen rows of separate seats (*Livy*, *Epit.* xcix.; *Dion.*, xxxvi. 25).

but the crowd, who only sought a master, applauded: even the censors rose, and accompanied him to his house, followed by all the populace.

Pompey was for the moment the hero of the multitude; but never was popular hero more ill suited to play his part. To live among the people, to be of access to everyone, to undertake warmly the cause of even the humblest citizen; to know every man by name, and to manifest an indefatigable activity in behalf of each man's rights and pleasures; to speak on every cause and for every individual,—such was the hard life of the demagogue.¹ Pompey, accustomed from boyhood to command, disliked seeking the favor of the crowd: his cold, grave character did not respond to the enthusiasms of the Forum.² He would have worthily represented a peaceful empire: in a stormy republic he was out of place. It would have been, therefore, safe to predict, that yielding to his instincts, and in spite of his ambition, he would end by returning to the aristocratic party. In the two years which followed his consulship, he rarely appeared in public,³ and was always accompanied by a numerous suite, who kept the crowd away as from the presence of a king. He understood, however, that this nominal royalty would weary the people, and that it would be wise for him to keep the public enthusiasm alive by new services. A war alone could give him the needed opportunity.

III.—WAR WITH THE PIRATES.

SINCE the shock caused the Republic by the Gracchi, there had been only trouble within and revolt without. Liberty had perished in the struggle, but power was preserved; and the provinces fell back into a more oppressed condition than before. But at every epoch of slavery there are men who prefer to be bandits rather than to be slaves. The wide sea was the asylum of those who refused to live under the Roman law: they became pirates, and, since the

¹ See the advice of Quintus to Cicero, *De Petitione consulatus*.

² Later we shall see him in opposition to Clodius. At Miletus, the orator Aeschines having been too free of speech in his presence, he either caused him, or permitted him, to be sent into exile, where the unfortunate man died. (Strabo, IV. i. 7.)

³ He refused a consular province, being unwilling to spend a year in obscurity.

Senate had destroyed the navies of the world without in any way replacing them, the profits were certain, the risk was nothing. This brigandage, therefore, within a few years had attained a very unexpected development. Mithridates received important assistance from the pirates during his wars, and when, upon the order of Sylla, he disbanded his marine forces, his sailors at once added themselves to the pirate fleet. From all quarters men flocked to this standard, equally attractive to the brave and the rapacious. Ruined and desperate men from every party, those who had lost their fortunes by war or by the decree of justice, citizens banished

VESSELS LADEN WITH PLUNDER AND TROOPS.¹

from their homes, slaves who had escaped from prison.—all were received here. Even men of distinguished origin shared in this chase of Ionian, Egyptian, and Greek merchants. The sea between Cyrene and Crete, and between Crete and Delos or Smyrna, was called by them “the Golden Gulf,”² so many were the captures their rapid vessels made in these waters. They made no attempt at concealment. Gold and purple and precious stuffs adorned their vessels, some of which had their oars plated with silver; and every capture was followed by long orgies to the sound of musical instru-

¹ From a Pompeian painting (Roux, *Heures et Pompes*, vol. iii, fifth series, pl. 14). The first of these four boats bears at the stern either a laurel or a palm branch, emblem of a successful expedition. The prow represents the head and breast of a bird. Two of the other have a human face. By these emblems the vessels are designated and recognized.

² Florus, iii. 6

ments. We may fancy their songs to have been like those of Byron's "Corsair:" —

"O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea,
Our thoughts as boundless, and our souls as free,
Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam,
Survey our empire, and behold our home!

Ours the wild life in tumult still to range
From toil to rest, and joy in every change.
No dread of death—if with us die our foes—
Save that it seems even duller than repose!"

Cilicia, with its numberless harbors and its mountains descending to the coast, had been their first lair; but upon all shores they had their stores, their places of refuge, and their watchtowers. They were believed to be masters of a thousand vessels; they had at this time pillaged more than four hundred cities, Cnidus, Samos, Colophon, and the most venerated temples, among others those of Samothrace and Epidaurus, of Neptune on the isthmus of Corinth, and of Juno at Samos and at Argos; and it is well known that temples at that time contained not merely offerings to the gods, but deposits made by their worshippers. From the temple of Samos they took away a thousand talents. A poet of that day wrote after the pillage of Delos, "They have reduced Apollo to poverty, and, of the great wealth that he had stored up, there is left him not so much as one little piece of gold which he might give as a present." These pirates, however, who were, for the most part, Asiatics, had a form of worship,—but it was a barbarous ceremonial, the sanguinary mysteries of Mithra,—which they were the first to disseminate in the West.



COIN OF CNIDUS.¹



COIN OF COLOPHON.²

¹ ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ. [Copied from the famous Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles.] Time of Caracalla.

² ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ(ατηγοῦ) ΚΑ(αυδίου) ΚΑΛΑΜΙΣΤΟΥ ΗΡΕΩΣ ΙΩΝΩΝ ΚΟΛΟΦΟΝΙΩΝ ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ. Apollo Clarius seated in a temple, before which are thirteen figures of representatives of Ionia raising the right hand (see p. 250, *seq.*); in the centre a bull before the altar. Bronze coin of the Emperor Trebonianus Gallus, struck at Colophon.

There were too many Greeks among them for these robber-bands not to have framed a theory of their honorable calling. "There is no injustice," they said, "in recovering by skill that which has been lost by violence. The possession which powerful men have snatched from us all at once we recover by degrees." It was therefore with a calm conscience that they plied their profitable trade. Nor does it, in fact, appear, since right in ancient times was merely the right of the strongest, why this organized state of pirates should not be regarded as masters of the sea as legitimately as were the Romans of the land.

Robin Hood was wont to spare the Saxon churl, and slay the Norman sheriff: in like manner the pirates were pitiless towards the Roman, setting his ransom at a high price, and selling him into far-off countries when he could not pay it. At times, when a prisoner exclaimed, with the haughty cry that kings respected, "I am a Roman citizen!" they would feign amazement and terror, and, falling prostrate before him, beg for pardon; then they would bring to him sandals and a toga, that he might no longer be unknown, and then, after having made themselves merry long enough with his credulous dignity, they would attach a ladder to the vessel's side, and beg him to descend on his way to the Eternal City. - This was the fate of the praetor Bellianus.

From Phœnicia to the Pillars of Hercules not a vessel passed that did not pay blackmail. Italy and Greece being all seacoast, the Græco-Roman world lived along the shore, and there were their finest villas and most beautiful cities. How much anxiety and distress was caused by the sudden incursions of these bandits! Two praetors with their rods and lictors were carried off: Brundisium, Misenum, Capeta, even Ostia, at the very gates of Rome, suffered pillage. Lipara paid them an annual tribute. One of their leaders had the audacity to enter the harbor of Syracuse with four of his vessels: another burned in Ostia a consular fleet.¹

¹ [It is not generally known how terribly this evil was reproduced by the Saracens and Turks in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. All the coasts of Italy and Greece again became depopulated, and the modern towns of Calabria are mostly still, like eagles' nests, on the top of cliffs far from the sea. It was not till the present century that the last stronghold of these hornets, Algiers, was destroyed by England and France. Cf. Finlay's *Greece*, v. 90, seq. — Ed.]

At this moment Sertorius was inciting revolt in Spain; Spartacus was about to call the gladiators to arms; and Mithridates was preparing a new war in Asia. It would have been possible for the pirates to serve as a bond between all these rebels; but this immense force, which might have given its chief vast power,—as happened later, in the case of Sextus Pompeius,—lacked discipline and union. Brigandage was more intelligible to their minds than statecraft: they did indeed conduct the envoys of Sertorius to Mithridates;¹ but they were false to Spartacus, and caused his ruin.

So long as they had pillaged only the Greeks or the Syrians, they had been left undisturbed. The oligarchy which governed the Roman world cared but little for the misfortunes of the subject nations; piracy, indeed, in one aspect, was profitable to the nobles, for the price of slaves became low, thanks to the pirates, who kept the markets overstocked. But when they waylaid the Roman convoys laden with grain, then it was that the famished people began to feel that their dignity was wounded by this bandit insolence; and a vigorous effort was made against them (78).

The occupation of Cilicia, which the praetor Antonius commenced in the year 103, had not been prosecuted with the ardor usually shown by the Romans in extending their provinces. The Senate had contented itself with establishing in this country a military post, whence a watch was kept upon the Syrian kings, and upon the kings of Pontus and Armenia, if they should venture into Asia Minor; but no attempt had been made to destroy the establishments of the pirates all along the coasts. Sylla, praetor in Cilicia in 92, did not concern himself with anything beyond the Taurus.² The ambitious designs of Mithridates were beginning to appear, and caused the pirates to be forgotten; so that the latter, during the great struggle of the Pontic king with Rome, and especially during the Social and Civil wars, were left to increase undisturbed. The dictator, however, had not by any means lost sight of them: in 79 he caused a grandson of Metellus Macedonicus, Servilius Vatia, to be made consul, and the year after, the latter

¹ The war of Sertorius lasted from 82 to 72; that of Spartacus, from 73 to 71; that of Mithridates recommenced in 74; and the pirates had been attacked as early as the year 103 by the orator Marcus Antonius. This war was a legacy of the civil wars, the revolt of the provinces and of the slaves. (Cf. Appian, *Mithrid.* 43.)

² See p. 609.

was sent as proconsul in Cilicia with a powerful fleet and an army. He was an upright man and a valiant captain. The pirates had only racing vessels, "sea-mice,"¹ very swift, but incapable of resisting the shock of the galleys. Servilius destroyed a great number of them in a naval battle which they were imprudent enough to accept in sight of Patara; then, for more than three

TRIUMPHAL COIN OF SERVILIUS.²

years,³ he occupied himself in attacking and destroying, one after another, a multitude of their strongholds. These were laborious campaigns, in which the struggle was even more against nature than against man,—in summer, torrid heats and deadly miasma; in winter, the icy winds from the snowy summits of Taurus; the rivers were torrents, the roads, gorges impracticable to regular troops. Built on the steep declivities of the mountains, each fortress required an actual siege, in which the persistency of the defenders equalled the tenacity of the attacking force. At Olympus

COIN OF PATARA.⁴COIN OF ISaura.⁵

the bandit chief, rather than surrender, made an immense pile of his booty, set it on fire, and perished in the flames. When Servilius believed that he had destroyed the chief nests of the pirates, he went across the Taurus in search of the Isaurians, those pirates of the land, whom no government had ever been able completely to subjugate. Like the eagle, who makes her eyry at the highest point, that she may see her prey afar off, they had perched their principal town, Isaura, on a steep cliff overlooking the plain of Iconium. Servilius subdued the place by cutting through the solid rock a new channel for the mountain torrent that brought

¹ *Meerappon*, boat-mouse.

² M. SERVILIUS LEG. Head of Liberty. On the reverse Q. CAEPIO BRUTVS IMP. Trophy. Coin of the Servilian family.

³ Three years according to Eutropius (vi. 3) and Orosius (v. 23); five (78-74) according to Cicero (*In Verr.*, II. iii. 91, 211).

⁴ ΠΑΤΑΡΕΩΝ. Apollo holding a laurel-branch, between a raven, prophetic bird, and a tripod. Reverse of a bronze coin of Gordian III., struck at Patara.

⁵ ΜΗΛΙΠΟΛΙΩΝ 22 ΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ. Bellona fighting. Reverse of a bronze coin of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus.

water to the town. From this success he gained the surname of Isauricus; but he had no sooner re-entered Rome in triumph than "the sea-mice" re-appeared in every direction.¹

The Senate at last decided to constitute a great maritime command, and gave it to Antonius the praetor, whose sister had lately been carried off by the pirates, from her villa near Misenum. The Island of Crete, in the centre of the Levant, had become, since the capture of Cilicia, the chief refuge of these freebooters, who shared with the inhabitants the profits of their expeditions; and, after having driven away these dangerous visitors from the Italian coasts, the praetor next turned his attention to Crete. An ill-directed attack resulted in disaster. The enemy captured several of his vessels: the officers were hung, and the sailors sold into slavery. Antonius made his escape, but survived his defeat only a few days, gaining from it the derisive appellation of *Creticus*.

COIN OF ICONIUM.²

The Roman oligarchy accepted this affront without avenging it, save in words. They threatened from a distance, requiring the Cretans, if they desired peace, to give up four thousand talents, the prisoners, the deserters, and their three admirals

COIN OF CYDONIA.³

who had had the insolence to defeat Antonius.

The Cretans were not men to part with so much money without a severe struggle. In 68 Metellus, at the head of a considerable army, came to demand it. This little nation dared to meet him in the open country, and afterwards delayed him before each one of their cities, — Cydonia, Gnosus, and Gortyna. The proconsul spent two campaigns in reducing to a province this last asylum of Greek

¹ It is possible that the reduction of the Cyrenaica into a province about the year 75 (see vol. ii. p. 517) was a measure concerted with the great expedition of Servilius against the pirates of Cilicia, to strengthen the Roman watch over the eastern Mediterranean.

² COL. AEL. ICONIE. S. R. (*Senatus Romanus*). A priest leading two oxen; behind them, two standards. Bronze of Gordian III., struck at Iconium.

³ The Cretan Diana (Britomartis or Dictynna). On the reverse the same goddess, as a huntress. She holds a lighted torch, and extends one hand towards her dog. Tetrachia lun of Cydonia.

liberty, — a not very honorable liberty, it must be owned, protecting in Crete many more vices than virtues.

Metellus thus added a new surname to all those which his haughty race had already attained. But his expedition did not put an end to piracy; and it is not certain, that, at the very moment when he was sending off his laurel-wreathed despatches to Rome, some of the numerous creeks of the great island did not still shel-

ter a considerable number of pirates.

Isolated expeditions could not, in fact, destroy these Protean enemies. Driven from one point, they re-appeared at another; and owing to the skill of their pilots and the lightness of their vessels,



COIN OF GNOSSES.¹

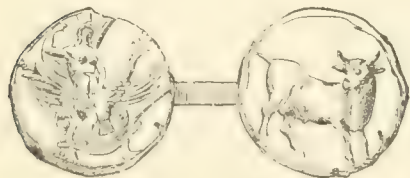


COIN OF GNOSSES.²

they, like the Spanish *guerillero*, were able to laugh at their pursuers.

Meanwhile the grain-ships from Sicily and Sardinia no longer came in, and gratuitous distributions of corn were at an end. For a few sesterces, the people sold their votes: for five bushels of corn a month, they conferred the Empire. In the year 67 the tribune Gabinius proposed that one of the consuls should be invested for three years with absolute and irresponsible power, with command of

the sea and all the coasts of the Mediterranean for four hundred stadia inland.³ This space included a great portion of the lands subject to Rome, the most important nations, and the most powerful kings. The nobles took alarm at this unheard-of



COIN OF GORTYNA.⁴

authority destined for Pompey, although Gabinius had not mentioned his name. They made an attempt to kill Gabinius,⁵ and one of the tribune's colleagues opposed his veto. Such, however,

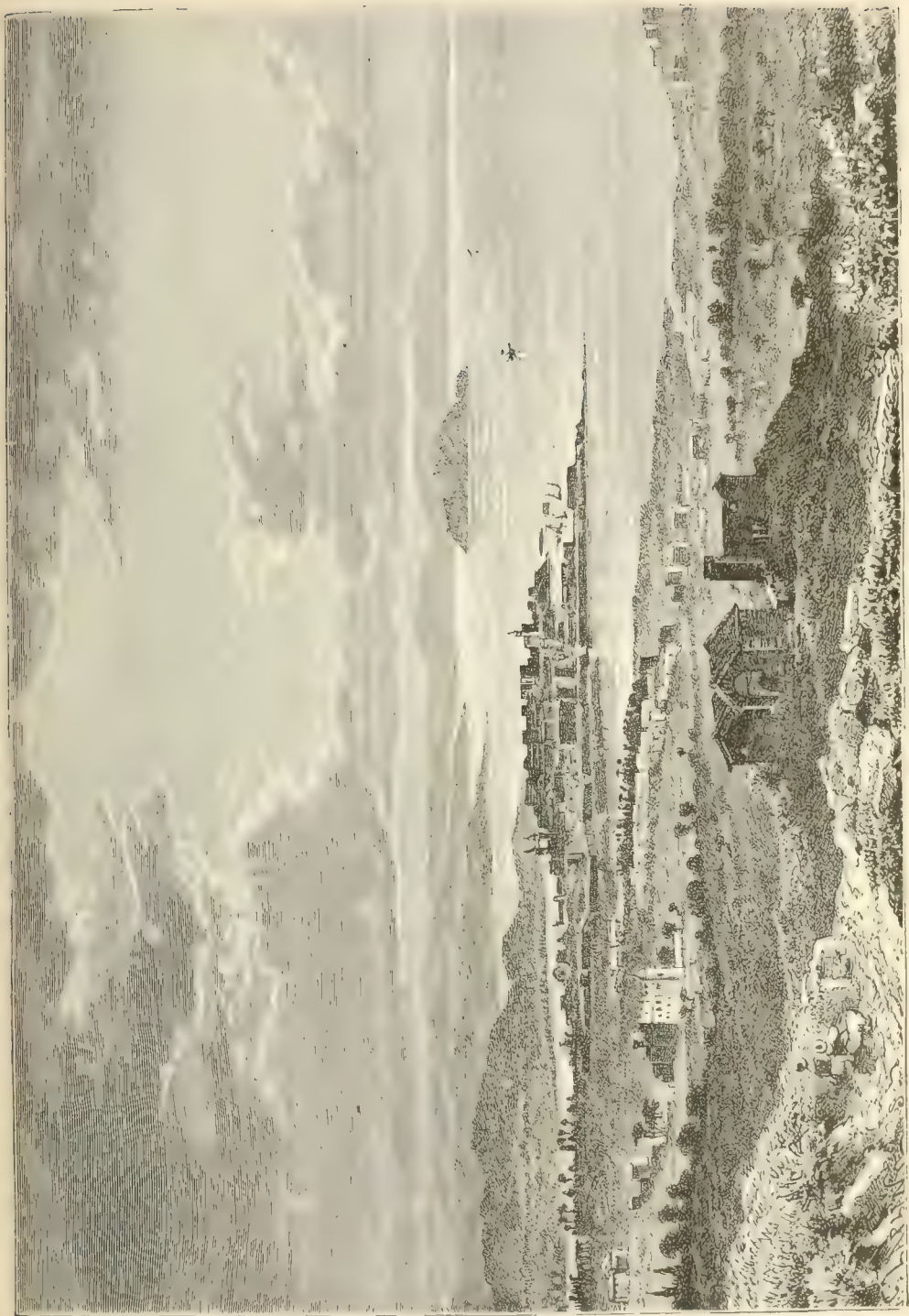
¹ The Minotaur on a tetradrachm of Gnossus.

² The Labyrinth. Reverse of a coin of Gnossus.

³ Vell. Paternus (ii. 31) says fifty miles, and Dion., three days' march.

⁴ Europa holding an eagle, near the plane-tree where the divine bull had stopped. From that time, it was said, the sacred tree never lost its leaves. On the reverse the bull leaping. Tetradrachm of Gortyna. For the Cretan legends see Decharme's *La Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, ch. xiii. p. 616, seq.

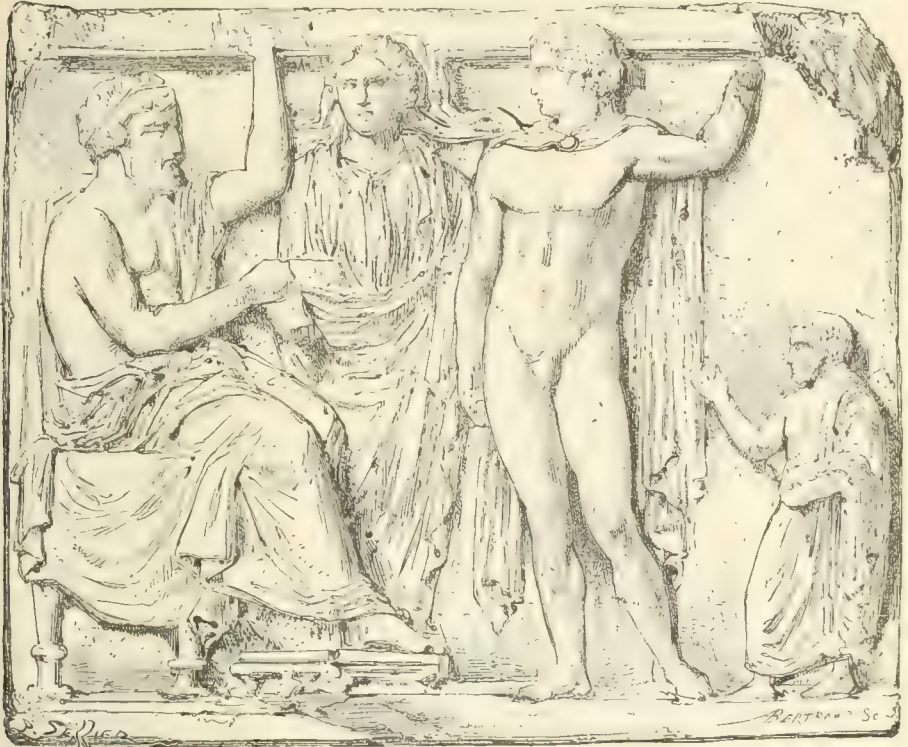
⁵ Dion., xxxvi. 6, 20; Vell. Patere., ii. 31.



CRETE.



was their humiliation, that Catulus could find nothing better to say to the people than that they ought to economize so important a personage, and not expose incessantly so precious a life to the perils of war. "For if you lose him, whom have you to take his place?"—"Yourself," cried the populace; and Catulus was silent, after having counselled the senators to secure for themselves a retreat upon some Sacred Mount, where they could, like their

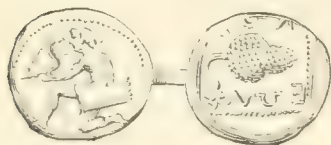


BAS-RELIEF AT GORTYNA.¹

ancestors, defend their liberty. The people voted the forces that the decree assigned to the general, — five hundred galleys, a hundred and twenty thousand foot-soldiers, five thousand horse, and permission to draw from the treasury all the money he might require. One of the consuls, Piso, who still made some opposition, ventured to say to Pompey, "If you choose to emulate Romulus, you will end as he did." But the people were ready to tear Piso in pieces; and the tribune Trebellius narrowly escaped being deposed, on account of his veto. Pompey, however, had too great a respect

¹ Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage en Asie mineure*, pl. 124. Three colossal divinities and a worshipper.

for forms to make any attack upon the consular and tribunitian dignity. A century earlier, Rome would not have deigned to send a consul against enemies so contemptible, and now the army, the treasury, and sovereign power were all intrusted to Pompey. The

COIN OF SOLI.²

people were hungry, and they cared little for their liberty.¹ Caesar, who liked precedents of monarchical authority, had actively supported the proposition.

At the news of this decree, the pirates abandoned the coasts of Italy; the price of food suddenly fell; and the people at once began to exclaim that the mere name of Pompey had brought the war to an end.³ He chose for his lieutenants twenty-four senators who had already been generals of armies, divided the Mediterranean into thirteen parts, allotting a squadron to each, and in forty days had swept the Tuscan and Balearic Seas. Neither could the terrified pirates offer any resistance in the eastern Mediterranean. They came in crowds to surrender themselves, with their wives and children, and with their vessels. Pompey employed them in the pursuit of their former accomplices. Those who had more courage, however, carried their treasures away to the seaports of Mount Taurus, and collected

COIN OF ADANA.⁴COIN OF EPIPHANIA.⁵

their vessels off the promontory Coracesium. Being defeated, and then besieged in an adjacent position where they had sought shelter, they gave up the islands and strongholds that yet remained to them. A hundred and twenty forts on the crests of the mountains from Caria, as far as Mount Amanus, were razed. Pompey burned thirteen hundred vessels, and destroyed all the dockyards; then, following the moderate policy he had pursued in Spain, instead of selling his prisoners, he established

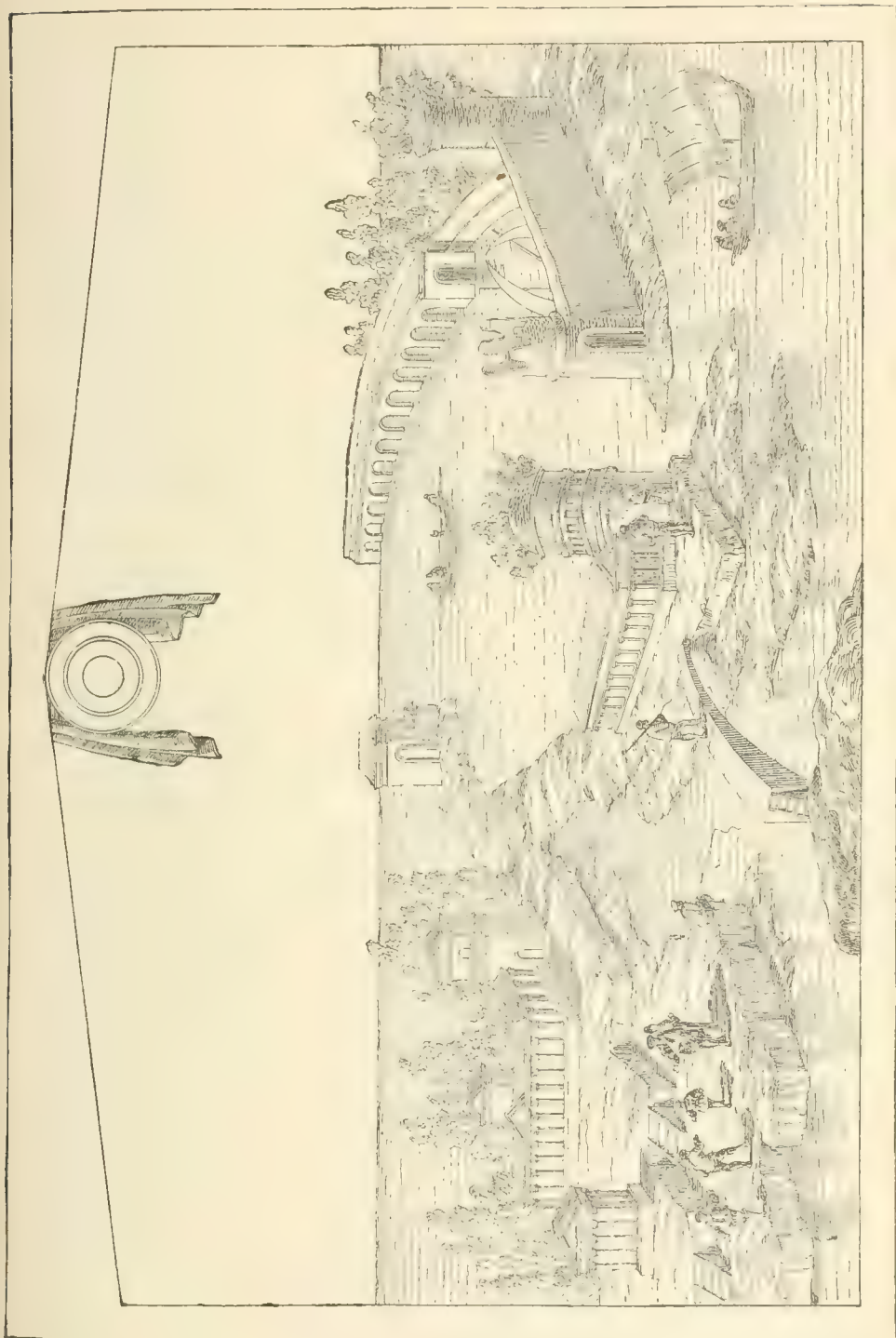
¹ *Plut., Pomp.* 26.

² Kneeling archer. On the reverse ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. Bunch of grapes in a square. Silver coin of Soli.

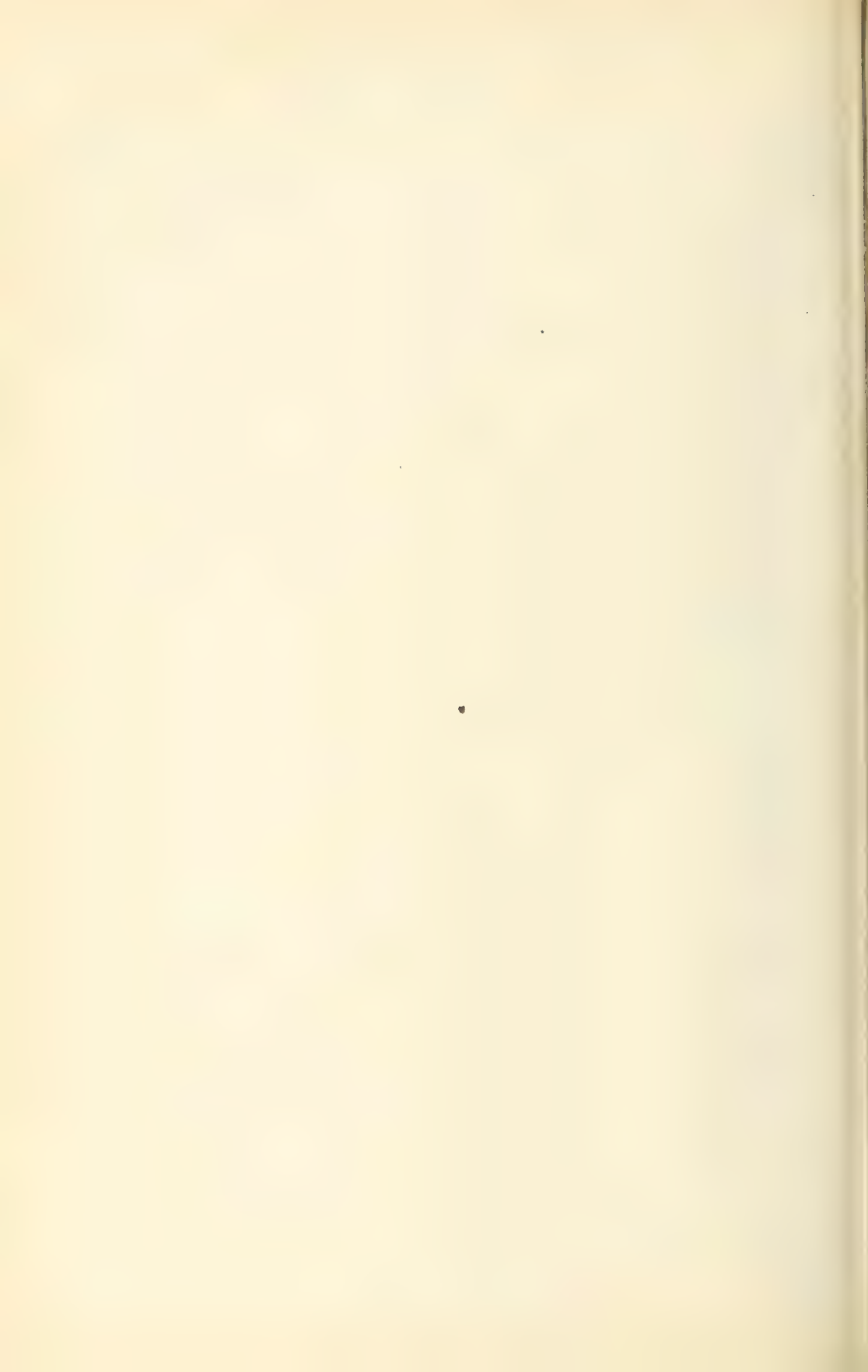
³ Appian (*Bell. civ.* ii. 18) calls him τῆς ἀγορᾶς αὐτοκράτορα.

⁴ ΑΔΑΝΙΩΝ ΑΥΞΑΝ ΕΥΜΑ. A Victory walking. Bronze coin of Adana.

⁵ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΕΥ(ΟΥ) SC. (year 206 of the era of Epiphania). Serapis seated; Cerberus before him. Reverse of a bronze coin, struck at Epiphania in Cilicia.



A PORT OF HARBOR.



them in the depopulated cities, Soli, Adana, Epiphania, and Malus, also at Dyme in Achaia, and even in Calabria. Vergil, when a child, saw near Tarentum one of these pirates who had spent a long life contentedly upon the land allotted to him by Pompey.¹ Ninety days had sufficed to terminate this not very formidable war, brought to a happy issue as much by the general's moderation as by the rapidity of his movements. The Romans had recovered the empire of the Mediterranean, and were able now to call it *mare nostrum*. Piracy, however, had disappeared for a time only: never, even under the Emperors, was Rome able completely to suppress it. During the expedition of Gabinus into Egypt, the Syrian coasts were pillaged by numbers of freebooters; and, even in our own time, the eastern Mediterranean, with its countless islands, promontories, and small sheltered ports, remained a last refuge of the Corsairs, whom Christian nations had driven from the remotest corners of the ocean.

Before the passage of the Gabinian law, Metellus, a relative of Pompey's former colleague in Spain, had been sent as praetor into Crete, with the especial duty of clearing the island of pirates. He had already destroyed some of their strongholds, and was besieging others, when the pirates appealed to Pompey, and tendered their submission to the newly-appointed general. The command of Metellus was really an independent one; but Pompey chose to regard him as a subordinate, and sent him orders to discontinue the war, even going so far as to despatch an officer to assist the pirates, when Metellus had refused to obey. "The course he took against Metellus in Crete," says Pompey's biographer, "was disapproved of even by the chiefest of his friends." A still more conspicuous act of injustice had the effect of exciting the displeasure of the nobles. He snatched from the hands of Lucullus the conquered Mithridates, that he might have the easy triumph of giving a death-blow to the Pontic king.

¹ *Georg.*, iv. 125-148.

NOTE. — The engraving (next page) is copied from a Pompeian picture (Roux, *Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii. fifth series, pl. 28). A wharf with open arches, letting the waves pass through while breaking their violence, and detaining the sands which they bring with them: the piles formed a shelter sufficient for vessels. We have here, perhaps, a specimen of a little harbor on the Neapolitan coast, which, constantly beaten by the south-west wind, had need of constructions of this kind.

CHAPTER L.

LAST WARS AGAINST MITHRIDATES.

I. — VICTORIES OF LUCULLUS OVER THE KINGS OF PONTUS AND ARMENIA (74-66).

AFTER his interview with Sylla at Dardanus, Mithridates had returned to his own country, where, on every side, revolts were breaking out. The people of Colchis desired one of his sons for king. He granted the request, but

soon after caused the young man to be seized, loaded with golden chains, and decapitated. In the Cimmerian Bosphorus the cities refused him obedience. He gathered, to chastise them, an army which was so numerous, that Murena, who had been left in Asia with the title of pro-praetor and the command of Fimbria's two legions, feigned to believe

himself menaced (83). Murena also felt a desire for battle, a victory, a triumph; and his soldiers clamored for booty. He invaded Cappadocia, from which Mithridates had not yet withdrawn, and took the city of Comana, pillaging its famous temple.

The king complained of this attack as an infraction of the treaty made



JEWEL FROM THE CIMMERIAN BOSPHORUS.²



COIN OF COMANA.¹

¹ The goddess of Comana (Bellona) leaning on her shield, and holding a club. It is possible that this piece belongs to the Pontic Comana. (Millingen, *Anc. Coins of Gr. Cities*, p. 67.)

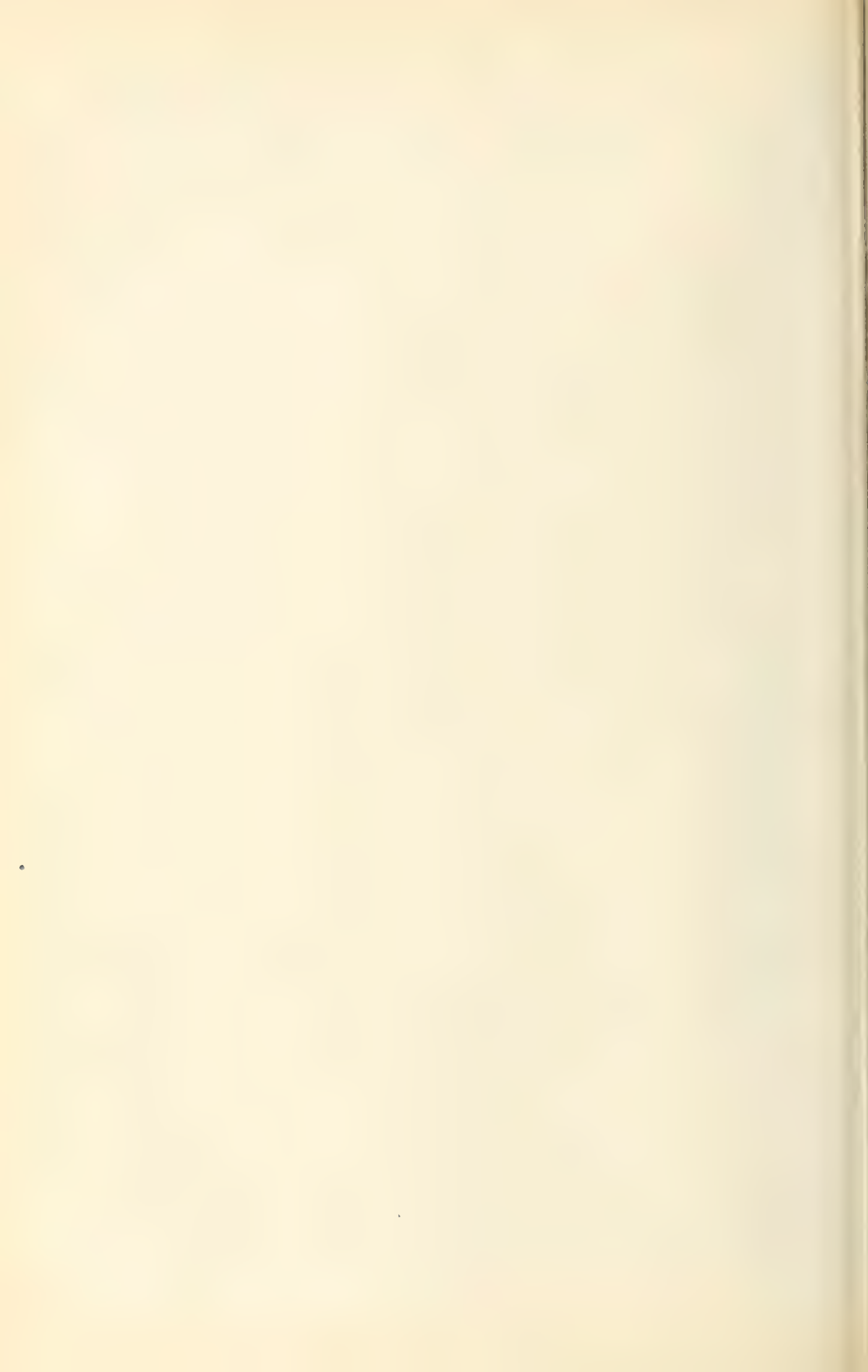
² Pendant (half size) found in the tomb of a priestess of Demeter (*Antiq. du Bosph. Cimm.* pl. xix.).



WESTERN ASIA
FOR THE WARS OF
LUCULLUS AND POMPEY
AGAINST
MITHRIDATES

MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EGYPT
NABATHAEANS
JUDAEA
JERUSALEM
JERICO
DEAD SEA
PHENICE
TYRE
SIDON
BAMBYCE
PAMPHYLIA
CAPPADOCIA
SYRIA
PARATHENAE
PARMACHUS
JUDAEA
JERUSALEM
JERICO
DEAD SEA
PHENICE
TYRE
SIDON
BAMBYCE
PAMPHYLIA
CAPPADOCIA
SYRIA
PARATHENAE
PARMACHUS

Scale
0 100 200 Miles



with Sylla; and the pro-prætor replied that, the treaty not having been written, — which was true, — he was not informed as to its provisions. He continued his advance, and entered Pontus; but he was defeated, and driven back across the Halys in disorder; and the Pontic army had already reached the frontier of the Roman province when an envoy of the dictator arrived, to arrest hostilities and restore all things to their previous condition (81).

Sylla had had enough of war and military fame: he wished to end with peace, and for this purpose avoided whatever might cause a disturbance in the East. The same year (81), a Ptolemy, Alexander II., had bequeathed to the Romans two kingdoms, Egypt and Cyprus.¹ The dictator contented himself with claiming the money deposited at Tyre by the dead prince, and allowed the two illegitimate sons of Ptolemy VIII. (Lathyros) to divide the inheritance.

Mithridates also had need of peace to re-establish his authority. For several years he appeared to be exclusively occupied with subjugating anew the Cimmerian Bosphorus (whose government he intrusted to his son Machares) and with the conquest of the barbarous tribes between Colchis and the Palus Maeotis. But, as soon as he received intelligence of Sylla's death, he at once incited Tigranes, the King of Armenia, to invade Cappadocia. This prince seized upon the Cappadocian capital, Mazaca, at the foot of Mount Argæus, and carried away three hundred thousand people from that kingdom to found his own new capital, Tigranocerta. The cession of Bithynia

MOUNT ARGÆUS.²

¹ Cic., *De Leg. agr.* ii. 16. He adds, however: *Dicitur contra, nullum esse testamentum.* At Rome, the right of bequest being absolute, the art of obtaining a will in one's favor became a very fashionable pursuit. The Senate did what the private individual did; and wills craftily obtained made Rome the heir of three kingdoms, — Pergamean Asia, Bithynia, and the Cyrenaica. Alexander II., King of Egypt, was persuaded likewise; but Sylla was unwilling to lay claim to an inheritance which he must needs have conquered. The matter was allowed to rest, but it was not forgotten, for in 63 the tribune Rullus included in his agrarian law the lands of the royal domain in Egypt.

² ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ ΕΤ Ρ (year 100 of the city's era). Mount Argæus above a temple; on the summit a statue, between a star and the crescent of the moon. Reverse of a bronze coin of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Mount Argæus, a volcanic mass, high enough to have perpetual snow (according to Strabo), and whence it was said the Euxine and the sea of Cyprus could be seen, furnished two things rare in Cappadocia, — wood and water. (See next page.)

to the Roman Senate, made by Nicomedes III. when dying (74), decided Mithridates to enter the field himself. Moreover, the occasion seemed favorable. The best generals of Rome and nearly all her armies were occupied against Sertorius in Spain, or against the Dardanians and Thracians who were ravaging Macedon and all the eastern peninsula¹ with their predatory incursions. The sea was covered with pirates; and the Bithynians, whom the publicans had in a few months brought to a condition

MOUNT ARGÆUS.²

of revolt, were calling the king of Pontus to their aid. He at once began immense preparations. All the barbarous tribes from the Caucasus to Mount Haemus furnished him with auxiliaries; the Romans proscribed by Sylla drilled his troops; and we have related how Sertorius sent him officers.

Lucullus and M. Cotta were at this time consuls: the former

¹ Conquest of a part of Dalmatia, and capture of Salona after two years' siege by the proconsul G. Cæsonius (78-77); laterious campaigns of Ap. Claudius, governor of Macedon (78-76), and of G. Scribonius (75-73), against the Thracians and Dardanians; successful expeditions of M. Lucullus, brother of the conqueror of Mithridates, against the people of Thracia, the Balkan, and the right bank of the Danube; and subjugation of the Greek cities on the shore of the Euxine (72-71).

² Texier, *Description de l'Asie mineure*, Vol. II. pl. 5.

aspired to the command of this war. Far from having spent, as has been asserted, his youth in pleasure and in study remote from public affairs, Lucullus had for more than ten years been constantly in harness. In 90 he served in the Social war; in 88 he preceded Sylla into Greece as pro-quaestor, and coined in the Peloponnesus, with great integrity, all the money required for the payment of the army during the Pontic war.¹ This general had not the vessels which he needed to dispute the sea with the enemy's forces; and, in the midst of countless dangers, Lucullus visited Crete and Cyrene,² Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes, Cos, and Chios, passing through the pirate and the Pontic fleets of the eastern Mediterranean, in quest of vessels for the Roman service. He was successful, and also made an important diversion by encouraging the Greek cities of Asia in their revolt against Mithridates. At Chios and Colophon he aided the inhabitants to drive out their garrisons; and although later he allowed Mithridates, who was surrounded in Pitane, to make his escape, that he might not give Fimbria the honor of ending the war, he twice defeated the king's fleets, and opened to Sylla the road to Asia.⁴ He used the greatest moderation in apportioning

COIN OF RHODES.³COIN OF COS.⁵

the war-tax of twenty thousand talents. Many cities, however, still resisted, and in two engagements he dispersed the people of Mitylene and Elaea, not returning to Rome until the close of the year 80, just late enough to escape all complicity in the proscriptions. The dictator received him with the greatest favor. Their tastes had much in common: both delighted to unite intellectual gratifications

¹ Plut., *Lucull.* 2. When Sylla had exacted from Asia a tax of twenty thousand talents, he again employed Lucullus in its coinage (*Ibid.* 4). On the Lucullan coinage, and in general upon Roman coins struck in the provinces by the generals in virtue of their *imperium*, see Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, vol. ii. p. 253.

² From the work of Robert Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, vol. i. p. 1.

³ Coin of Rhodes with head of Bacchus surrounded by rays, like the head of the sun given p. 105.

⁴ Plut., *Lucull.* 3 and 4; Appian, *Mithrid.* 52, 53.

⁵ ΠΙΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ Hippocrates seated. Bronze coin of Cos.

with the refinements of luxury; and Sylla left to Lucullus both the guardianship of his son and the duty of revising, before giving them to the world, the Commentaries which he had written in

Greek. Praetor in 77, and consul in 74, Lucullus, through respect for the memory of Sylla, as much as through zeal for the aristocratic party, resisted the efforts of the tribune Quinctius, and ended, perhaps, by buying him over.¹

Gallia Cisalpina had fallen by lot to Lucullus as consular province, while his colleague had received Bithynia. But, the proconsul of Cilicia dying at this time, Lucullus asked and obtained his province. This army, a little less than thirty-two thousand men, was composed of raw recruits and of Fimbria's veterans, who had been twice rebels,²



CAPTIVE BITHYNIA.³

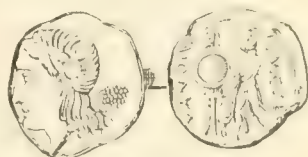
and were habituated to extreme license. Like Scipio and Paulus Aemilius, he began with drilling his troops in order to restore discipline, and was marching upon Pontus when he learned that Mithridates, having persuaded the republic of Heracleia to unite with him, had invaded Bithynia with a hundred thousand foot, six

¹ Sall., *Hist. fragm.*; Aseon. in Cic., *In Cæciliū*. 3; Plut., *Lucull.* 5.

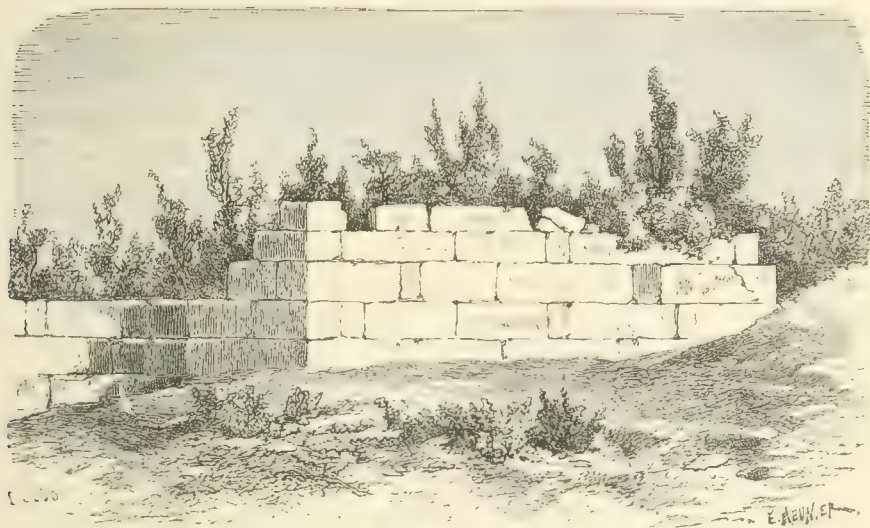
² They had mutinied against the proconsul Val. Flaccus, and had abandoned Fimbria.

³ Statue in the Blundell Collection (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 768A, No. 1906A).

thousand horse, and a hundred scythe-armed chariots, while a fleet of four hundred sail, keeping along the coast, would co-operate with the land-forces. Lucullus was further informed that all the publicans had been massacred by the inhabitants; and that Cotta, who had been in haste to fight, in the hope of securing to himself alone the honor of victory, had just suffered two defeats in the same day,—one by land, the other by sea,—and was now closely blockaded in Chalcedon. The officers of Lucullus urged him to throw himself upon Cappadocia and Pontus, now left defenceless. “I had rather,” said the general, “save one citizen from the enemy than make easy conquest of spoils: besides, it would be



COIN OF HERACLEIA IN BITHYNIA.¹



CYZICUS; REMAINS OF WALLS (PERROT, EXPL. DE LA GALATIE).

leaving the object of the chase, and going to the empty lair.” And he marched to the relief of the besieged. But, at sight of the immense number of the king’s troops, he deemed it prudent not to engage in a general action, and posted himself where he could cut off the supplies.

In ancient times, even more than at present, to provision a large army was an extremely difficult problem. The Romans had made

¹ Head of Bacchus, with a bunch of grapes behind it. On the reverse TIMOΘEOY ΔΙΟΝΥΣ(ίου); Hercules erecting a trophy. Silver coin of Timotheos and Dionysios, kings of Heracleia in Bithynia.

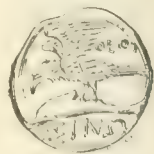
considerable progress towards its solution: the Barbarians were not accustomed to make it at all a subject of forethought. The Roman general's plan of the campaign was simply this, — to keep his own little army in provisions, and to prevent the king's forces from obtaining supplies.

In the mountainous peninsula on which Chalcedon is situated, Mithridates soon found himself destitute of food. To obtain it, he extended his lines to the westward into Mysia, and made an attempt to surprise Cyzicus. Lucullus followed him, and, encamping in a favorable position in the rear of the royal army, blocked the roads, and waited for famine to give him the advantage over this multitude. The city was strong, and devoted to the Romans; and a few troops thrown in by Lucullus, together with the sight of his camp visible from the walls, sustained the courage of the inhabitants. The season was also in their favor. It was winter; and a violent tem-

pest destroyed in a day all the king's works. After eating everything that their camp could furnish, even to the dead bodies of their prisoners, the besieging force was decimated by pestilence and famine. A large detachment sent out by Mithridates to obtain food was surprised at the passage of the Rhyndacus, and lost fifteen thousand men.² One of his lieutenants, Eumachos, who had been sent to cut off the Roman communications, was also defeated in Phrygia by the Galatian prince Dejotarus. Between the immovable camp and the impregnable city, Mithridates saw his vast army melting away while he could not bring it into action, and he decided to escape with his fleet, leaving the land-forces to extricate themselves as best they could. The army retreated towards the Aesepus and the Granicus; but these rivers, swollen by the rains, arrested their flight. The Romans came up with them, and destroyed the larger number, and the rest escaped to Lampsacus.



COIN OF DEIOTARUS.¹



COIN OF SINOPÉ.³

¹ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΕΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ (of the King Dejotarus). An eagle between two caps of the Dioscuri. Bronze coin of Dejotarus, King of Galatia.

² In speaking of this engagement, Sallust said in his great History, now lost, that there, for the first time, camels were seen by the Romans. Plutarch answers him (*Lucullus*, 11), that they had been seen a century before this, at the battle of Magnesia.

³ ΣΙΝΟΠ (Sinope) ΟΥΟΙ. Eagle upon a fish. Silver coin of Sinope.

A few of the royal vessels were yet cruising in the Propontis and on the coast of the Troad: Lucullus armed galleys, pursued and sunk them. In one of these encounters he captured Varius, the agent of Sertorius, and put him to an ignominious death (73). The captives were so numerous, that in one of the Roman camps a slave could be bought for four drachmae.

Meanwhile Mithridates was fleeing towards the Euxine. An officer whom the proconsul had sent to close the Thracian Bosphorus wasted the time in festivities and in obtaining initiation



GALATIA (HASSAN-ÖCHLÂN).¹

into the Samothracian mysteries. When the king arrived at the entrance of the strait, the passage was unguarded; but his vessels were destroyed by storms, and it was on board a pirate ship that he finally reached Pontic Heracleia. Thence he made his way to Sinope and Amisus, and sent to his son Machares, and Tigranes his son-in-law, entreating them to furnish him assistance promptly. Diocles, whom he sent with great sums of money to the Scythians, went over to the Romans instead.

Lucullus, leaving Cotta to subjugate those Bithynian cities

¹ Bas-relief sculptured on a rock (a king upon his throne) (Perrot, *Explor. archéol. de la Galatie*, etc., pl. xii.).

which still held out, crossed the Halys, the principal river of Asia Minor, and penetrated into Pontus: thirty thousand Galatians followed him, bearing provisions for his army. With the design of drawing the king into a battle before the arrival of the expected re-enforcements, the proconsul ravaged the country and remained for a long time, notwithstanding the murmurs of his troops, besieging Amisus (73-72). In the spring, on hearing that Mithridates had collected forty-four thousand men at Cabira, near the headwaters of the Halys, in the mountains which separate Pontus from Armenia, Lucullus went in search of him with three legions. A traitor revealed to him the paths leading to the royal camp; but the Pontic cavalry at first repulsed the Roman attack, and Lucullus narrowly escaped being assassinated by a Scythian chief who had come over to the Romans as a deserter. When, however, he had examined the position, he resumed the tactics which had so well served him before Cyzicus, and by a great number of small combats hemmed in and starved his enemy. Mithridates was already meditating a retreat when a panic seized his troops; and the king only made his escape by scattering his treasures along the way, thus arresting the pursuit.

Before crossing the frontier of Armenia, where he hoped to find shelter with Tigranes, the despot remembered that he had left his sisters and his wives behind him, and he sent one of his eunuchs to them to bear them the order of death. Of his two sisters, one took the offered poison, cursing her brother; but the other commended him, that in his own danger he had been mindful to save them from disgrace. His favorite wife, that beautiful Monima who fifteen years before had exchanged the freedom and elegance of Greek life for the servitude of the harem, sought to strangle herself with the string of the diadem she wore upon her head; but it was not strong enough, and broke, upon which she trampled it under foot, exclaiming, "O wretched diadem that will not help me even in this small matter!" and fell upon the eunuch's sword.

After the victory of Cabira, Lucullus advanced almost to Colchis; but some places still held out behind him, among others Amisus, defended by the engineer Callimachus, and Heracleia, which detained the proconsul Cotta for two years. Those Greek

cities, surrounded as they were by Barbarians, were fortified with a skill over which the military science of the time could not triumph, and, the sea remaining open to them, they had no fear of famine. When, however, they saw no hope of succor, they surrendered. After regulating the affairs of Pontus, and negotiating with Machares, who was not ashamed to send a golden wreath to the conqueror of his father, Lucullus returned to pass the winter at Ephesus.



BRIDGE OF THOCK-GEÜZA, ON THE HALYS.¹

The province had need of his presence, devoured, as it was by publicans and usurers. It had not yet been able to complete the payment of the war-tax imposed by Sylla, or rather it had already paid it six times over by the accumulation of interest and the exactions of the revenue-farmers. The desolation was widespread: accordingly, when Lucullus had fixed the legal rate of interest at one per cent a month, had forbidden the exaction of compound interest, and had permitted the creditor to convert to his own use not more than one-fourth of the debtor's income, the blessings of the people prevented him from hearing the angry

¹ The date of construction of this bridge, on the main road from Cappadocia to Pontus, is at present unknown. The illustration is from Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie mineure*, vol. ii. pl. 84.

murmurs of the publicans. We shall see that he soon paid dearly for this wise and generous conduct.

Some months earlier he had sent his brother-in-law, Appius Clodius,¹ to claim from Tigranes the extradition of Mithridates. Tigranes, master of Armenia, conqueror of the Parthians (whom he had driven back into the depths of Asia), and victorious in Syria, whence the Seleucidae had disgracefully disappeared, was at this time the most powerful monarch of the East. He held all the military and commercial roads of Anterior Asia: by Media Atropatene and the upper valleys of Euphrates and Tigris, commanding



TIGRANES, KING OF ARMENIA.²

the southern roads, and by Syria, eastern Cilicia, and a part of Cappadocia, those of the west. Whichever side he raised his war-cry, he was able to hurl down from the Armenian plateau countless hosts which nothing seemed able to resist. A crowd of famous chiefs lived at his court as slaves: when he went out, four kings ran before his chariot. He had compelled the Parthians to allow him to take the title of "King of kings," or

suzerain of all the Asiatic princes. In the time of his prosperity, Mithridates had not recognized this sovereign power, and hence had obtained from Tigranes little assistance in the last wars against Rome, and had been coldly received when he came to seek shelter in Armenia. The embassy of Clodius changed completely the intentions of Tigranes. The Roman had been obliged to go into Syria, where the king was at the time, and he had been detained at Antioch under pretext that Tigranes was completing the subjugation of Phoenicia. After the custom of Eastern courts, this delay had been intentional, with the design of giving the ambassador a profound sense of the power of the Armenian monarch, and at the same time of manifesting the indifference of the "King of kings" towards Rome. Clodius had, however, taken advantage of the delay to form intrigues with the chiefs and cities of this region; and the King of Gordyene promised him to take

¹ This man was a member of the gens *Clodia*; but the name is habitually written *Clodius*. Other members of this family also wrote the name in the same way (Orelli, 579.)

² Head of Tigranes, King of Armenia, wearing the tiara. From a tetradrachm. This coin, probably struck in Syria, bears on the reverse a Greek inscription.

the field as soon as Lucullus should appear, — a promise which afterwards caused the murder of the whole of that royal race. When the interview finally took place, Clodius declared briefly that he had come either to obtain Mithridates or to declare war. Tigranes had never before heard language so direct and haughty. He replied that he accepted war; and summoning Mithridates, who had not hitherto been admitted to his presence, he promised him ten thousand men as an escort to his kingdom, whilst he himself should put all his forces upon a war-footing. He thus repeated the error which had ruined Philip and Antiochus. While his father-in-law was fighting to drive out the Romans from Asia, instead of supporting him, Tigranes had set off on an expedition against Phœnicia. Now that Mithridates was a fugitive, Tigranes was ready to enter the lists (70).

Lucullus was not at all alarmed at this struggle which he had brought on. He left six thousand men to defend Pontus, and took with him only three thousand horse and twelve thousand foot, — old soldiers of the Fimbrian legions, who reluctantly followed a general always the protector of the native populations against rapacity (69). He made his way towards the provinces of the Euphrates, recently conquered by Tigranes, where the people, many of whom were Greeks, with horror found themselves subjected to a prince who required servile obedience. The understanding which Clodius had established with many of the inhabitants of this region was useful to Lucullus, who crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris unmolested, causing his troops everywhere to observe the strictest discipline. Tigranes could not believe in such audacity; and the first messenger who told him the approach of the legions atoned for the information with his life. However, the king was compelled to admit that the enemy were no longer in Ephesus, as the courtiers had constantly declared; and he gave orders that troops should be sent to chastise these insolent invaders, and bring him their leader, dead or alive. The advance-guard of the legions was able to disperse this first force sent against them. The king, at last becoming uneasy, fled in all haste from his capital, and withdrew into the mountains lying between the head-waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, where he gathered around his standard his own soldiers and those of all his allies, from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf.

When he had thus collected about him more than two hundred

and fifty thousand men, and received intelligence that Lucullus was besieging the Armenian capital with an army which seemed to the king a mere escort, he scorned the advice of Mithridates to starve out his adversary, and hastened to give him battle. So soon as the army of Tigranes appeared, crowning the heights whence Tigrano-

LUCULLUS.¹

certa is visible. Lucullus, leaving under command of Murena six thousand auxiliaries to prevent a sortie from the town, advanced, with eleven thousand legionaries and some cavalry, to meet the king. "If they come as envoys," said Tigranes, "they are numerous; if as enemies, they are very few." The Roman general, who manifested in this war as much boldness as he had shown prudence

¹ Bust, said to be of Lucullus, in the Museum of the Hermitage. In the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, new series, vol. viii. Nos. 1 and 2, E. Schultze has maintained the authenticity of this bust.

and moderation in his campaigns against the King of Pontus, began the attack by scaling with two cohorts a hill which Tigranes had neglected to secure. Thence the Romans rushed down upon the seventeen thousand horsemen, cuirassed in steel, drawn up to meet them; but the latter, not daring to await the shock, fell back upon their own infantry, and brought confusion into the entire army. Tigranes was the first to flee: his tiara and diadem fell into the hands of the enemy. Lucullus asserted that he had only five men killed and a hundred wounded, and estimated the Barbarian losses at a hundred thousand (Oct. 6, 69). A revolt of the Greek inhabitants in Tigranocerta facilitated an assault upon the town, and the legionaries found in it, not to speak of other booty, eight thousand talents of coined gold, and received from their general eight hundred drachmae apiece. Never was an easy victory more richly rewarded.¹

Lucullus wintered in Gordyene, accepting the alliance of all the neighboring princes, and soliciting that of Phraates, King of the Parthians. This prince was seeking to recover Mesopotamia from Tigranes, and had many humiliations of his house to avenge upon the Armenians; but, on the other hand, Tigranes made it clear to him that all the thrones of the East were alike menaced by the victories of the legions. A Roman deputy found him undecided between the two parties. Lucullus would not permit this neutrality, and ordered his lieutenants in Pontus to bring him their forces. He had such a contempt for these kings, that he felt no hesitation about going forward into the heart of Asia, and attacking a third empire. But his officers and soldiers, who had become too rich to be willing to incur further dangers, refused to follow him, and he was obliged to content himself with only completing the defeat of Tigranes. The army of the Armenian king, reconstructed by Mithridates, and composed only of the best troops, had lately re-appeared in the neighborhood of Lucullus, refusing to fight, and seeking to intercept his supplies. In order to bring on an action, Lucullus marched upon Artaxata, the real capital of

PHRAATES III.²

¹ The ruins of Tigranocerta have been sought at Sert upon the Chabûr, at Mejafarkin, and at Amid or Amadiab. Cf. S. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arménie*, i. p. 173; Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, vol. x. p. 87.

² From a silver coin of this prince, who was also called Arsaces XII., and surnamed Theos

Armenia,¹ where were the wives and children and the treasures of the king. Upon this, Tigranes followed him, and, to save his second capital, gave battle. The result was the same as in the preceding year (68).

Artaxata, said to have been built by Hannibal, stood on the shores of the Araxes, to the north-east of Mount Ararat, — a lofty mountain, whose peak, fifteen thousand feet high, is covered with perpetual snow. When the winds which sweep these icy summits reach the valleys below, they bring with them a sudden winter. Unexpected cold and deep snow arrested the Roman army in their pursuit. The soldiers refused to remain in this rigorous climate; and Lucullus, abandoning the siege of Artaxata, retreated towards the south into Mygdonia, and took by assault Nisibis (67). This was the limit of his successes.

He had not understood the art, which Scipio and Sylla practised, of softening by affable manners the rigor of his authority; and his soldiers could not forgive him for keeping them eight years constantly in camp, and having at their expense spared the cities with which he had made terms, instead of taking them by violence, which would have authorized their subsequent pillage. His brother-in-law Clodius, a young noble, full of criminal audacity, encouraged the soldiers by seditious language. They were only the muleteers of Lucullus, he said, serving to escort his treasures; and while he, for his own advantage, pillaged the palaces of Tigranes, they were forced to spare those whom the rights of victory gave into their hands. At Rome, Lucullus had other enemies, the publicans, — those harpies devouring the substance of the nations, — who by his regulations had been arrested in their career of rapine. Since he had been in command in Asia, the province had rallied: in four years all the debts and mortgages had been paid off. But he forgot both Rutilius and that permanent conspiracy of which Cicero speaks, formed by the knights against those who repressed their avidity. Once more enjoying supreme power through Pompey's measures, they made haste to be revenged upon the man who was compelling them to justice and moderation. While the army of Lucullus held its general in forced inaction, the publicans, sup-

¹ Ruins called Takt-Tiridates, the throne of Tiridates, near the meeting of the Aras and the Zengue, are regarded as marking the site of Artaxata.

ported by the ex-tribune Quinctius, at that time praetor, took from him his command, and caused a decree to be passed, disbanding a portion of his army (67).¹

II. — POMPEY SUCCEEDS LUCULLUS IN COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF ASIA (66).

MITHRIDATES and Tigranes, profiting by these misunderstandings, returned into their kingdoms: the King of Pontus even defeated a lieutenant, killing seven thousand men, a hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes (67). Another lieutenant would have had the same fate, had not Mithridates been wounded in the combat by a deserter. The arrival of Lucullus, who had at last succeeded in making his soldiers ashamed of abandoning their comrades, drove back the king into Lesser Armenia; but they would not follow him thither. In vain did their general condescend to entreat them: more powerful than he in his own camp, they bade him go alone and seek the enemy, if he wanted to fight, and finally agreed to remain under his command until the end of summer, only on condition of not being required to take the field.

Meanwhile the two kings had again assumed the offensive. Cappadocia was invaded, the Romans driven out of Pontus, a pro-consul, Glabrio, put to flight, and pursued as far as Bithynia. When the Senate's commissioners arrived for the purpose of organizing the new conquests into provinces, it seemed necessary for everything to be done anew. In reality, by the carelessness of the government, — which during eight years had neglected those who were fighting its battles in distant parts of the Empire, — the most brilliant campaigns that a Roman general had ever yet conducted, the most wonderful victories the legions had as yet won, were rendered useless, and in the spring of 66 the situation was as difficult as it had been in 74. Only, the real value of these Asiatic hordes was better understood, and the certainty recognized.

¹ [Thus ended one of the most brilliant campaigns ever conducted by a Roman general, and one which places Lucullus in the highest rank for ability and resource. This sort of energetic and cultivated sybarite, who bears a certain family likeness to Sylla and to Caesar, is only produced by a luxurious and long dominant aristocracy. — *Ed.*]

that these wars could be brought to an end whenever the task was resolutely undertaken.¹

Pompey, who had just brought his campaign against the pirates to an end, was now in Cilicia, at the head of a considerable force. For a long time his friends at Rome had intended him to have command of this war. The tribune Manilius formally proposed to send him against Tigranes and Mithridates with unlimited power over the army, the fleet, and the Asiatic provinces. The Senate rejected this bill, perpetuating the regal authority of a deserter from the party of nobles; but the stubbornness of the people and the knights foreboded a fresh defeat if they persisted: they chose rather to renounce the right that Sylla had granted them, of preliminary examination of legislative measures. Catulus alone protested at length against the measure, and, when he saw that the people merely listened without being impressed, he exclaimed, turning towards the senators, "Since it is so, it is now your turn to seek some Tarpeian rock or Sacred Mount whither you can flee, and retain your liberty." Till lately the dictatorship had come from the nobility; now it came from the people,—an obvious indication that both sides were prepared for servitude. The measure, supported by Caesar and by Cicero, who delivered on this occasion his first public address, passed without opposition. Manilius had taken care before the voting to distribute the freedmen amongst the thirty-five tribes. Sylla's former lieutenant went even so far as to seek a support which the Gracchi would have scorned.

On receiving the news, Pompey hypocritically railed against fortune, which had overwhelmed him with labor, and denied him

the peaceful existence of an obscure citizen. His actions soon belied his words: he hastened to appear in his new command, multiplying edicts, calling to him all the troops and allies, and taking care to humiliate Lucullus by rescinding all his acts. The two generals met in Galatia.



LUCULLUS TRIUMPHANT.

The interview commenced with the customary compliments, but

¹ [Yet this was perhaps what misled Crassus, and caused his defeat and death in the Parthian war twenty years later. — *Ibid.*]

ended with mutual insults. "Like the dull and cowardly bird of prey, which tracks the hunter by the scent of the carnage, Pompey," said Lucullus, "comes down upon the carcasses slain by others, and reaps the reward of their labors." Mutual friends separated them (66). When Lucullus set out for Italy, his rival permitted him to take home only sixteen hundred men for his triumph; and even that honor itself Pompey succeeded in postponing for three years.



TEMPLE OF MERCURY ON THE BAY OF NAPLES.¹

Exasperated at the injustice of the people and the weakness of the Senate which had abandoned him, Lucullus withdrew from a government whose inevitable downfall he doubtless foresaw, and retired to the enjoyment of the immense wealth he had brought from the spoils of Asia. His luxury and display earned for him the surname of the "Roman Xerxes."² His gardens, says Plutarch,

¹ *Voyage pittoresque de Naples et Sicile*, vol. i. part. ii. p. 212 (Paris, 1782).

² Vell. Patere., ii. 23. See in Plutarch (*Lucull.* 39-41) the oft-repeated anecdotes respecting his suppers, his buildings, his fish-ponds, of which Varro also speaks.

are still considered to be among the most beautiful in the imperial domain. He had constructed near Naples enormous subterranean canals, through which the sea flowed so as to form a reservoir for fish. At Tusculum his palaces were greatly admired, fitted up as summer and winter residences, with their large saloons, broad terraces, and delightful views. Each apartment had its peculiar furniture and special attendance. Cicero and a friend, wishing one day to take him by surprise, asked for an invitation to dinner, on condition that he would make no special preparation. He merely said to his servant, "We will sup in the Hall of Apollo;" and his two guests were served with a most sumptuous feast, since in this hall the cost was never to be less than fifty thousand drachmae. The enlightened support which he gave to literature claims indulgence for this extravagance and luxury, which in the midst of so much corruption was no longer a danger to the State.¹

Lucullus had received only a small army and a few ships. Pompey had sixty thousand men and an enormous fleet, with which he encircled the whole of Asia Minor from Cyprus to the Thracian Bosphorus. Mithridates, still at the head of thirty-two thousand men, but weary of this incessant struggle, asked the new general on what terms peace would be granted to him. "Trust yourself to the generosity of the Roman people," the proconsul replied. Mithridates had too much courage to end like Perseus, after fighting like Hannibal. "Be it so!" said he; "we will fight to the last!" and swore never to make peace with Rome. Pompey had already marched as far as Lesser Armenia. In the first encounter, — a night engagement on the banks of the Lycus, — the Pontic army was destroyed, and Mithridates escaped with only two horsemen and one of his wives, who, attired as a man, followed him everywhere, and fought by his side. Arriving at one of his strongholds, he distributed to those who were with him all his money and also some poison, that each might remain master of his liberty and life. Having taken these precautions, he made an attempt to take refuge with Tigranes, but that prince had put a price upon his head: he therefore went back towards the source of the Euphrates,

¹ He collected a valuable library, which he opened to the public; and he was constantly surrounded by men of letters (Plut., *Lucull.* 59). Lucullus died some time before the breaking-out of the next Civil war.

and reached Colchis, where he wintered. Upon the field of battle Pompey founded Nicopolis, the city of victory.

In the despotic courts of the East the prince is neither a husband nor a father. Tigranes, rendered suspicious and cruel through his reverses, had put to death two of his sons: the third revolted, perhaps at the instigation of Mithridates, and sought shelter among the Parthians. Phraates had at last understood that it was time for him to decide to share in despoiling his neighbor, and had just concluded a treaty of alliance with Pompey. The young Tigranes afforded him the opportunity of making a useful diversion: Phraates gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and took him back with an army into his father's kingdom. The old king withdrew at first to the mountains, leaving the two princes to waste their time and strength before the walls of Artaxata. Phraates was the first to tire: he returned to his country, fearing lest too prolonged an absence should excite disturbances. The young Tigranes was conquered by his father, and compelled to take shelter in the Roman camp. Pompey set out for Artaxata, and had not proceeded more than fifteen miles when the envoys of Tigranes met him, and shortly the king himself appeared. At the entrance to the camp a licitor made Tigranes dismount: as soon as he saw Pompey, the king took off his diadem, and made an attempt to prostrate himself before the Roman general. Pompey prevented him, made Tigranes sit beside him, and offered him peace, on condition that he should renounce Syria and Asia Minor, should pay six thousand talents, and should recognize his son as king in Sophene; thus following once more the Senate's old policy. Tigranes, enfeebled, but not subdued, was not powerful enough to be formidable, but sufficiently so to hold in check the King of Parthia, whose conduct had for a long time been equivocal. This new vassal was then to do police-duty for Rome in Upper Asia, as in former times Eumenes had done in Asia Minor, *reges . . . vetus servitutis instrumentum*.

Tigranes had expected greater severity: in his joy he promised the Roman troops a bounty of fifty drachmae per man, a thousand apiece for the centurions, and a talent for the tribunes. But his son, who had hoped to obtain the crown, could not conceal his disappointment. Secret intrigues of the young prince with the

Parthians and with certain Armenian nobles having been discovered, Pompey, in defiance of the law of nations, and although the offender was his guest, loaded him with chains, and reserved him for his triumph.

Some troops were left in Armenia to watch over the movements of the Parthians, who had just reminded Pompey that the boundary of the two empires was to be the Euphrates. With the remainder of the army divided into three corps, Pompey wintered on the southern bank of the Cyrus. He intended going in the spring to search for Mithridates as far as the Caucasus, that he might boast at Rome of having borne the eagles from



SCYTHIAN AMAZON.¹

the depths of Spain and Africa to the last confines of the habitable world, even to the rocks upon which Jupiter had bound Prometheus.²

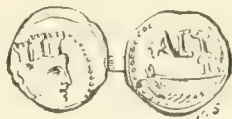
North of the river Cyrus lies the country of Albania. In the middle of December forty thousand men crossed the river in the hope of surprising the three Roman camps: they were everywhere repulsed, and Pompey himself crossed the Cyrus on the return of the open weather (65), traversed Albania, and penetrated among the Iberians. — a people whom neither the Persians nor Alexander had subdued. Plutarch relates that there were Amazons fighting as auxiliaries with these Barbarians, although he is forced to own

¹ From a sarcophagus in the Museum of the Capitol.

² App., *Mithrid.* 103. Pompey, accompanied by the Greek Theophanes, sought in good faith for the rock where Aeschylus lays the scene of his tragedy.

that none of them were found among the dead on the field of battle. In reaching the Caucasus, Pompey had left behind him the historic lands of the Roman Republic, and entered upon the regions of fable.

Having conquered these tribes, he came round to the Phasis, where one of his lieutenants met him with the fleet; but from this point he was suddenly recalled by a revolt of the Albanians. He subdued them, and then sought to push forward as far as the Caspian Sea; but a lack of guides, the difficulties of the country,

COIN OF ALEXANDER JANNAEUS.¹COIN OF PTOLEMAIS.²COIN OF ASCALON.³

and the news of an attempt of the Parthians upon Gordyene, brought him back into Armenia: he made no stay here, but went as far as Amisus, where, during the winter, he held his court with all the barbaric splendor of an Oriental potentate. Surrounded by Asiatic chiefs and ambassadors from all the kings, he distributed commands and provinces, granted or denied the alliance of Rome, treated with the Medes and the Elymaeans, who were rivals of Parthia, and refused to Phraates the title of "King of kings." Mithridates, driven back into wild regions whither it seemed impossible to pursue him, was for the moment forgotten; and the successful proconsul, not very desirous of risking his fame in an inglorious war against the Barbarians of the northern shores of the Euxine, was already dreaming of other and easier victories. He had almost reached the Caucasus and the Caspian: it was now his wish to go to the Red Sea and the

ANTIOCHUS XIII.
ASIA TICUS.⁴

¹ Jehonathan Hammelek (in Samaritan), within the spokes of an eight-rayed wheel. On the reverse ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ around an anchor. Bronze coin of Alexander Jannaeus.

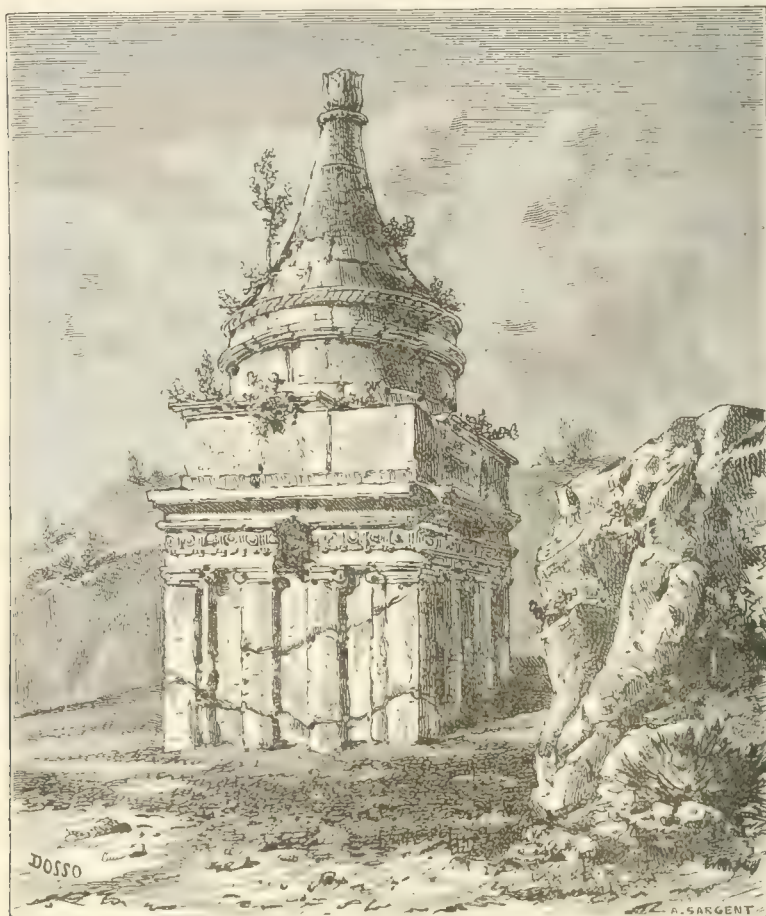
² COL(onia) PTOL(emais), turret-crowned woman (the city of Ptolemais) seated on rocks, holding ears of corn; at her feet a flowing river. Bronze coin of Ptolemais, struck under Hadrian.

³ Turreted female head. On the reverse A C and a vessel. Bronze coin of Ascalon.

⁴ From a coin.

Indian Ocean, taking possession, on his way, of Syria, which Tigranes had abandoned.

In the spring of 64, after organizing Pontus into a province, as if Mithridates were already dead, and leaving a fleet to cruise in the Euxine, he crossed the Taurus. Syria was in the most deplorable condition. Antiochus Asiaticus,¹ whom Lucullus had recognized as king, had not been able to establish his authority. A crowd of



PETRA. TOMB OF ABSALOM.²

petty tyrants divided his cities among themselves; and the Ituraeans and Arabs pillaged the country. Pompey, who was deter-

¹ This Antiochus was the seventeenth of the Seleucid kings, who had for two centuries and a half reigned over Syria.

² Photograph taken by the Duc de Luynes in his journey in the East, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, near Jerusalem.

mined, notwithstanding the sibyl, to make the Euphrates the frontier of the Republic, reduced Syria and Phœnicia to the condition of provinces, and only left Commagene to Antiochus, Chalcidice to a Ptolemy, and Osrhoene to an Arab chief, with the design that these princes, being dependent on Rome, should guard for her the banks of the great river at the only place where the Parthians



RUINS OF THE PALACE OF JOHN HYRCANUS.¹

could cross. In the interior of Syria the Ituraeans (Druses), who possessed many fortresses in Mount Lebanon, were reduced by a severe chastisement.

In Palestine the Maccabees had gloriously reconquered the independence of the Hebrew people; and since the year 107 one of their race, Aristobulus, had held the title of "King of the Jews." With this designation the new dynasty had also assumed the manners and the cruelty of the princes of the time. Aristobulus

¹ Comte Melchior de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem, monographie du Haram-ech-cherif*, pl. xxxiv. (Araq-el-Emir).

had killed his mother, and at the instigation of Queen Salome had caused his brother Antigonus to be assassinated. Under his successor, Alexander Jannæus, the new kingdom extended from Mount Carmel to the Egyptian frontier, and from the lake of Gennesaret to the land of the Nabathæans (Petra): Ptolemais (Acre) and Ascalon alone on the Mediterranean shore remained free. But after his time (69) six years of civil war cost the lives of fifty thousand Jews; and the disputes of the Pharisees and Sadducees shook the State to its foundations. The former, occupied especially with the law and with religious observances, the latter with the aggrandizement of the nation, formed two hostile factions.¹ The Pharisees were influential with the regent Alexandra, widow of Jannæus, and committed horrible excesses, as parties at once political and religious are wont to do when they have the power. A second civil war between the two sons of Alexander—the weak Hyrcanus II. and the energetic Aristobulus—brought about fresh complications. Hyrcanus was expelled from the throne; but the Pharisees called in foreign aid. They promised the king of the Nabathæan Arabs to restore to him the conquests of Jannæus; and Aretas, with fifty thousand men, besieged Aristobulus in Jerusalem.

One of Pompey's quaestors, Aemilius Scaurus, was at this time at Damascus: each of the two rivals offered four hundred talents for his assistance. Hyrcanus had already promised a large sum to the Nabathæan chief, and could only furnish the money after a victory. Aristobulus could pay it at once; and Scaurus decided for him, and wrote to Aretas, that, unless he at once withdrew, he should be declared an enemy to the Roman people. The Arab king gave way before the threatened displeasure of Rome (64). When Pompey arrived, he proposed to examine into the matter himself, and cited the two brothers to appear before



DENARIUS
REPRESENTING
ARISTOBULUS.²

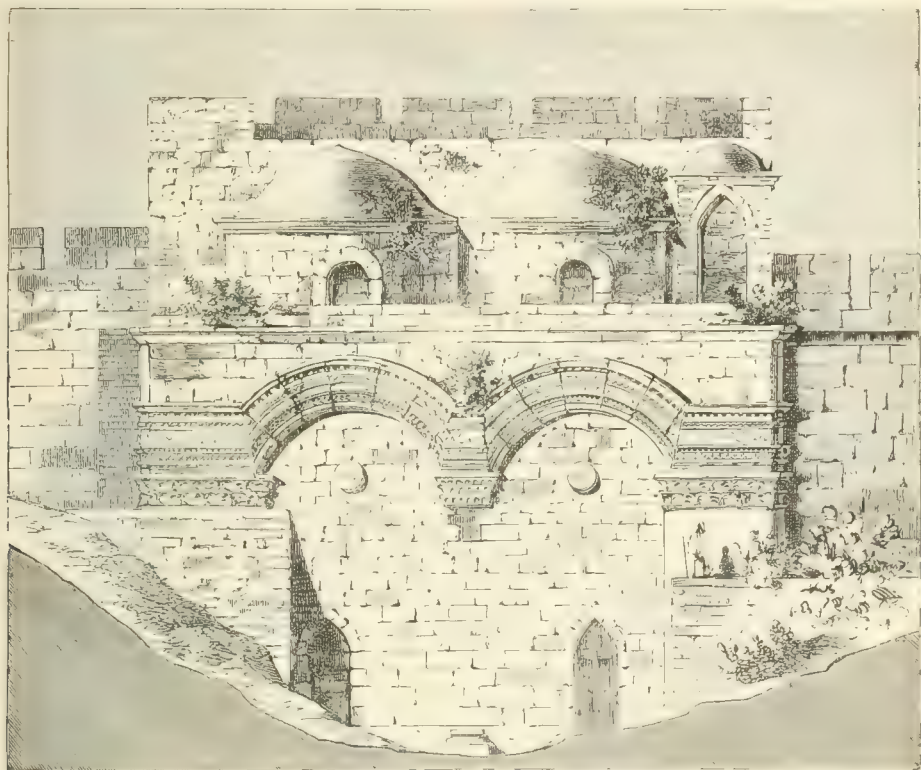
¹ The Pharisees have had until now a very bad name; but M. Cohen (*Pharisiens*, 2 vols., 1877) has undertaken their defence. The Pharisees of the New Testament were merely the enthusiasts or the hypocrites of the party.

² BACCHIVS IVDAEVS. The Aristobulus of the Greeks was named Bakkhi: the Romans, believing that the name was derived from Bacchus, called him Bacchius. The Jewish prince, indicated by the presence of the camel (the animal used for riding in his country), kneeling, offers an olive-branch to his conqueror. (Note by M. de Sauley.) Reverse of a silver coin of the Plantian family.

him at Damascus (64–63). Aristobulus tried with the general the method that had served him so well with the lieutenant, — sending to Pompey a golden vine of the value of five hundred talents and of the most exquisite workmanship; this time, however, without gaining his cause. Pompey, who wished to go as far as Jerusalem, a city which no Roman general had ever yet entered, sent away the two competitors, postponing his decision in their case



NABATHAEAN
COIN.¹



GOLDEN GATE OF THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM (WESTERN FACADE).²

until he should have chastised the Nabathaeans. This impartiality was not what had been expected by Aristobulus. He retired to his castles, and a few days later consented to give them up; he levied troops, then disbanded them; and finally threw himself into Jerusalem, whence Pompey enticed him, under pretext of a conference. The partisans of Hyrcanus opened the gates of the city

¹ Veiled head of the wife of Aretas, with the legend, *Koudda, queen of Nabath, year. . . .* The date is uncertain (M. de Sauley.) Silver coin of the Nabathæan kings.

² Comte Melchior de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, pl. viii.

to the proconsul, who besieged the party of Aristobulus in the Temple for three months. A final assault, in which Cornelius Sylla, the son of the dictator, was the first to scale the wall, gave the Romans the place. No quarter was given, and twelve thousand Jews lay dead around their sanctuary. During the massacre, the priests continued to officiate at the altar without neglecting a single detail of the ritual,¹ until their blood was mingled with that of the sacrifices. Pompey entered into the Holy of Holies, where the high priest alone entered once a year; but he respected the sacred vessels and even the treasures of the temple, valued at two thousand talents. Hyrcanus, re-established in the high priesthood on condition of renouncing the title of king and the diadem, was further required to pay an annual tribute, and to restore to Syria the conquests made by the Maccabees, together with the maritime cities, Joppa, Gaza, and others: this was, so to speak, a military road into Egypt, which Pompey thus opened to the legions.² Judaea, it is true, was not united to the Roman province; but it was left to fall into that condition of demi-servitude through which Rome caused nations to

COIN OF SCAURUS.³

pass who had not yet completely lost their patriotism. The Pharisees, therefore, had gained their cause. Jewish royalty was now a mere shadow, and of the glorious achievements of the Maccabees nothing was left.

The Nabathaeans had been

pursued by Pompey's lieutenant, M. Scaurus; but he could not reach Petra, protected by impracticable deserts. Aretas tried to retain Damascus, whose inhabitants had appealed to him to protect their trading interests, but Damascus was within Roman reach: Aretas, therefore, bought a peace, so that Pompey was enabled to reckon him in the list of conquered kings.

COIN OF ARETAS.⁴

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 4, 3.

² Josephus says, in fact (*Ant. Jud.* xiv. 8), that Pompey left to Scaurus the government of Lower Syria as far as the Euphrates and the Egyptian frontier.

³ M. SCAVR. AED CVR EX SC REX ARETAS. A camel and Aretas kneeling, presenting an olive-branch. (See p. 144, note 2.) On the reverse P. HYPSAE AED. CVR. C. HYPSAE COS PREIVE (Preivernum) CAPTV. Figure in a quadriga; behind, a scorpion. Silver coin of the Aemilian family.

⁴ Laurelled head, with the Nabathæan legend, *Haratat the king, loving his people*. A silver obolus. This piece in copper was current as a half-drachma. (Note by M. de Saulcy.)

During these operations, fortune was at work for Pompey in the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Mithridates, who had been believed dead, or else a hopeless fugitive, had re-appeared with an army at Phanagoria on the Bosphorus, to call to account his son Machares, in the matter of a golden wreath of great value, which the latter had sent to Lucullus, soliciting to be received among the number of the allies of Rome. Machares knew the implacable temper of his father, and sought to escape, but, finding it impossible, killed himself. Mithridates thus found himself again in possession of a kingdom, and neither age nor reverses had crushed his lofty ambition. The Roman fleet barred him from the sea; Asia was subject to the Romans. One route, however, remained open to him; all the way to Thrace the nations knew his name and his standards. He proposed to go amongst



REVERSE OF
A COIN OF
ARETAS.¹



CISTOPHORUS COIN
OF TRALLES.²

them; at his voice they would rise in arms, and follow him up the valley of the Danube as far as Gaul, whose warlike inhabitants would swell his ranks; and from the Alps he would hurl upon Rome a torrent of barbaric nations. This bold plan filled the soul of the old king: all his talk was of the Gallic Brennus and of Hannibal; and with his wonted activity he set on foot his preparations. But his

plans became known: his soldiers and officers recoiled from such fatigues and dangers. One of them, Castor, set the example of revolt by seizing upon Phanagoria, and fortifying himself there. Even his son Pharnaces conspired against him. This the old king pardoned; but soon the defection became general. Mithridates proposed to march against the rebels; but his very escort abandoned him. He returned into his palace, and from its walls beheld his son proclaimed king. Upon this he took poison; but in vain, for the potion had no effect upon him. He essayed to kill himself with his sword; but his hand failed him. A Gaul finally rendered him this last service (63). He was at the time of his death

¹ Two cornucopiae and Nabathæan legend. Reverse of a bronze coin of Aretas (Harat) and his wife, Sequailat.

² This coin of T. Ampius Balbus was struck at Tralles, after the victory of Pompey over Mithridates (cf. O. Rayet and Alb. Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 78, fig. 14).

sixty-eight years of age, and for a half-century had occupied the historic stage whence he made his exit thus tragically. We



CIMMERIAN BOSPHORUS: LAUREL-WREATH OF GOLD.¹

may say with Racine.² "His defeats alone made nearly all the military fame of three of the greatest generals of the Republic, — Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey."



MASSIVE GOLD RING.³

Pompey was before the walls of Jericho when news came to him that the greatest of Rome's enemies, after the Carthaginian hero, had, like Hannibal and Philopoemen, perished by treason. As soon as Jerusalem was taken, he returned into Pontus to Amisus, whither Pharnaces, as a last and shameful act of treason, sent to him, with magnificent presents, the body of Mithridates clothed in rich attire, after the fashion of the Bos-

phorus. The body was much disfigured, but could be recognized by the many scars which covered the face. The Roman caused him to be honorably interred at Sinope, in the tomb of his ancestors.

¹ This wreath, of magnificent workmanship, is represented in the *Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* pl. v. No. 3.

² Racine, preface to *Mithridates*.

³ Ring with an intaglio in Syrian garnet (*Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* pl. xv. No. 9).

III. — RE-ORGANIZATION OF ANTERIOR ASIA (65).

IN Asia Minor the population dwells along the coasts. Upon the Euxine shore the cities are less numerous than upon the



THE SANGARIUS, BETWEEN SABANDJA AND GHEÏVEH.¹

Aegaeon; but much of the land is no less fertile. Pompey relinquished the arid and mountainous interior of Paphlagonia to a prince, Attalus, who claimed to be of the ancient race of the Pylaemenidae, the early kings of the country, and he included in Bithynia the fertile region sloping down to the Euxine, between the Halys and Sangarius, together with some portions of Pontus lying eastward of the former river. The great Greek city Amisus, in the centre of this region, seems to have been garrisoned as the advanced post of the Roman



COIN OF APAMEIA.²

¹ Copied from the *Voyage de Constantin à Ephèse* by Comte A. de Moastier (*Tour du monde*, vol. ix. No. 223).

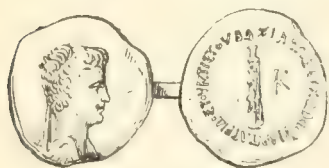
² The Meander and the Marsyas, rivers on the banks of which Apameia is built, recumbent beneath the Diana of Ephesus. The head of the goddess is surmounted by her temple, and two hinds are at her side. The legend should be read thus: ΠΟΤΕΙΝΟΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ ΒΑΚΧΙΟΥ ΠΑΝΘΥ ΕΠΙΣΤΕΥ ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΜΕΙΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΣΑΕΙΣ, or, Publius Aurelius Bacchius, president of the feast of the Apameians: the Meander and the Marsyas. Coin of Apameia.

sway. Although Pompey had not ventured to carry farther eastward the domain of the Republic, he made it a point to preserve the memory of his victories over Mithridates by giving the new province the double name of Pontus and Bithynia.

He also organized the province of Cilicia, which was divided into six districts, namely, Cilicia of the plain¹ and that of the mountains, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Isauria, and Lycaonia, to which were added the Phrygian territories of Laodicea, Apameia, Synnada, and later (58) the island of Cyprus. Tarsus was its capital, *caput Ciliciæ*. From Cicero's letters we know the cities where the governor held his assizes,—Tarsus, for Cilicia of the plain; Iconium, for Lycaonia; Philomelium, for Isauria; Perga, for Pamphylia; Laodicea, whose jurisdiction included twenty-five cities; Apameia, fifteen; Synnada, twenty-one.

The vast territory between Mount Amanus on the north and the Arabian desert on the south formed the new province of Syria; but it comprised too many peoples, dynasties, and cities, who at the fall of the Seleucidae and upon the defeat of Tigranes believed themselves independent, for Rome to do more in this region than to assume rights of suzerainty without interfering with local

liberties. She left great privileges to these populations, whose affection towards her was indispensable on this remote frontier, where danger was always imminent.



COIN OF ARCHELAUS.²

After the share of the sovereign people came that of the kings their clients. In recompense for his parricide, Pharnaces kept the Bosphorus, and shared with Castor of Phanagoria the title of "friend and ally of the Roman people." The tetrarch of the Tolistoboi in Galatia, Dejotarus, had shown himself faithful and valiant; and Pompey gave him for his flocks the rich pasture-lands between the Halys and the Iris and in the neighborhood of the cities of Pharnacia and Trapezus (Trebizond); to this he added Lesser Armenia, a poor and mountainous region, but a position whence Dejotarus would keep guard in the interest of Rome over the frontier of Greater Armenia.

¹ *Cilicia Campestris* and *C. Aspera*.

² Head of Archelaus. On the reverse a club. Silver coin.

Brogitarus, his son-in-law, received the fortress of Mithridatium with a territory extending along the joint boundary of Pontus and Galatia.¹ The son of the general conquered at Chaeronea, Archelaus, was named high priest at Comana; we have already mentioned the share assigned to Attalus in Paphlagonia; Ariobarzanes had recovered Cappadocia, and Pompey gave him in addition Sophene, making him master of the fords of the Euphrates. Gordyene, farther eastward, remained in the possession of Tigranes.



COIN OF COMANA.²

The Seleucid Antiochus held Commagene, a small province where the Romans had need of a docile ally, because it joined Cappadocia to Syria, and commanded the passage of the Euphrates. On the left bank of the great river, the emir of Osrhoene, Abgar, had also accepted the position of client of Rome. All the avenues into Asia Minor by the Upper Euphrates were therefore well guarded.

These dynasties remained objects of suspicion even while they were rewarded; but it was not so with the cities. Rome loved the municipal system; and to favor the Asiatic cities seemed to her general an act of good policy in this land of slavery. Pompey founded or repopled as many as thirty-nine cities, whose sites were so well chosen that some of them yet exist. He declared free the great cities of Antioch on the Orontes, and Seleucia, its neighbor, which had repulsed all the attacks of Tigranes; on the coast of Palestine, Gaza; on the Euxine, Phanagoria; on the Aegæan Sea, Mitylene. Cyzicus, which had so bravely resisted Mithridates, received an extensive territory; and Pontic Heracleia, Sinope, and Amisus, notwithstanding their long resistance to the Romans, were raised from their ruins.

Assisted by the commissioners of the Senate, Pompey prepared the rules of government (*formulae*) for the new provinces, Pontus and Bithynia, Syria and Cilicia, and did it with so much ability

¹ Strabo, xii. 367.

² COL. IV. AVG. G. I. F. COMANORV. Woman standing in a temple. Reverse of a bronze coin of Caracalla, who had raised Comana in Cappadocia to the rank of a colony. This city contained the renowned temple of Anaitis, whom Strabo calls Enyo, and the Greeks confused with Bellona. She was a goddess honored like all the feminine divinities of Asia, with an orgiastic worship, wherein were shown "contrasts of purity and impurity, of warlike energy and unbridled lust." (See *Gazette archéol.*, 1876, p. 10.)

that two centuries later these regulations were still in force. Never did conquerors obliterate by more benefits the memory of their victories; and we cannot sufficiently admire that genius for government which so well foresaw the needs of the subjects and the necessities of the Empire. From the Euxine to the Red Sea all Anterior Asia had been reconstructed without submitting it to that uniformity of administration which provokes resistance by violating ancient customs and manners. Subject cities of every degree, allied princes, free republics, all political forms, were here, and balanced one another. The kingdom of Pontus, which had so long threatened Rome, had ceased to exist; and Armenia, fallen from the high rank she had for a moment held, was now only a barrier against the great Oriental Empire of the Parthians, which Rome left existing for the reason that she was not able to reach it.

Coming into Asia after Sylla and Lucullus, Pompey had no need to strike heavy blows; but he organized the sway of Rome. He fixed limits which the Empire could never pass; and we willingly admit his boast, as he displayed his triumphal robe, that he had brought to an end the long travail of Roman greatness.

¹ Engraved stone (carnelian) of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1871, which has been called the triumph of Pompey, but, according to Chabouillet, is only an athlete's victory.



CONQUERING ATHLETE.¹

CHAPTER LI.

POWERLESSNESS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC.

I. INTERNAL TROUBLES ; RISE OF CAESAR.

IN the time of Sylla, the Tuscan haruspices, being consulted about certain portents, had replied that a new era was approaching, and that the form of the world was about to be changed. But it did not require prophetic vision to see that a revolution was at hand.

In the last sixty years two diverse attempts had been made to reconstitute the Republic,—one in the popular interest, the other in that of the aristocracy. The former failed because the Gracchi counted too much upon that rabble of freedmen who had replaced the ancient Roman people: the other appeared for a time to succeed, because Sylla made use of the only power left in Rome,—the nobility. But this nobility, which might have ruled the world had it known how to rule itself, showed itself incapable of preserving empire; and Pompey, to repay the plaudits of the populace, deprived it of a portion of what Sylla had given it.¹ This, again, was but a blind restoration of the past, a return to the times of Sulpicius and Saturninus, without further guaranty against the spirit of faction: this was to bring the war back into the Forum, where it did in fact soon break out. The consulship of Piso in the year 67 B.C. may be reckoned among those of the worst times of the Republic.

One of Pompey's former quaestors, C. Cornelius, was then tribune. He was anxious to repress the usurious loans by which the nobles ruined the provinces, and to prevent certain bribed senators from dispensing, in the Senate's name, with the observation of some law.

¹ See vol. iii. p. 104.

Piso opposed this measure, and, when the people murmured, he ordered several arrests; but the crowd rushed upon the lictors, broke their rods, and drove the consul from the Forum with a shower of stones. Like Pompey, Cornelius was no demagogue. He dismissed the assembly, and modified his proposal in this way, — a *senatus-consultum* dispensing with an existing law must be passed by a Senate of at least two hundred members.¹ He also attempted to extend the crime of bribery to those who had aided the accused candidate, and he proposed severe penalties against them. Piso, finding violence unsuccessful, now employed artifice: he himself took charge of this measure in order not to leave the honor of it to the tribune, and under pretext, that, in the face of excessive penalties, there would be found neither accusers nor judges, he proposed for the guilty only expulsion from the Senate, suspension from office, and a fine. Again a disturbance compelled him to escape from the Forum. He called together his friends, came back surrounded by them, and the law was passed.² As soon as Cornelius had quitted office, the two Cominii accused him of the crime of treason in disregarding the veto of his colleagues; but Manilius, another of Pompey's agents, at the head of an armed band threatened them with death. They fled, protected by the consuls, to a house whence they escaped at night over the roofs (66).

Thus the armed conflicts began again. Not long before, Licinius Macer accused the Senate of despotism:³ now the consuls reproach the tribunes with their violence. Nobles and people alike were convicted of inability to rule, and there remained but one further experiment, — monarchy.⁴ Three men were at this time striving for royal power, — Pompey, after the manner of Pericles, by legal means; Catiline, like Dionysius and Agathocles, by conspiracies and the

¹ A more important law by the same tribune obliged the magistrates, upon their entry into office, to publish the rules by which they would judge, and forbade them ever to set aside their edict, as they had hitherto done, by a new edict, *edictum repentinum* (Dion. xxxvi. 38, 39; Cic., *Pro Murena*, 23; Dion. xxxvi. 21; and Ascon. in Cic., *Pro C. Cornelio*, fragm. i. 19, 34).

² The affair was taken up again in 65. Cicero, who was anxious to please Pompey, and render himself popular, defended the accused. This oration, which Quintilian (viii. 3) calls a masterpiece, is lost, except a few fragments.

³ See vol. iii. p. 101.

⁴ Cicero says, that at the commencement of his consulship, *novæ dominationes, extraneæ domus non imperia, sed regna, quævis putabantur* (*De Leg. agraria*, ii. 3).



JULIUS CAESAR (MUSEUM OF THE CAPITOL).

soldiery ; Caesar, after the manner of Alexander, by great personal magnetism and the force of genius. To these three men was added another, who, superior to his age, believed in virtue and in the power of reason, and who would not yield to the thought that liberty must perish. Like Drusus, Cicero sought the safety of the Republic, not in the exclusive predominance of one class of citizens, but in the reconciliation of all the three orders. To have but one class in the State meant despotism ; to have two, war ; with three there might be harmony and peace. He had already done his part in transferring the judicial powers to the knights, and he strove to win public opinion to their side, extolling their impartiality and services in all his speeches. He desired to attach Pompey to their cause, and, as he had gained an insight into the nature of the latter's ambition, he spared no pains to advance it.¹ Moreover, as a new man, Cicero needed Pompey's support to make his way : thus his personal ambition was in agreement with what he believed to be the public interest.

Another person also flattered Pompey, and beneath the shadow of this mighty name was making himself a position in the State. We already know Julius Caesar. His influence at Rome had become considerable, and he owed it neither to the offices he had held, for he was only pontiff, nor to his exploits, for he had never been in the field, nor to his eloquence, although it had been proved by early successes. The people placed their hope in this son-in-law of Cinna, this nephew of Marius, sprung from the noblest of the patrician houses, and they felt the charm that pervaded the entire personality of the descendant of Venus and Anchises.³ His mind and manners had a fascination that no other great ruler of men has also possessed ; but in Caesar this



COIN OF THE
YOUNG JULIUS
CAESAR.²

¹ Quintus tells his brother (*De Petit. cons.* 19, 51) that he acquired his popularity by defending Pompey's friends, Manilius and Cornelius.

² M. SANQVINIVS IIIVIR. Bare head of Julius Caesar represented as young and deified ; above, a star. Silver coin struck by Sanquinus, monetary triumvir of Augustus.

³ Cic., *Ad Fam.* viii. 15 : "He bore on his ring the figure of an armed Venus, a double emblem of the weakness and glory of this great man." (Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*). The *Musée Borbonico* at Naples possesses a colossal bust of Caesar, which is considered authentic. His features have also been preserved to us by other busts, statues, coins, and gems. Unfortunately all these portraits are not alike. Cicero says of him, *Forma magnifica et generosa quodam modo* (*Brut.*, 75).

was allied with a natural elegance that Napoleon was never able to acquire. The latter, in spite of himself, was the representative of a young and uncouth democracy: the former was the heir of a time-honored nobility, a *grand seigneur*, who found himself by accident among the people.¹

VENUS AND ANCHISES³

It must indeed be owned that the future master of the world was at first only the king of fashion: the gilded youth despaired of rivalling the folds of his toga,² and the women found him irresistible. Magnificent and prodigal, as if he counted upon the wealth of the world, he lavished gold less for his pleasures than for his friends and the populace whom he entertained at splendid feasts. Cicero, too fond of art to be a good judge of men — Cicero, who believed in Catiline's repentance, as later in the unselfishness of Octavius, was deceived by this apparent frivolity. "When I see him with his curled hair, afraid of disarranging it with the tip of his finger, I feel reassured: such a man can never dream of overturning the State." He would have been less confident, had he called to mind that journey into Asia (76 B.C.) during which Caesar, having fallen into the hands of pirates, mastered these brigands

COIN OF CICERO.⁴

¹ In the formation of great men, Nature does three-quarters of the work, and education the rest. It is worthy of remark that Caesar's master in philosophy and eloquence was Gniphio the Gaul (Suet., *De Gramm.* 7).

² Suet., *Caesar*, 43: *Usum enim lato clavo ad manus fimbriato, nec ut unquam aliter quam super eum cinqueretur.*

³ Fragment of a bronze mirror-case found in Epirus, representing at the side of the sleeping Anchises the goddess accompanied by Eros (Love) and Himeros, the personification of Desire (Millingen, *Anc. and. monuments*, i. 2, pl. 12; cf. L. de Ronchand, in *Diet. des Antiq.*, Saglio, p. 226).

⁴ Head of Cicero on a bronze coin struck at Magnesia in Lydia, with this inscription: ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΤΥΛΛΙΟΣ ΚΙΚΕΡΩΝ (Marens Tullius Cicero). It may be that this coin has preserved to us the authentic portrait of the great orator. (Mionnet, *Description* vol. iv., *Lydia* No. 385, p. 71.)

by his proud bearing, compelling them to listen to him and to serve him, and threatening them, captive as he was, with crucifixion. They had demanded twenty talents as his ransom. "It is not enough," he said: "you shall have fifty; but afterwards I will have you all put to death;" and he had kept his word. His ransom having arrived from Miletus, he had collected a few vessels, pursued and captured the pirates, and had crucified them in spite of the governor of the province. On his return to Rome, he accused Sylla's friend, Dolabella, of the extortion which he had practised in his government of Macedonia, and after him Antonius Hybrida, one of the dictator's lieutenants, who had pillaged several Greek towns. Those conspicuous prosecutions gave opportunity for a young man to attract public attention; but, by his choice of persons to attack, Caesar affirmed his popular opinions. Some time afterwards, while studying at Rhodes, he learned that Mithridates was making war upon the allies of the Republic. He immediately crossed to the mainland, collected troops, defeated several detachments of the Pontic army, and retained the towns in alliance with Rome; doing all this without having received orders of any kind. Young as he was, Caesar already concealed a high ambition, for he felt his genius, and saw the ills from which the Republic suffered, the powerlessness of the remedy proposed by Sylla, and the absolute incapacity of his heirs. His friends asserted that they had seen him weep before a statue of Alexander, saying again and again, "At my age he had conquered the world, and as yet I have done nothing."

He had done more than he confessed.¹ Already the Senate

¹ The chronology of Caesar's history up to his consulship is as follows: born July 12 of the year 100 or 102 B.C. (see vol. iii. p. 58, note 1); appointed *flamen dialis* through the influence of Marius, 87; marries Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, 83; serves under Minucius Thermus at the siege of Mitylene, 81; wins a civic crown there, 80; serves in Cilicia under P. Sulpicius, and returns to Rome on the news of Sylla's death, 78; accuses Dolabella, 77; accuses Antonius, 76; resides at Rhodes to attend the lessons of Molon the rhetorician, 75; regains the dignity of *flamen*, and is chosen legionary tribune by the people, whom he had won over by distributing largesse of corn, 74; his uncle Aurelius Cotta deprives the Senate of their judicial powers, and he himself brings about the recall of the accomplices of Lepidus, 70; made *quaestor*, and follows the praetor Antistius into Hispania Citerior, 68; marries Pompeia, grand-daughter of the consul Pompeius Rufus, supports the Gabinian Law in favor of Pompey, and is appointed director of the repairs to the Via Appia, 67; elected to the *curule-aedileship*, 65; made *juxta quaestionis de sicariis*, 64; chosen high pontiff and praetor, 63; his praetorship, 62; governor of Hispania Ulterior, 61; returns to Rome, 60; his consulship, 59.

watched uneasily the nephew of Marius and of that Aurelius Cotta who had deprived them of their *judicia*—this popular orator, who had brought about the recall of the friends of Lepidus—this prodigal, who outshone all the nobility in his extravagance. Crassus the consul saw in him a rival;¹ Pompey, a necessary friend; and the people loved him—that people whom he courted without cringing, whom he led while restraining their evil passions, like the spirited horses which he amused himself by taming on the Campus Martius. The nobles hoped, that, ruined by his mad expenditure, he would cease to be formidable when he ceased to be able to buy office;² but they forgot that perhaps the people would give to him what they sold to others. Moreover, the usurers with their rapacious instinct foresaw the future of the young spendthrift, and none refused him money. Before he had held any office, he owed thirteen hundred talents.³

When Pompey returned from Spain, he had found Caesar so strong that he had been obliged to make terms with him. He had thought to make a tool of him, but he became one himself; at least he fell under the spell. He listened to advice offered in the guise of eulogy, and Caesar had a great share in the decision which separated Pompey from the nobility, with whom he belonged, and placed him at the head of the people, where his character could not allow him permanently to remain.⁴ It was well done to bring over to the popular party and the tribuneship a man who must inevitably offend both people and tribunes. And not less clever was it, when he had compromised Pompey with the aristocracy, to remove him still further from them by causing almost regal honors to be decreed him. Caesar gave his staunchest support to the propositions of Gabinus and Manilius.⁵ On this occasion he met Cicero on the same ground, but with very different intentions:

¹ Caesar disputed a mission to Egypt with him, and he would have obtained it from the people, if the nobles had not hindered the plebiscitum by the veto of the tribunes.

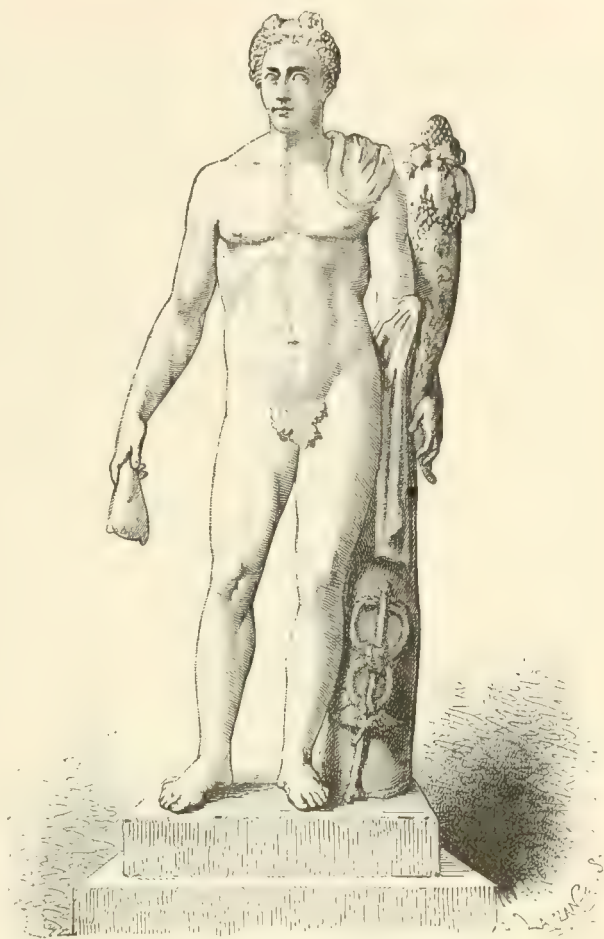
² Plut., *Caesar*, 1; Cic., *Pro Plancio*, 26.

³ Plut., *Ibid.*, 5. His debts were perhaps less than stated. His borrowing was a means of attaching influential persons to his political fortunes. With this object he borrowed of Crassus, Pompey, and Atticus. (Cic., *Ad Att.*, vi. 1; and Plut., *Ibid.*) This Crassus was interested in the success of a man who owed him eight hundred and fifty talents. During his proconsulate and dictatorship, Caesar had his household affairs managed with care.

⁴ See vol. iii. p. 104.

⁵ See vol. iii. p. 116.

the new man thought only of gaining a patron, and votes for his own approaching candidature for the consulship. The popular patrician saw with pleasure how the people were accustoming themselves to confer great powers which he himself should one day claim. Yet there was a great boldness in accumulating so much power in Pompey's hands: was it not working to provide himself with a master? But Caesar thoroughly understood his rival. From the day when he marked the royal airs of the popular hero, he had never believed that Pompey's popularity would be lasting. The latter had nothing to

MANILIUS AS MERCURY.¹

recommend him but his military successes, and, as for victories. Caesar would gain them: these successes he would eclipse by greater ones, and there would remain to him the advantage—a very great one in a dying republic—of knowing how to sway and lead that crowd of the Forum, whose nominal sovereignty an able man might at any time change into a real one.

These patient calculations have been too much insisted upon, and their subtle depth has been exaggerated. If Pompey had been

¹ This statue, as well as the one of Manilia as Venus, given on the next page, was found in the tomb of the consul Manilius on the Appian Way. They are now in the Vatican Museum.

really capable of vigorous action, all this scaffolding of ambition



MANILIA AS VENUS.

would have been overturned. At the commencement of his political life, Caesar followed events rather than directed them; at the utmost he did but help them to glide into the channels to which they themselves were disposed. He swayed the future in the only way in which man can sway it to suit his purpose, — by foreseeing, through a clear understanding of the present, to what far-off end society is tending. The saying of Cicero, quoted by Suetonius,¹ — “From his aedileship he dreamed of empire; and he made sure of it

when he was consul.” — is one of those pompous sentences which the great orator loved to deliver. Caesar did not dream of the dictatorship from his youth upwards. His birth had placed him on the side of the popular party, — the party which sought for reforms; and he remained there without ever swerving. As consul, he began these necessary reforms: as dictator, he continued and extended them. The Empire was the result of the Civil war.

But all plans for the present and the future, whether Caesar's or Pompey's, whether of the Senate or the tribunes, were nearly upset by a conspiracy hatched in the “vilest sink of the Republic.”

¹ *Caesar*, 9.

II. — CATILINE (65–62 B.C.).

SYLLA thought he had made peaceable husbandmen of his veterans, and honest citizens of his enriched assassins. But these idle soldiers made others work for them, then sold their lands, and kept their swords only, in hopes of another civil war and fresh plunder. It had taken even less time for their former leaders to spend the gold of the proscribed. The rich and well-to-do classes saw with alarm beneath them, no longer the poor of Rome, an idle populace resigned to their miseries, and asking but a few measures of wheat to live in peace, but another populace, with a taste and a craving for debauch, — men with dark looks and ready hands, enemies of order and society, whatever the government might be, and living at the public expense by a thousand criminal pursuits. And day by day this threatening crowd was increasing.

For a long time, only individual crimes came from it; but a man arose who aimed at using this class, thus at war with society, as a force to procure his own elevation. Catiline had all the qualities needful for a party chief, — high birth,¹ an air of distinction, an iron frame which could endure all excesses, great abilities, unlimited audacity and courage, and at need the frugality of the hardest soldier. Liberal, obliging, and insinuating, he could be in turns austere, grave, or jovial, according to the character or age of those whom he sought to please. Ever ready to serve his friends with money, credit, or personal aid, sparing neither labor nor crime in their behalf, he exercised an irresistible influence in this atmosphere of debauch.² Two centuries sooner, Catiline might have been a great citizen; but the manners and social state of the new Rome

¹ The Sergian house was patrician, and had given its name to one of the tribes.

² Such, at least, is the portrait which Cicero draws of him in the *Pro Cælio*, and in the second oration against Catiline; yet for a short time he was in league with him: *Me ipsum, me inquam, quondam pacem ille decepit*. Catiline had distinguished himself with Curio's army in Macedonia, and as soon as he attained the prescribed age for the praetorship had obtained it.

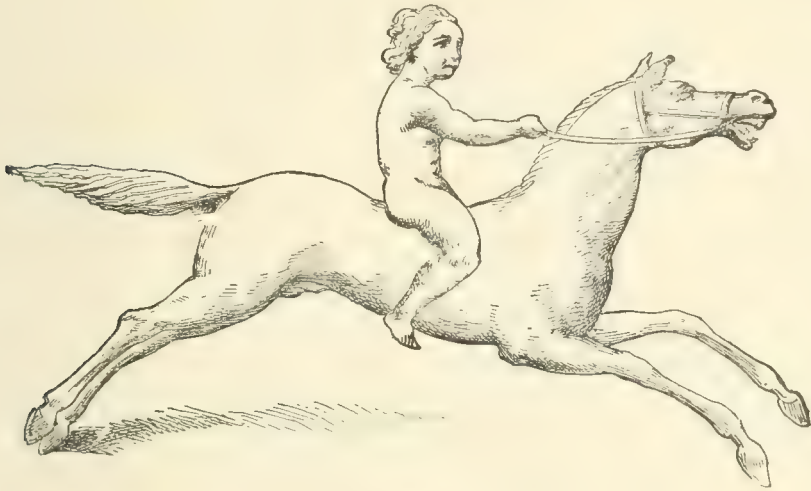
opened another object of ambition, and he pursued it with all the ardor of his fiery nature. By his age, Catiline belonged to the generation which had entered upon public life under the dictatorship of Sylla. The days of terror in cities—whether nature strikes with contagion, or men slay with the sword—are often accompanied, and are always followed, by the most frightful license. It was in the midst of such a time, when men played at hazard with fortunes and lives, that Catiline, prepared by the disorders of his youth,¹ had finished his political education. And how he, too, played with life and fortune! We have already said that he had distinguished himself among the fiercest assassins. He had killed his brother-in-law to give free course to an incestuous amour: he murdered his wife and son to induce a woman to give him her hand.² During his pro-praetorship in Africa he committed fearful extortions (67 B.C.). On his return he canvassed for the consulship; but, a deputation from the province coming to lodge an accusation against him, the Senate struck his name from the list of candidates. Catiline withdrew, frenzied with rage: forbidden even lawful canvassing, he set about a revolution.

He had long been leagued with all the infamous and guilty in Rome. But it was a party that he required, not merely accomplices: he therefore set himself to win over the poor and the dissolute youth by pandering to their passions. For any one who asked him, he had always fine hounds, horses, gladiators, or courtesans; then from pleasure he led them on to crime, and at last he had them in his power. But these profligate youths did not constitute an army. Catiline had long before prepared one by his relations with the military colonists, his old companions-in-arms. He reminded them of Sylla and his gifts, and of their lands pledged to usurers. If he attained the consulship, if he became master, it would be his care to preserve to the victors the fruits of their courage. The abolition of debts should be the prelude to fresh largesses. Accordingly the veterans held themselves ready to come to Rome in crowds and vote for him. Thus Catiline already possessed great resources. The severity of the new tribunals furnished him with other allies.

¹ His father had been condemned for murder (Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*, 7).

² Cic., *Cat.* i. 6; Val. Max., ix. 1, 9; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 2. Sallust does not mention the murder of Gratidianus, which Cicero attributes to him.

A decision had just condemned the two consuls-elect for the year 65 B.C. — P. Autronius Paetus and P. Corn. Sylla — as guilty of bribery; and their accusers, L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, had been chosen in their stead. Catiline inflamed the resentment of Paetus and Sylla; and a plot was formed to murder the new consuls on the kalends of January, on occasion of their offering sacrifice at the Capitol. Crassus and Caesar are said to have joined this conspiracy: the former was to be created dictator, and with this authority to reinstate Paetus and Sylla in the consulship. But this was probably a calumny. Crassus with his great



RACE-HORSE.

wealth had everything to lose by associating with ruined men, whose first care would have been to overthrow all fortunes. In the case of Caesar his kindly disposition was averse to the intended violences of the conspirators; but certainly neither of them viewed the agitation with disapproval, and, without taking any part in it, they must have awaited the issue to turn it to the furtherance of their ambition. Neither of them could assist these desperadoes in revolt against all social order; but they had no intention of constituting themselves the upholders of the oligarchy. They therefore held aloof, allowing the nobles and Catiline to weaken each other in mortal combat.

Twice the attempt failed, — on the kalends of January and on

the nones of February. — because the consuls had been forewarned. It seems that a reconciliation then took place, or rather that the trembling Senate attempted to pacify these irreconcilables by concessions. Cn. Piso, one of the most formidable conspirators, was sent to Spain as praetor: it is true that his Spanish escort assassinated him. But when Clodius again brought up the charge of extortion against Catiline, Torquatus, one of the consuls whom it had been proposed to murder, defended the accused, and we are not sure that Cicero did not also take part with him in this defence. He at least made preparations for doing so, and in a letter which is extant he congratulates himself upon having secured all the judges whom he desired. "If he be acquitted," he adds, "I hope to come to an agreement with him about my candidature."¹ This letter gives matter for reflection on the subject of the great day of the nones of December, 63 B.C. But we must tell the story from the only documents that time has left us, reserving, however, the right of forming our own judgment in the case.²

Catiline had been acquitted; but he was a ruined man.³ All the gold he had brought from Africa had passed to his judges (65 B.C.). What disposed the Senate to connive at such schemes was the feeling of their own weakness and the fear inspired by Caesar. Catiline's ambition as yet appeared to be that of a single individual: at Caesar's back the senators saw a party.⁴ In this same year (65) he had been appointed curule-aedile, and he had not let slip the opportunity of making a surer canvass than that of an election-day, bribing the whole populace at once with the magnificence of his games and his unheard-of prodigalities. He adorned the Forum, the basilicas, and the temples, with pictures and statues, and in honor of his father's memory he exhibited three hundred

¹ *Ad Att.*, i. 2.

² Cicero afterwards, in the *De Officiis* (ii. 24), spoke of Catiline's conspiracy as only a debtors' plot against their creditors: *Nunquam nec majus aes alienum fuit, nec melius, nec facilius dissolutum est*; and the letter of Mallius to Marcus Rex (*Sall.*, *Cat.* 33) proves that this was the real cause which would provide Catiline with an army. But, if the soldier demanded only the abolition of debts, did not the chief desire something more? — *tabulas novas, proscriptiones locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas*. (*Sall.*, *Ibid.* 21.) Our documents show us an ambitious man desirous of taking the highest place: nothing indicates the reformer.

³ *Cic.*, *De Petit. cons.* 3. He was again accused in the following year (64 B.C.), by Lucullus, of public violence, and acquitted (*Dion.* xxxvii. 10).

⁴ *Suet.*, *Caesar*, 10; *Dion.* xxxviii. 8.

and twenty pairs of gladiators wearing gilded armor. Never had the circus seen such slaughter, never had the people enjoyed such a surfeit of savage pleasure. The Senate took fright at this butchery, or rather at the opportunities for a sudden surprise furnished by such an army of bravoës, and issued a decree limiting the number of gladiators at such shows. The Megalesia and the great Roman games were celebrated with similar pomp; and Caesar furnished silver lances to those condemned to fight with wild beasts.¹

At these feasts and games, his colleague Bibulus, serving his apprenticeship in self-sacrifice, said with amazement, "We are both ruining ourselves; but it appears as if he alone provided the money: the people see only him."² Caesar won still greater applause when one morning, from all parts of the city, men saw at the gates of the Capitol statues glittering with gold: it was Marius re-appearing with his trophies of the Jugurthan and Cimbrian wars.⁴ Some years earlier, Caesar had caused the image of Marius

CHARIOTEER.²

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 16: . . . *Omni apparatu arenæ argenteo usus est.*

² Victor in the chariot races, from a beautiful statue in the *Museo Pio-Clementino*, No. 619. In the right hand he holds a palm, the emblem of victory, and in the left, either the reins, or a purse containing the money he has won. His costume is that which the *auriga* usually wore in races.

³ *Beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur* (Sall., *Cat.* 54).

⁴ Plut., *Caesar*, 6; Vell. Patern., ii. 53; Val. Max., VI. ix. 14.

to be carried at the funeral of Julia his aunt, the widow of the conqueror of the Cimbri, and had publicly pronounced a panegyric over her.¹ But the Senate had proscribed these trophies; Sylla had torn them down; and now an aedile set them up again. The nobles were struck dumb by such audacity and by the joy of the multitude, hastening to salute the image of the man, who, in spite of his selfish ambition, had always been loved as the most illustrious representative of the people. Vainly did Catulus exclaim, "It is no longer by secret intrigue, but openly in the face of Heaven, that Caesar attacks the constitution!"² None dared support him, and the trophies of the popular hero continued to shine above the heads of the trembling senators.

This day was decisive; a party had found its true leader and its colors. Pompey fell to the second place in the affections of the people, while Caesar rose to the first. The conqueror of Sertorius, of the pirates, and of Mithridates, might now return: the aedile was in a position to cope with him.

At the expiration of his aedileship (64 B.C.), Caesar endeavored to obtain the duty of reducing Egypt to a province, in virtue of the will of Ptolemy-Alexander I. This kingdom, at that time the great highway of European and Eastern commerce, was the richest country in the world. If it had not the twenty-three thousand towns assigned to it by Theocritus, it is certain that it paid yearly a tax of fourteen thousand eight hundred talents. With such a revenue a man could pay many debts, and with the Egyptian harvests make many largesses to the people. Crassus and Caesar disputed the rich prey; but neither of them obtained it. The affair was postponed, and the tribune Papius by a law drove out all the foreigners whom the two competitors—Caesar especially, who was already in intimate relations with the Transpadani⁴—had called to Rome to aid in passing their demand.



EGYPTIAN
REAPING
WHEAT.

¹ In 68 B.C., during his quaestorship, contrary to custom, which did not authorize funeral orations over young women, he had pronounced a panegyric upon his wife Cornelia, daughter of Cinna.

² Marius had ordered the death of the father of Catulus.

³ Coin of one of the Laetitia (*Cabinet de France*), published by Pellerin, *Médailles des Rois*, p. 209.

⁴ Dion. xxxvii. 9; Cic., *De Leg. agraria*, i. 4; *Pro Archia*, 5. On returning from Spain after his quaestorship, he had promised the Transpadani, who already possessed the *jus Latii*

Instead of this brilliant mission, Caesar was appointed to preside at the tribunal charged with the punishment of murderers, *de sicariis*. Hitherto he had restricted himself to protesting against Sylla's dictatorship: he now sought to inflict upon it a legal disgrace. Among the cases which he brought up before his court were those of two murderers of proscribed persons, — L. Bellienus, the centurion who had killed Lucretius Ofella, and another more obscure assassin: these he condemned,¹ and, in order to make an attack on the Senate, he went higher still. At his instigation, Labienus, one of the tribunes of the people, in the following year accused the aged senator Rabirius of having, nearly forty years before, slain, by order of the Senate, an inviolable magistrate, the tribune Saturninus;² and he claimed the application of the old law of *perduellio*, which did not, like the law of *majestas*, allow the choice of voluntary exile.³ Condemned by the duumvirs, Rabirius appealed to the people. But Labienus placed upon the rostra the image of the murdered magistrate; and he allowed the advocate of the accused only a half-hour for his argument. In spite of the eloquent efforts of Cicero, in spite of the prayers and tears of the principal senators, Rabirius would have been declared guilty, had not the praetor Metellus Celer snatched down the white flag which floated over the Janiculum.⁴ This scrupulous people yielded to ancient custom while conscious of its folly. The meeting was declared dissolved, and Caesar, satisfied with having once more proved his power, let the affair drop;⁵ but it was a warning to the Senate, that if they ever attempted revolutions the people would crush their tools.⁶

(Ascon., *In Pison*, p. 3, ed. of Orelli), to obtain for them the *jus civitatis*, which he afterwards bestowed upon them. (Cf. Suet., *Caesar*, 8; Dion. xli. 36.)

¹ Suet., *Caesar*, 12; Dion. xxxvii. 10; Cic., *Pro Cluentio*, 29.

² See vol. ii. p. 555. It is not proved that Rabirius was the murderer of Saturninus.

³ *Aliae leges condemnatis civibus non animam eripi sed exilium permitti jubent* (Sallust, *Cat.* 51; cf. Cic., *in Verr.* II. v. 66). The *lex de crimine majestatis* of Sylla seems to have abolished the *crimen perduellionis*, which still appeared in the *leges tabellariae* of Cassius (137 B.C.) and Caelius (107).

⁴ *Roseum bellorum, album comitiorum fuisse tradunt* (Serv., *Ad Aeneid.* viii. 1). In the time of Dion. (xxxvii. 28) the custom was still observed.

⁵ The same year he accused C. Piso of extortion in Gallia Narbonensis, and of having caused a Transpadane Gaul to be unjustly beheaded. Cicero defended the accused, who was acquitted; but by this accusation Caesar had renewed his old relations with the Transpadani, to whom he was a kind of patron.

⁶ Cicero himself acknowledged that it was the only object of this suit: *Ut illud summum*

This same Labienus, who served as his lieutenant in the tribuneship, as he was afterwards to serve him in the Gallic war, also obtained the abrogation of the Cornelian law relating to the pontiffs, the nomination of whom was restored to the comitia. The people immediately testified their gratitude to Caesar by making him high pontiff, — a life-office which rendered him inviolable.¹ Neither his lack of moral character nor the atheism which he openly professed had proved any obstacle. His morals and his opin-

INSIGNIA OF THE PONTIFICATE ²

ions were those of most men of his time: at this very moment Lucretius was writing his bold poem against the popular credulity. The official creed was now nothing more than a State institution; but it gave its primate a high position, and Caesar would not leave to others this means of influence. Catulus, one of his competitors, knowing that he was deeply in debt, had attempted to buy him off by large offers of money. "I will borrow greater sums to succeed," he said; and we may well believe that he was prepared to resort to force, if his last words to his mother, as he set out for the comitia, be true: "To-day either I shall be banished, or you will see me high pontiff."³ The same year (63 B.C.) he was appointed

auxilium majestatis atque imperii, quod nobis a majoribus est traditum, de re publica tolleretur (*Pro C. Rabirio perd. rec.* 1), and, *Ego in C. Rabirio . . . senatus auctoritatem sustinui* (*In Pison.* 2).

¹ Dion. xxxvii. 37. Marius, his uncle, had him appointed *flamen dialis* (87 B.C.) in the place of Corn. Merula (*Vell. Patere.*, ii. 43; *Suet., Caesar*, 1). Sylla deprived him of the title; but he recovered it at the death of his uncle, C. Aurelius Cotta, in 74 B.C.

² A bas-relief from the Museum of St. Germain.

³ *Plut., Caesar*, 7; *Vell. Patere.*, ii. 40; *Dion.* xxxvii. 2¹

to the praetorship, and, continuing his friendly relations with Pompey, he caused to be awarded to the latter, by a plebiscitum, the right to appear at the games wearing a laurel crown and the triumphal robe.

Cicero was then consul. The dread of Caesar and Catiline had obliged the nobility to accept the *novus homo*,¹ the brilliant advocate who had succeeded in winning so many suits, and who whispered in turn to each man of consular rank, "In my heart I have ever been with you, on the side of the nobility, never on the side of



CAESAR AS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS.²

the people. If I have sometimes spoken in the popular interest, it was because it was needful for me to win over Pompey, whose good will is so necessary in an election."³ Moreover, those who offered themselves were little better than Catiline. Galba and Cassius were unknown. Antonius had been expelled from the Senate, and could not, as he himself said, have argued at Rome against a Greek, with a fair chance of being believed.⁴ To throw

¹ Cicero (*De Lege agraria*, ii. 2) describes the kind of proscription which then fell upon new men. He had not, he says, at the beginning of his consulship the support of the nobility. Sallust speaks of the same thing (*Cat.* 23).

² Bust in the Museum of the Louvre, representing Caesar as pontiff, a veil upon his head.

³ I here do nothing more than translate the advice given him by his brother Quintus: *Minime populares*, etc. See the treatise *De Petit. cons.*, where Cicero's position is well defined, for some curious and indeed shameful details about canvassing.

⁴ Cic. *De Petit. cons.* 5.

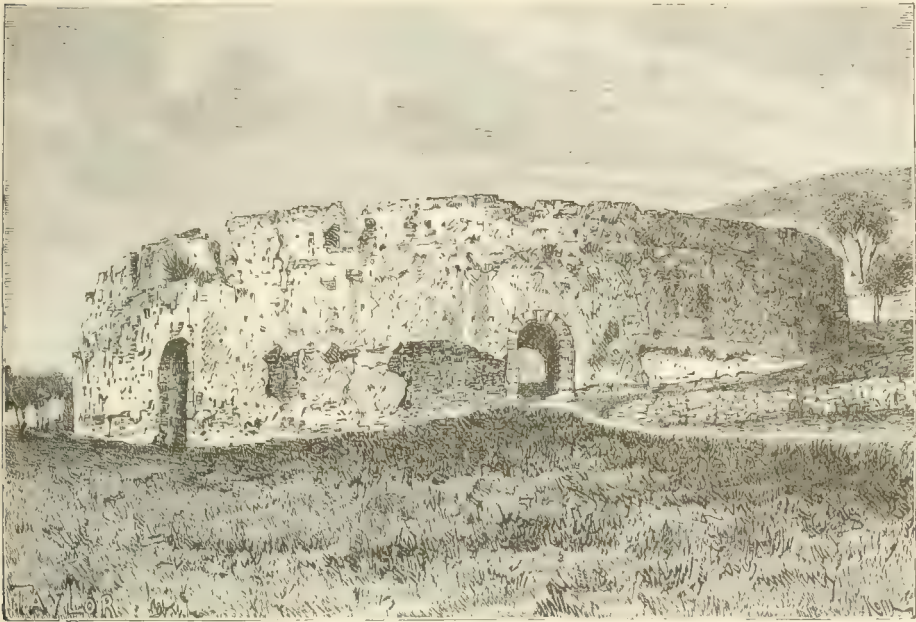
by a refusal, into the party of Pompey or of Caesar, a man whose moderate temper naturally classed him among the conservatives, would have been imprudent, and moreover useless.

Supported by the publicans and the knights, to whom he had been so serviceable; by the Italian cities, who remembered his origin; by the younger nobility, enchanted by his eloquence; and by the leaders of the comitia, who for the last two years had formally promised him their assistance, — Cicero would have attained the consulship without the aid of the Senate and in spite of them. By receiving him with a good grace, the nobles won the devotion of the new man, and gave their party, for the struggles of the Forum, a great orator, — no inconsiderable acquisition.

Cicero was elected unanimously, without any call to resort to the ballot.¹ His success cut Caesar to the quick; but it was easy to put this popularity to the proof by raising some question in which it would be necessary to decide for the people or for the Senate. The tribune Rullus proposed an agrarian law by which the ten commissioners invested with the imperium should for five years have absolute power to sell the lands belonging to the public domain in Italy, Sicily, Spain, Macedonia, Greece, Asia Minor, and as far as Pontus, with the exception of those which had been assigned during the dictatorship of Sylla. With the produce of this sale and the revenues of all the provinces (except those of Asia, which were reserved to Pompey, whom Caesar still humored), together with the restitution of the spoils of war and the “voluntary gifts” of the provinces, — gold that the generals had not placed in the treasury, or employed in public monuments, — the decemvirs were to buy arable lands in Italy, especially in Campania and the fertile territory of Venafrum and Casinum, and to distribute them among the poor. Finally, the bill recognized their right to exact the rent due to the treasury for all public lands that they should leave to the present occupiers. By offering to Sylla’s colonists an exchange in specie or a guaranty of their holdings, and by allowing an indemnity to those who, being dispossessed by the dictator, had fallen into destitution, the ill-feelings excited by the proscriptions were to be allayed. The aim of Rullus, or rather of Caesar,

¹ *Nam tabulam . . . sed cocem vicam* (*De Leg. agraria*, ii. 2).

was patriotic. It was desired to reconcile the present and former landholders, and at the same time abolish the proletariat,—that scourge of great cities and wealthy communities, which we now try to abolish by a more equitable distribution of the profits of industry, but which could then be removed only by grants of land. But the law would also have destroyed all the wealth of the aristocracy by obliging the nobles to refund the spoils of war, which were as much the property of the State as the lands which its arms



RUINS OF THE AMPHITHEATRE AT CASINUM (SAN GERMANO).¹

had conquered, and of which Rullus proposed to dispose. By the Romans of the truly Republican age this right of the State had always been respected. A century earlier, Cato the censor was acting in conformity with the principle; and Cato of Utica did not divert to private use a single drachma from the Cypriote treasure. In the new Republic different ideas prevailed: Rome's soldiers fought and died, rather with the object of winning gold for their leaders than provinces for their country. The clause introduced by the tribune would have ruined Sylla's son, Lucullus, Metellus, Catu-

¹ From a photograph.

lus, and a hundred more. It was indeed a remodelling of the State, a profound conception, which reveals Caesar's inspiration and his genius for reform: but it was also an extremely complicated law, difficult of application. The nobles who held the public land, and the knights who farmed the taxes, were equally threatened: they declared that a dictatorship must result from a law which conferred such powers. It was a case for Cicero, habitually their advocate, to attack the measure: he did so in four eloquent speeches.¹ With extreme cleverness he demonstrated to the poor, that to give them lands would be to plunder them; that to speak of liberty to them was to enslave them, and in the midst of this fertile Campania which it was proposed to divide among them, he showed the threatening phantom of Capua resuscitated, and as formidable to Rome as in the days of Hannibal. His eloquence, aided by the money of the rich, prevented the passing of the law. But, even while he repeated that he desired to be a consul in the interest of the people, Cicero had been forced by his new position to explain what he understood by those interests. His reasons are excellent. Nevertheless, the people, when they heard him speak only of submission to the present state of things, must have thought that the portrait of a popular leader sketched by their consul bore a strange resemblance to that of a devoted partisan of the nobility. Caesar, whom Cicero had attacked in veiled words,² was defeated, yet he had attained an important advantage: the position of the brilliant pleader who had just spoken with such effect was thenceforward fixed; in the eyes of all, Cicero was but the orator of the wealthy classes.

Another tribune proposed to set a limit to the civic disabilities with which Sylla had stricken the posterity of his victims. The decree was an act of cruelty, by Cicero's own admission,³ and it was at once annulled by Caesar on his assuming the dictatorship. But, after recovering their political rights, the sons of the proscribed would

¹ Only three are left; but Cicero (*Ad Att.* ii. 1) mentions four. Three years later he wrote to Atticus (i. 19): *Confirmatum omnium privatorum possessiones, is enim est noster exercitus lenonum, ut tute sis, locupletium.* We see that his political ideas were confined to the protection of the interests of the wealthy, even against the most legitimate claims.

² Cf. *De Leg. agraria* (i. 7): *Hi quos audio magis quam Rullum timetis*; and *Ch.* 21: *His quibus ad habendam, ad consummandam nihil satis esse videtur.*

³ Cic., *Ad Att.* ii. 1; *In Pison.*, 2; Plut., *Cic.* 12.

perhaps require of Cicero's clients the restoration of their confiscated property: he therefore caused the rejection of this measure. When the people hissed the tribune Roscius for having assigned to the knights separate places at the theatre, the consul, who loved to mount the rostra,¹ led the crowd to the Temple of Bellona, cried shame on them for giving way to despicable envy, lauded the equestrian order, and brought them back repentant to the theatre. "This," says Quintilian, "was his greatest oratorical triumph." But, when the people were no longer under the spell of this oratory, they relapsed into their ill-will and anger. Cicero's popularity no longer seemed formidable.

During the whole of this consulship, Caesar had incessantly harassed Cicero. Yet the attacks of the popular party were not the consul's chief cause of pre-occupation. Catiline occasioned him much greater uneasiness. Alarmed at the progress made by the conspiracy at Rome and throughout Italy, he began to see that, while it was a question of influence and power between the Senate and Caesar, between Catiline and the nobles it was a question of life and death. At the last consular elections, Antonius had defeated Catiline by a few votes only, and the latter had inscribed his name again as a candidate for the year 62 B.C. In order to prevent his election, Cicero and the Senate supported Silanus and Murena, both friends of Crassus and Caesar, thus to gain those two powerful men, who were suspected of viewing with pleasure the dangers with which Catiline threatened the oligarchy.² As a last resource, in case the latter should be elected, Cicero caused to be added to the legal penalties incurred by bribery an exile of ten years for the guilty person.³ Catiline, growing impatient, had determined, that if he did not succeed this time he would risk everything. His

¹ *De Lege agraria*, ii. 3. He will not, he says, imitate the example of his predecessors, who carefully avoided the rostra: *Aditum hujus loci conspectumque vestrum*.

² . . . *Res publica in paucorum jus atque ditionem concessit*. See the speech which Sallust puts in Catiline's mouth. (*Cat.* 20.) It is the work of the historian; but it is also the opinion of a contemporary and an eye-witness. Sallust was twenty-six at the time of Catiline's death, and he had lived at Rome. Sallust does not believe in the dreadful oath by which Catiline desired to bind his accomplices. He is right in not believing; but Florus, Plutarch, and Dion have collected these horrors, which Cicero would not have failed to parade had they been true.

³ This law also required of every candidate that he should not have given gladiatorial combats in the two years preceding his candidature. Another law, the Tullian, reduced to one year the longest duration of the *legationes liberae*.

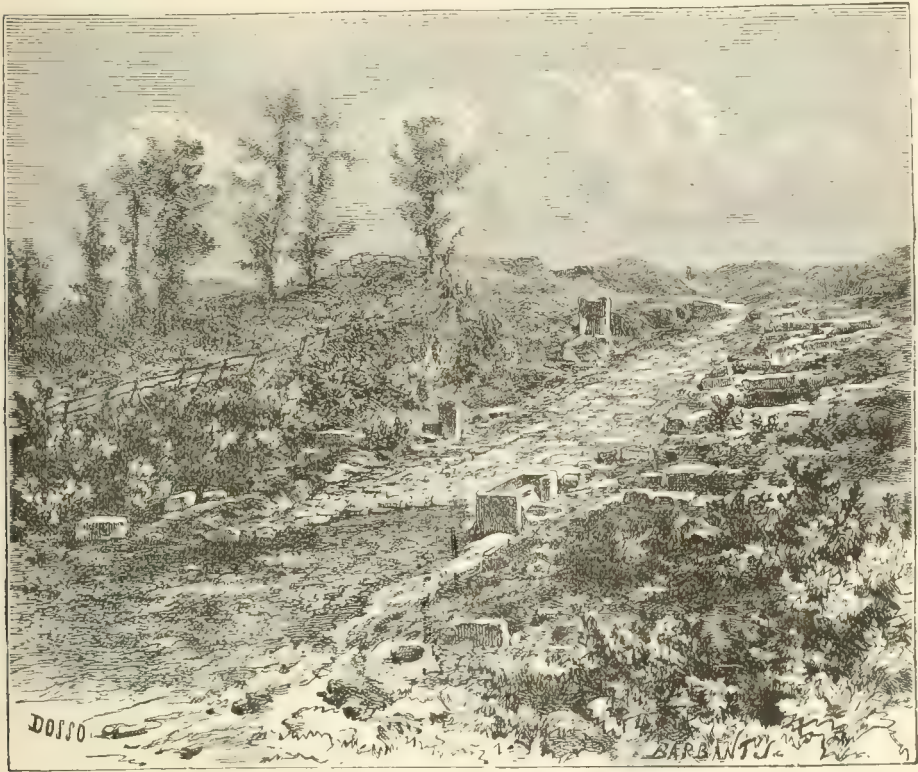
preparations were completed; arms were collected in different places. The veterans of Umbria, Etruria, and Samnium, long since worked upon by his emissaries, made ready in silence. The fleet of Ostia seemed to be won over to his side. Sittius Nucerinus promised to raise the province of Africa, and perhaps Spain. At Rome, no doubt, Cicero exercised an annoying vigilance, but he had no forces at hand, all the legions being in Asia with Pompey, and Catiline thought he could reckon upon Antonius, the other consul; lastly, one of the conspirators, L. Bestia, was tribune-elect, and another was praetor. Catiline hoped, therefore, that it would be enough to give the signal for his armies to appear suddenly before the walls of Rome, where other accomplices would set the city on fire at various points, so that amid the confusion they might get at the Senate and the consuls. A few of the conspirators, especially the praetor Lentulus Sura,¹ a ruined and dishonored man, talked of arming the slaves, who were showing signs of restlessness in Apulia. Catiline hesitated to let loose a horde whom he feared he should not afterwards be able to master. His accomplices were only anxious to escape from their creditors and judges: he had a higher ambition. In full Senate he dared to say, "The Roman people is a strong body, but headless: I will be its head." And on other occasion, "They wish to set fire to my house: I will extinguish it beneath ruins."² Less able than Caesar or Pompey, he placed himself outside the

¹ Among the conspirators besides Lentulus, — who had been consul in 71 B.C., and whom the censors of 70 had expelled from the Senate. Sallust mentions P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, Cethegus (a member, like Lentulus, of the gens Cornelia), two nephews of the dictator, Publius and Servius Sulla, L. Vargunteius (an ex-quaestor who had also suffered the disgrace of a conviction), Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L. Bestia, and Q. Curius, all senators; among the knights, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinus Capito, and C. Cornelius. Lentulus when quaestor had embezzled public funds; on being arraigned he was acquitted by a majority of two votes: "I have bought one too many," said he (Plut., *Cic.*). During his praetorship he presided at the tribune before which was argued the case of Varro, the governor of Asia. Hortensius, the defendant's counsel, bribed president and judges; but, to make sure that these should really earn their money, he gave them different colored tablets (Cic., *In Verr.* 1, and Asconius). To regain entrance into the Senate, Lentulus again canvassed the praetorship (64 B.C.). The Sibylline Books said that CC and C should reign at Rome: already the prophecy had been realized in Cinna and Cornelius Sylla; the third was evidently Cornelius Lentulus. The "Sibylline Prince," as Porcius Latro calls him, threw himself heart and soul into the conspiracy, which included three other members of the same house, so much had Sylla's success excited the most vulgar ambitions. P. Autronius, consul-elect for the preceding year, had been removed from office; Cassius Longinus had canvassed the same office in vain in 64; Bestia was then tribune; Gabinus had been condemned for extortion in Achaëa.

² Cic., *Pro Murena*, 25; Sall., *Cat.* 31: *Incendium aenea ruina restinguam.*

constitution, that he might overturn it with a single blow, assured that his partisans, once sated with gold, would leave him the power—even that Lentulus who thought himself predestined to reign over Rome.¹

He awaited with anxiety the issue of the consular comitia. Cicero, who through the revelations of one of the conspirators



OSTIA, VIA ROMANA.²

was already in possession of all their secrets,³ presided over the assembly with a cuirass visible beneath his toga; soldiers occupied the neighboring temples, and a crowd of knights surrounded the consul. Silanus and Murena, the two candidates of the senatorial party, carried the election.⁴

¹ Cic., *In Cat.* iii. 4; Plut., *Cic.* 17.

² Roman road leading down to Ostia, and bordered with ruined tombs.

³ See, in Sallust, the part played by Crassus, an ex-quaestor who had been expelled from the Senate eight years before, and by his mistress Fulvia.

⁴ Murena was accused of bribery by Sulpicius, whom Cato supported, to Cicero's great displeasure; for a condemnation would have given all Murena's chances over to Catiline.

The same day, emissaries went out from all the gates of Rome, and some time afterwards the Senate learned that armed gatherings had been seen in Picenum and Apulia; that the fortress of Praeneste had almost been taken by surprise; that at Capua a rising of the slaves was dreaded; that one of Sylla's old officers, Mallius, was encamped before Faesulae with an army of soldiers drawn from the military colonies and ruined peasantry; finally, that at Rome two conspirators had attempted at daybreak to enter Cicero's house in order to assassinate him.¹ Fortunately two proconsuls, Marcus Rex and Metellus Creticus, had just arrived from the East, and with their troops were waiting outside the gates the triumph which they had solicited. The first-named was immediately ordered to proceed against Mallius; the second, to Apulia; another praetor went into Picenum; and Pompeius Rufus hastened to Capua to call out the gladiators, whom he distributed in small bands through the neighboring municipia. Rome itself was put, as we should express it, in a state of siege. The consuls, invested by the Senate with discretionary power, offered rewards for information: they raised troops, placed guards at the gates and upon the walls, and ordered patrols throughout the city. This military display, these fears of an invisible enemy, increased the public terror: all persons of wealth felt themselves threatened by a great peril, which was not on the frontiers, but around them, over them, and they knew not where to meet it. Cicero was aware, that in the midst of this terror the slightest incident would be sufficient to upset all plans; but he would precipitate nothing. It was no longer the time of Servilius Ahala: violence, perhaps, might not have succeeded; and he knew that an energetic action which fails is fatal to a feeble government. It was necessary that the Senate veil its weakness under its respect for legality. Besides Catiline there were many other enemies. Which side would Crassus and Caesar take? They would certainly set themselves against an act of justice which could be called proscription and tyranny. To isolate the conspirators it was necessary, then, to oblige them

Accordingly Cicero, with Hortensius and Crassus, undertook Murena's defence, and the latter was acquitted.

¹ Sall., *Cat.* 27, 30; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 3. See in the Second Oration against Catiline, 3, the description of the army of Mallius.

to unmask their incendiary schemes; and Catiline was still in Rome; Catiline still was present in the Senate.

On the 8th of November the consul had assembled the senators in the Temple of Jupiter Stator. Catiline appeared there too. At sight of him Cicero burst forth in that famous invective known as the First Oration against Catiline, in which he exhibited his full knowledge of all the details of the plot, overwhelmed the traitor with reproaches, and bade him begone from the city which he insulted by his presence. At the same time, lest Catiline should look upon this injunction to depart as a sign of weakness, he pointed to the Roman knights surrounding the curia with angry



CAPITAL FROM THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR.¹

gestures, ready at a sign to strike down this enemy of all the rich. But the consul knew that the populace were favorable to Catiline.² He feared that, if he at once proceeded to extremes, the blood of this criminal might some day be upon his head, and he therefore with all his strength pressed Catiline to open war, that the great conspirator might legally be declared a public enemy. Cicero remembered Scipio Nasica and Opimius, who had perished miserably for having served an oligarchy far stronger than the one that he was now defending; and he would have been satisfied with the voluntary exile of Catiline. Driven out by the eloquent speech of the great orator, Catiline quitted the Senate with threats upon his tongue. At nightfall he left Rome, and after some hesitation placed himself at the head of the troops of Mallius, bringing them, as a pledge of victory, a silver eagle, under which Marius' soldiers had fought at Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae.³

¹ Bosc, *Dict. raisonné d'architecture*, vol. i. p. 394.

² *Nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullae sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, non exoptant* (Sall., *Cat.* 37); . . . *qui probro . . . praestabant . . . Roman sicut in sentinam confluerant* (*Ibid.*).

³ Cic., *In Cat.* i. and ii. Catiline left Rome on the 9th of November, 63 B.C., which answers to the 13th of January, 62, in the reformed calendar.

In leaving Rome, he committed his wife, Orestilla, to the protection of Q. Catulus in a letter in which he said, "Driven to desperation by the injustice which deprives me of well-earned rewards, while they are accorded to unworthy men, I have embraced the cause of the outcast. It was the only course left open to me to save my honor."¹ In the eyes of

these patricians an election-defeat was an insult, because it lessened their dignity. Catiline perhaps had no right to speak thus; but the feeling of what was due to a Roman of high birth filled the souls of these nobles, even when they had fallen into public contempt.

Before going away, Catiline sent word to the conspirators whom he left in the city, to count upon him still, and that he should soon be back at the gates of Rome. Cicero endeavored to rid himself of them, as he had done of their leader, by exposing their schemes before the popular assembly, and overwhelming them by turns with sarcasms and threats:²—

"At last, Quirites, this bold man has quitted our walls; Catiline has fled. His fears or his fury have carried him away from us. The security of the State demanded his death. But how many among you refused to believe in his crimes! How many treated them as idle fancies, or found excuses for them! Now none will doubt, and you will fight him face to face, since he publicly declares himself your enemy. Why did he not take with him his dangerous accomplices. For his army, that mob of hoary desperadoes, bankrupt peasants, and fugitive debtors, I have the



AN AQUILIFER.³

¹ Sall., *Cat.* 35.

² This is the subject of the Second Oration against Catiline.

³ From the Column of Trajan.



TRIUMPHANT GENERAL (POMPEIAN PAINTING).



greatest contempt. It is not the sword that will put them to flight: it will be enough to show them the praetor's edict. But there are others, scented, and clad in purple, who go to and fro in the Forum, besiege the door of the Senate, and even enter into the Curia. These it is among his soldiers whom I should have wished to see depart with him. The gates are open, the roads are free. What are they waiting for? They are strangely mistaken if they think that my long patience will never be wearied out. Whosoever shall make a disturbance in the city, or undertake aught against his country, will learn that Rome has vigilant consuls, a courageous Senate, arms, and a prison in which our ancestors willed that manifest crimes should be expiated."

A few only of the conspirators took fright and left the city. Among these was the son of a senator: his father, being informed of it, caused his slaves to pursue and slay the young man.¹ But Lentulus, Cethegus, and Bestia remained at Rome, now talking of accusing Cicero for having exiled a citizen without trial, now plotting a general massacre of the magistrates during the ensuing saturnalia. Cicero, by means of numerous spies, followed all their movements. He, however, dared not strike, because he lacked written proofs; but the imprudence of the conspirators at last furnished them.

There were at that time in Rome some Allobrogian deputies who had long been vainly demanding justice for their nation, ruined as it was by the exactions of the governors. Lentulus sounded them through Umbrenus, in the hope of making their discontent available for his cause. They yielded, and promised the assistance of their cavalry; then, reflecting upon the dangers of such an alliance, they revealed all to Fabius Sanga, their patron at Rome. He hurried them before the consul, who ordered them to obtain from Lentulus a written agreement, under pretext that without this their fellow-countrymen would not believe their words. Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius sealed with their seals the required letters, and gave full powers to Volturcius, who set out at the same time with the deputies. The Milvian Bridge, over which they must pass, was guarded; they and their despatches

¹ Val. Max., V. viii. 5; Dion. xxxvii. 36.

were seized; and, before the news had spread, Cicero summoned the principal conspirators who, having no suspicion, answered his call. Without questioning them, without opening their letters, he led them to the Temple of Concord, where the Senate was assembled to hear the case against them. Overwhelmed by the depositions of Volturcius and the Allobroges, the accused acknowledged their seals, daring neither to avow nor deny anything. Lentulus was so completely prostrated¹ that he resigned his praetorship on the spot. He was placed in the custody of the aedile Spinther. Statilius was assigned to Caesar; Gabinius, to Crassus; Cethegus, to Cornificius; Ceparius, to Cn. Terentius. Before separating, the Senate passed a vote of thanks to the consul whose vigilance had saved the State, and decreed that solemn thanksgivings should be offered to the gods as in the case of victories won by the armies. Cicero was the first, who, without wearing the garb of war, had obtained that honor.

He hastened to lay these revelations before the people;² and the masses, hitherto indifferent to dangers that threatened the oligarchy, were indignant at the alliance of the conspirators with a barbarous people, and at the appeal made to Catiline to hasten to Rome even with an army of slaves, while his accomplices should set fire to the city, and begin the massacre. Every man, even the poorest, felt himself threatened; and the consul, thus re-assured in respect to the people, precipitated matters in the Senate. On the 5th of December,³ that day of the nones which he so often celebrated, Cicero opened the debate upon the fate of the conspirators. Attempts were made by many to involve their personal enemies in the coming proscription. Catulus, and in a marked manner Piso, wearied Cicero with their importunities to make the Allobroges implicate Caesar. Others raised up accusers against Crassus.⁴ But Cicero knew well that in attacking them, the Senate would have to deal with too strong a party. It was quite enough to settle with

¹ A great quantity of arms had been found at his house.

² The Third Oration against Catiline, delivered on the 3d of December.

³ Answering to the 7th of February, 62 B.C.

⁴ We have seen that Catulus had been Caesar's unsuccessful rival in the competition for the pontificate, and that Caesar had brought a criminal charge against Piso. Crassus was denounced in full Senate by one of the conspirators. Sallust (*Cat.* 48) asserts that he had heard it said by Crassus that it was to Cicero he owed this insult.

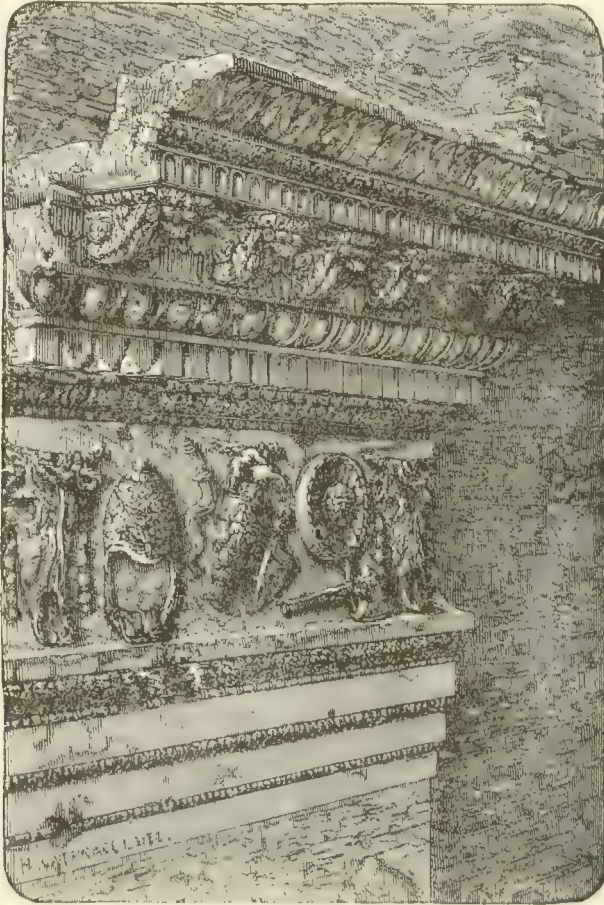
Catiline, to crush a civil war, and to accomplish one illegal execution.

The Senate had no judicial power: the right of pronouncing a capital sentence was reserved for the assembly of the people alone. The Senate was therefore about to commit an act of usurpation, and the responsibility would fall upon him who gloried in this act, — the consul. Accordingly, Cicero's conduct was marked at once by reserve and by boldness. He went on with the task he had assigned himself for the public security, his own fame, and his political fortune; but, while he did not shrink from the perils of the moment, he strove by dint of prudence to avert those of the future. While violating the spirit of the constitution, he scrupulously followed its forms. That the domiciles of citizens might be respected, he did not have the conspirators arrested in their homes. He did not give Lentulus over to the lictors — he himself led him by the hand into the midst of the Senate, because only a consul could *constrain* a praetor; and, lastly, he caused the conspirators to be declared public enemies, *perduelles*, that they might be proceeded against as if they were no longer citizens. But he seemed to dread increasing the number of the accused, and out of so many guilty persons he asked the condemnation of five only. If in the curia he proudly declared that he took all upon himself, he did not forget to display the mutual responsibility between the Senate and the consul. For nearly two months he had left unemployed the decree giving him absolute power; and now he desired that the sentence should be pronounced by that assembly, to the end that he might appear only as an instrument, and that his cause might become that of the Senate.

He had, moreover, neglected no means of re-assuring the senators by an exceptional display of power. All the citizens had taken the military oath the day before.¹ Many were enrolled and stood in arms to guard the Capitol: strong patrols were in the streets, and the consul's ordinary escort of young knights surrounded the Temple of Concord, where the Fathers had assembled. Silanus, the

¹ In the preceding year, Rabirius, when condemned as a *perduellis*, had appealed to the people; and Cicero had declared, that, since the passing of the law of *majestas*, the *crimen perduellionis* could no longer be recognized. In his *Pro Rabirio* he had recalled the law of Caius Gracchus: *Ne de capite civium Romanorum injussu vestro judicaretur*; and in the *De Leg. iii. 2, de capite civis*, he repeats: *nisi per maximum comitatum . . . ne ferunto*.

consul-elect, was asked first, and voted for the extreme penalty;¹ and all the ex-consuls followed his lead. Caesar, at that time praetor-elect, ventured to express a milder opinion. He voted for perpetual detention in a municipium, and confiscation of property. As leader of the popular party, it was part of his policy to invoke the laws in opposing the violence of a frightened and angry oli-



FRIEZE OF THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD.²

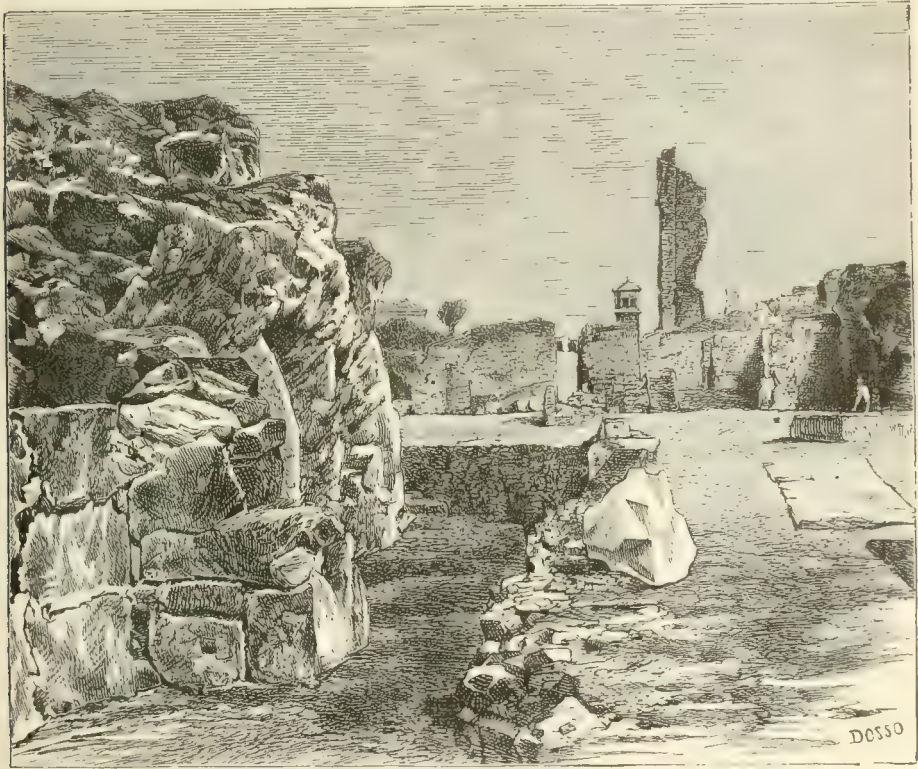
garchy. Moreover, the people did not look upon the conspiracy with the same eyes as did the higher classes. The manifesto published a few days before by Mallius seemed to be what every poor man in Rome might say. To speak in favor of the conspirators

¹ *Τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην* (Plut., *Cic.* 27); Dion. xxxvii. 35.

² Wey, *Rome*, p. 30.

was therefore to brave the oligarchy in the very moment of victory, and to win favor with the people, who, as Caesar said, so soon forget the crimes of great criminals in pity for their punishment.¹

Already the greater part of the Senate, including Quintus, the consul's brother, shaken in their determination, were coming over to Caesar's views, and Silanus explained his own words to mean the same with Caesar's. Then Cicero rose, and pointed out the danger



THE PALATINE.²

of stopping after having gone so far; but although he had again in this speech courageously assumed the sole responsibility, yet by making it appear terrible and threatening, in order to magnify the greatness of his own part, he had frightened his colleagues, who would, perhaps, have abandoned him, had not Cato come to his aid

¹ See his speech in Sallust (*Cat.* 51). It is in this speech that he, the high pontiff, declares that death is the end of all pain, that beyond it there is neither joy nor grief.

² Remains of the wall of *Roma Quadrata*, beneath the Temple of Jupiter Victor, from a photograph by Parker.

with his rough eloquence, and bitter recriminations against Caesar.¹ The assembly were convinced, and the death-sentence was passed.² Cicero, in order to compromise Caesar, attempted to add thereto the confiscation of property which the latter had proposed; and the discussion began again, this time full of anger and violence. "It is odious," said Caesar, "to reject what was humane in my advice, and to adopt only its rigorous provisions." The consul, anxious to bring the affair to a close, consented that confiscation should be omitted from the decree. For a while the tumult had been so great, that the knights who surrounded the temple had invaded the curia, and threatened to slay Caesar.³

Cicero lost not a moment, that he might not leave Caesar time to cause the tribunes to interpose, nor the Senate time to retract. He himself took Lentulus from the house on the Palatine where he was detained, and led him to the Tullianum, whither the praetors brought the other conspirators. The *triumviri capitales* were awaiting them. Lentulus was strangled first; and Cethegus, Gabinius, Statilius, and Ceparius suffered the same fate. When the consul, coming down from the prison, crossed the Forum for the second time, he uttered these words only: "They have lived;" and the crowd dispersed in silence (Dec. 5, 63 B.C.). No one at the time reflected that the Fathers and their consul had just accomplished a *coup d'État* by seizing the judicial power which the law did not allow them. But Clodius was soon to demand an account from Cicero, and Caesar from the Senate. Sooner or later political mistakes are expiated.

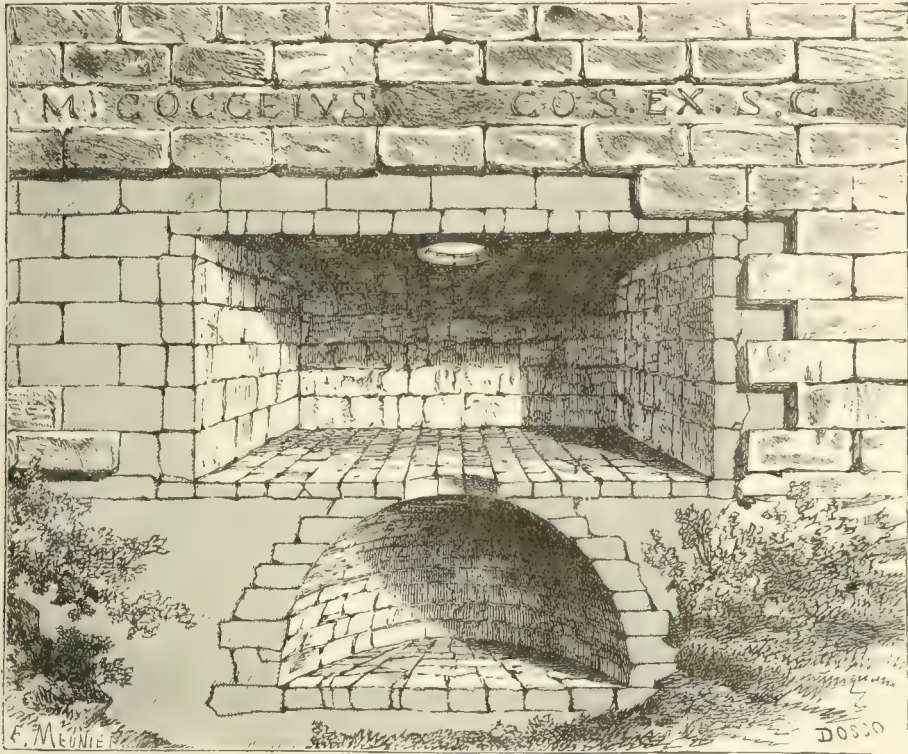
The success of the Senate's generals had no doubt given Cicero confidence to accomplish what he looked upon as the chief honor of his consulship and a great service rendered to his country. Everywhere the movement had been suppressed by the mere presence of the troops. There had been no serious resistance except in Etruria. Cicero, who had bought the co-operation of his

¹ See in Plutarch (*Cat.* 24) an incident which shows at once both the suspicious character of Cato and the manners of Caesar on the occasion of the note of Servilia, Cato's sister; which note the latter took for a conspirator's letter.

² Suet., *Caesar*, 14.

³ Eighteen years later Cicero still boasted of having pronounced the sentence before collecting the votes: *Ante quam consulerem, ipse judicarem* (*Ad Att.* xii. 21). "The execution of the Catilinarians was an act of sanguinary panic, such as provokes and may sometimes compel retaliation" (Merivale, *History of the Romans*, vol. i. p. 190, note 2).

colleague Antonius by a grant of the lucrative government of Macedonia, had placed him at the head of the troops directed against Catiline, at the same time, however, causing all the movements of Antonius to be watched by one of his own most devoted



TULLIANUM: SECTION OF THE PRISON WHERE DEATH-SENTENCES WERE CARRIED OUT.¹

friends, the quaestor Sextius. This army protected Rome, while another, under the orders of Metellus, occupied Gallia Cisalpina, and threatened Catiline's rear. The latter had collected twenty

¹ The prison in which Rome executed criminals, kings and heroes, Jugurtha and Vercingetorix, was made up of two dungeons, one beneath the other, — the Mamertinum, which we shall give later; and the Tullianum, which is represented in vol. ii. p. 516. We here give a section of the two dungeons. The Mamertinum, twenty feet long, sixteen feet broad, and formed of large blocks of peperino, had no door, but communicated by a narrow opening with the Tullianum, or lower dungeon, which was smaller, and almost circular in shape. There the condemned were strangled. The corpses were taken out, and exposed on the Gemoniae, whence they were dragged with hooks down to the Tiber. This bitter people were not content with the death of their enemies, they must also have an opportunity of insulting their remains, and persecuting them even in death by refusing them a tomb. Christian tradition makes St. Peter a prisoner in the Tullianum, which has now become the Chapel of San Pietro in Carcere.

thousand men, of whom only a fourth part were armed. Instead of attacking suddenly, he lost precious time in negotiating for the defection of Antonius. But, on receipt of the news of the execution of Lentulus, the consul felt that the cause of the conspirators was lost, and he finally set his army in motion. Desertion immediately began among Catiline's troops: at the end of a few days he had not more than three or four thousand men left. He retreated, intending to cross the Apennines, and, taking shelter in Gaul, there to re-enact the part of Sertorius; but behind him Metellus held all the passes. In desperation he turned upon the consular army, which Antonius had placed under the orders of an old and able soldier named Petreius; and he met it not far from Pistoia. Before the battle, Catiline, like Spartacus, sent away his horse, and placed himself in the centre with a picked body of men. The action was desperate.¹ Not one of his soldiers gave way, or asked for quarter. Catiline himself was found, far in front of his men, amid a heap of slain, still breathing. His head was cut off, and sent to Rome. History, even while it condemns them, retains some pity for these great rebels who could die so gallantly; and popular imagination goes further than history. At Rome his tomb was covered with flowers,² as later was the case with Nero's; and in the most ancient chronicles of Florence, Catiline plays the character of a national hero.³

At sight of this easy success and the little blood it was necessary to shed,—at Rome, only that of five obscure or disreputable persons; on the battlefield, that of a troop, not really an army, of old vagrant soldiers,—we are compelled to believe that Cicero's eloquence has caused a misconception of the true importance of this affair. He believed that he had stifled a great faction, whereas he had only put down a common conspiracy. The poisonous ele-

¹ This battle took place a few days after the new consuls entered upon office: 'Εν ἀρχῇ εἰθὺς τοῦ ἔτους ἐν ᾧ Ἰούλιος τε Σίλαρος καὶ Λούκιος Λικίνιος ἤρσαν, and consequently at the beginning of 62 B.C.,—the middle of March of the true year (Dion. xxxvii. 39; Livy, *Epit.* ciii.). The matter did not end there; for nearly a year there were accusations and exiles (cf. Cic., *Pro Sulla*, and Dion. xxxvii. 41). As for the victor, Antonius, he was governor of Macedonia in the following year, where he disgraced himself so much by his exactions, that he was exiled, and in 49 Caesar refused to recall him.

² Cic., *Pro Flacco*, 38.

³ Malespini, *Istor. Fiorent.* cc. 13-21. Coins have been found near Fiesole, the most recent of which dates from the consulship of Cicero. Some peasant, frightened by the Civil war, had hidden his treasure there, and could never get back to recover it.

ments that Catiline collected had not, in fact, been able to assume the consistency of a political party. From these secret gatherings might easily spring murder and incendiarism, but not a revolution; for revolutions are brought about by ideas and by the needs of a numerous class which is or will become the majority. Selfish passions bring forth only fruitless plots.

III. — TROUBLES AT ROME UP TO THE FORMATION OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE (62-60 B.C.).

THIS bold blow aimed at society, however, was useful for the moment to those who governed it, and who seemed to have saved it. The Senate had given proof of vigilance and energy, and there was a general belief in its power. This belief the Senate itself shared. Pompey appeared less great, Caesar less formidable, and the senators forgot the indignation they had displayed on the day when Tarquinius accused Crassus of complicity with Catiline. Cicero, most of all, flattered himself that he had frightened and permanently cowed ambitious men and factions. "Let arms give place to the toga!" cried the dazzled consul. And, in order that he might still remain the hero of peace and of the city, he would not even take up his province of Gallia Cisalpina. He was quickly undeceived. He had written to Pompey with the tone of an equal, as one conqueror might address another: the general did not deign a reply. Pompey, moreover, had despatched to Rome one of his officers, Metellus Nepos, who easily obtained the tribuneship, and declared himself the consul's enemy. On laying down the fasces, Cicero proposed to address the people in laudation of his "immortal consulship," which, however, if we except the execution of Lentulus and his accomplices, had not been marked by any event but the passing of two unimportant laws. "The man who did not allow the accused to defend themselves shall not speak in his own defence," said the tribune; and he ordered him to confine himself to the customary oath, that he had done nothing against the laws. "I swear," cried Cicero, "that I have saved the Republic!" To this appeal Cato and the senators replied by greeting him with the name of

"Father of his Country;" and the people confirmed it by their applause.

But when the intoxication of this last triumph had passed, Cicero, grown calmer, understood the situation better. Pompey kept aloof from both him and from the Senate; Crassus accused Cicero of having calumniated him, and nourished a bitter enmity against him on this account; lastly, one of the tribunes seemed to threaten him with a capital accusation, in spite of the *senatus-consultum*, by which all proceedings were forbidden against those who had assisted in punishing the conspirators. The prudent *ex-consul* set himself to calm all this resentment; he strove to appease Crassus;¹ he loudly proclaimed the zeal shown by Caesar; and he humbled himself before Pompey, placing the latter above Scipio, and asking for the place of Laelius beside him.² He even sought friends from among Catiline's accomplices. P. Cornelius Sylla, one of the conspirators, was defended by Cicero, and acquitted in spite of strong evidence against him. Are we to believe Aulus Gellius, who affirms that the accused *lent* his advocate two million sesterces, with which he bought himself a magnificent house?

Metellus Nepos meanwhile had as his colleague in the tribuneship a citizen on whom Cicero and the Senate could depend, — M. Porcius Cato. Rigid and uncompromising in every relation of life, Cato was, perhaps, of all the famous personages of antiquity, the one who possessed the highest idea of duty.³ Like his ancestor, whose bluntness he inherited, he made himself censor of the men of his time: ceaselessly and without stint he fought for what he believed to be the right, and, when he thought he owed his cause a last example, he killed himself, that his blood might stain the triumphal crown of the victor, and remain the last protest of liberty.

Unhappily this worthy man, who as praetor sat in court

¹ Cic., *Ad Att.* i. 14. Crassus only praised him after Pompey's return, and in order to match the latter by extolling another man's services.

² *Ad Fam.* v. 7; Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.* xii. 12. The great advocates of Rome proclaimed that they received nothing from their clients: they were only friends, to whom they lent the assistance of their eloquence. Cicero says so in twenty places; and makes it a reproach against Hortensius in the Verrine Orations, for instance, that his zeal is not disinterested. But the clients had to pay on election-days: moreover, presents took the place of fees.

³ [This estimate of Cato is surely far above the truth. To put him on a level with Socrates or with M. Aurelius is unjust to both these men. — *Ed.*]

barefooted, and with no tunic under his toga, made himself ridiculous by his affectation of rusticity, and he understood neither the things nor the men among whom he lived.¹ He was one of those extreme conservatives who would fain arrest time and bring back the dead. The elder Cato, a man of original and sound mind, exercised a great influence: his great-grandson had none whatever; he did not even attain the consulship, and lived in the memory of posterity only by his death.

He had already been quaestor: his predecessors, all young nobles, who were easily tired of figures and financial affairs, left these fatiguing duties to the clerks of the treasury, while they betook themselves to their own pleasures. Hence arose a fearful waste of public funds,—false charges that were admitted, and debts to the treasury that were left unpaid. Cato had kept watch upon these officials, and, in spite of their clamor and the interested protection of a few important men, had succeeded in bringing them back to order and duty. The murderers of the proscribed had been accustomed to receive as much as two talents for each head they brought in. These persons Cato had prosecuted for having wrongfully obtained public funds, and had compelled restitution.

The senators feared him, because he spared no one; but the Senate loved him, because, as a body, they had in him an intrepid champion. We have seen his conduct in the case of Lentulus. A short time before, on the road to Lucania, whither he was going to visit his property, he had met a long train of beasts of burden carrying baggage. Inquiring to whom all this belonged, he had been told that it was the property of Metellus Nepos, who was returning to Rome to canvass the tribuneship. “I have no time now to go to the country and be idle,” he said, “this agent of Pompey’s will fall on the government like a thunderbolt,” and forthwith turned back and claimed the tribuneship for himself. The people had just sold the consular fasces to Murena. Cicero knew this, but in the face of Catiline, who was not yet vanquished, he thought it dangerous to condemn a noble, and cause a new election: therefore, in spite of the *lex Tullia*, he undertook the defence of Murena, whom Cato, a

¹ There is still in existence, however, a letter addressed to Cicero which we should not have expected to see signed with his name, and in which he shows himself a match for the great wit (*Ad Fam.* xv. 5).

stranger to all interested prudence, accused. In order to destroy the ascendancy of such a name, Cicero attacked his too rigid virtue with sarcasms. "Would you know, judges, what a sage of the Porch is? He yields nothing by favor, he never pardons. He alone is handsome, were he a cripple, bandy-legged, and crooked; he alone is rich, though he be a beggar; he is king, though he be a slave. We, the rest, who do not possess wisdom, are fugitives, exiles, enemies, fools. All faults are equal; every offence is a crime. To strangle a father, or to wring the neck of a chicken needlessly, is one and the same thing. The sage never doubts, never repents, is never mistaken, and never changes his mind." In this strain he continued for some time. "We have," said Cato, "a most humorous consul."¹ He did not, however, retain any ill feeling against Cicero, but supported him against Caesar, and was the first to salute him with the name of "Father of his Country."

Cicero had hoped to unite in one party those whom he called honest men, that is to say, men of property; and the knights had rallied round him. The object of this party was the defence of the Senate's preponderating power, the preservation to the nobles of their privileges, and to the knights of the sources of their fortunes: it was, in a word, the maintenance of the established order without the desire of ameliorating and justifying this form of government by putting an end to abuses. To keep this party together, Cicero lent himself to anything, even to throwing a veil over the faults of the nobles: this stern judge of Lentulus had just obtained the acquittal of Sylla. But Cato roughly unmasked the guilty among the people as well as among the nobles: everywhere, too, he found a noble to stay his hand. Cicero saved Murena from him; and Catulus even resorted to violence in order to save an obscure government-clerk. Cato tried, nevertheless, to gain some popularity for his party by obtaining a decree from the Senate for a distribution of corn to the poor, which cost the State twelve hundred and fifty talents a year.²

To this measure the popular leaders replied, in spite of the

¹ Plut., *Cato Minor*, 21: ὁ δὲ γυλαῖον ἑπαύρων ἔχομεν. [See how splendidly Cicero himself, at the end of the third book *De Finibus*, draws in very similar words but in serious earnest the picture of the Stoic sage. Cf. Mr. Reid's *Trans.*, p. 110. — *Ed.*]

² *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, 26. In his *Life of Caesar* he only estimates this expenditure at five million five hundred thousand drachmae, or nine hundred and seventeen talents.

opposition of the Fathers, by the suppression, for the benefit of the merchants, of export and import dues throughout Italy;¹ and Caesar was shortly to propose to distribute among the poor the last remaining acres of the public domain in Campania. Thus did every man, even Cato, in the interest of his party, increase the public expenses, and diminish the public revenue; nor has this policy yet fallen into disuse. The measures of Metellus and of Caesar will at least be an encouragement to commerce and agriculture; whereas Cato's frumentary law increased the idle crowd in the Forum, which during his dictatorship the vanquisher of the nobles will be obliged to reduce.

Catulus, the leader of the Senate, had commenced the rebuilding of the Capitol, and had hastened to secure the honor, so valuable to a Roman, of inscribing his name on the monument. Upon his accession to the praetorship, Caesar proposed to intrust to Pompey the duty of finishing the new temple, which would give him the right to put his name in place of that of Catulus. The matter was of little consequence, being only a question of vanity; but it showed the persistence of Caesar in his policy towards Pompey and the growing opposition between the popular party and the party of the nobles. The latter, on hearing of Caesar's proposition, had hastened to the Forum in such numbers, that the praetor, satisfied with having once more made his intentions clear, let the affair drop.²

Metellus went further: he proposed that the proconsul of Asia should be recalled with all his troops, and charged with the re-establishment of order in the city. This measure appeared to threaten Catiline alone, who still held out (in reality it was directed against Cicero and the oligarchy); and Cato swore that as long as he lived the proposal should not pass.³

On the morning of the day when the tribes were to vote, Metellus caused the adjoining temple of Castor to be occupied by gladiators, and seated himself at the top of the steps by Caesar's side. Cato passed boldly through the armed crowd, and placed himself between the tribune and the praetor to keep them apart.

¹ Proposed in 60 by the praetor Metellus Nepos (Dion. xxxvii. 51).

² Suet., *Caesar*, 15; Dion. xxxvii. 44. Catulus having been intrusted with the re-building of the temple, burnt down in the month of July, 83, had dedicated it in 69, although it was far from being finished, and he continued to superintend the reconstruction.

³ Plut., *Cato Minor*, 26.

When the clerk began to read the text of the bill, Cato prevented him: upon this Metellus took the tablets, and would have read it himself; but Cato snatched them from him, and broke them. The tribune then began to repeat the bill from memory, and one of Cato's friends silenced him. The people clapped their hands; but, at a sign from Metellus, the gladiators drove away the crowd. Cato, who would not draw back, was with great difficulty saved by Murena. After some time, the nobles returned in force, and Metellus, in his turn, fled from the city to take refuge with Pompey in Asia.

The senators, deceived as to their real strength by this new victory, and growing accustomed to revolutions, declared the tribune and Caesar suspended from their functions.¹ Caesar at first paid no heed to this decree, desiring to lead on the nobles to some violent measure, which would allow him to present himself before the people as a victim of the Senate. When the nobles threatened to employ force if he did not obey, he sent away his lictors. But the effect he had hoped for was already produced: crowds hastened to him, and offered to maintain him against everyone in the office which the people had conferred upon him; and the Senate, in order not to put his apparent abnegation too seriously to the proof, cancelled their decree.

Some time afterwards Vettius, one of the spies whom Cicero had employed to trace out the Catilinian conspiracy, and who since that time had had denunciations ready for all who would pay for them, cited Caesar before the praetor, Novius Niger, as an accomplice of Catiline; and another man accused him in full Senate of having been a party to the plot, the informant averring that he had it from Catiline himself. When this report spread through the city, the people once more hastened to save their chief; and threats were heard around the curia. The accusation was hurriedly declared to be calumnious; Cicero spoke against it; and Vettius, being delivered over to Caesar, was almost torn in pieces by the angry crowd.² As for the quaestor who had received in his court a summons against a praetor, his superior magistrate, Caesar had him dragged to prison, to teach him respect for the gradations of official rank.

¹ Suet., *Caesar*, 16.

² Suet., *Caesar*, 17; Dion. xxxvii. 41.

Caesar had that gift, so often possessed by great statesmen, of making even their rivals serve in the furtherance of their own designs. He had made use of Pompey's help in overthrowing what Sylla had done: he employed Crassus in reducing to ruins the work of Cicero, — that second revival of the senatorial power. Crassus, more than any other contemporary of Caesar, has been sacrificed to him; he has been made a ridiculous personage, a kind of dummy in that terrible game played by the two other triumvirs. It is forgotten that, as a general he ranks with Pompey and Lucullus, and that, if his victories were less famous, they were more honorable; for against the gladiators, and against Telesinus, he twice saved the existence of Rome. While Pompey went over to the people, Crassus remained faithful to the Cornelian constitution, and for seven years he was, with Catulus, the leader of the Senate. His immense wealth — the spoils of the Civil war — gave him clients even in that assembly; and his slaves, of whom he might have formed an army, his freedmen, his debtors, and his tenants, — for he owned several districts in Rome, — rendered his support valuable in promoting or arresting a movement. The nobles made the mistake of alienating him from them, and they showed him who ought to be his ally, when they classed him with Caesar in vague suspicions of complicity with Catiline. In the Senate no man could obtain a hearing but Cicero, Cato, and Lucullus,² and the impending return of the Pompeian legions was everywhere talked of. Against this oligarchy, which had now regained its confidence and haughtiness, and against his old enemy, the proconsul of Asia, it was for the interest of Crassus to unite himself with the man whom the oligarchy also persecuted. Caesar hastened to profit by his close connection with the wealthy capitalist, but not at first for his own advantage.

BONA DEA.¹

¹ Bronze statuette found in the neighborhood of Naples. The Good Goddess, protectress of fruitful matrons, holds a child in swaddling-clothes, and bears in her right hand a sucking-pig, the victim usually sacrificed to the *Bona Dea*, as also to Ceres and Proserpine (Saglio, *Diet. des Antiq.*, fig. 868, p. 726).

² Sallust asserts that he had often heard Crassus complain bitterly of Cicero. Velleius Paterculus pays a tribute to the manners of Crassus: *Vir cetera sanctissimus immunisque voluptatibus* (ii. 46).

Clodius, a patrician of a petulant and ambitious nature, like all his race, and steeped, while still a youth, in debts and vices,¹ had gained an entrance into Caesar's house, in woman's dress, during the celebration of the mysteries of the Bona Dea, which had never been profaned by the gaze of a man. Scarcely had he entered when he was discovered. The women cried out; and the pontiffs ordered the

ROMAN PONTIFF.²

desecrated mysteries to be performed over again. By his relations with the popular party, Clodius had separated himself from the nobles, and they seized this opportunity of ruining their new enemy, and embarrassing Caesar, whose wife he had compromised: they had an accusation of sacrilege brought against him. Cicero and the quiet members of his party hesitated; but Cato insisted; and the matrons, who considered themselves insulted, piously set the whole city in a ferment. Every one watched to see what Caesar would do. His conduct surprised all men. In order to recon-

cile his honor and his interests, he repudiated his wife, — not that she was guilty, but because Caesar's wife, he said, must be above

¹ We have seen (vol. iii. p. 131) how he behaved in the army of Lucullus, his brother-in-law. For the following years, see his biography in Cicero (*De Har. resp.*, 20), who naturally paints him in the blackest colors.

² *Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii. pl. 19.

suspicion, — and he saved Clodius, obtaining for him from Crassus the loan of money with which to bribe his judges. Cicero, urged on by his wife Terentia, who interfered in everything, and was at that time especially desirous of engaging him in a quarrel with the Clodii, ruined by his evidence Clodius' plea of alibi, — a step for which he afterwards cruelly suffered. The Senate thought the suit was won. They had at the judges' own request provided them with a guard, and confided to the magistrates the duty of watching over their safety; but in the urn there were found thirty-one acquitting votes against twenty-five condemnatory. "It was to protect your money, then," said Catulus to one of the judges, "that you asked us for a guard." — "You know that bald-pate (Crassus)," writes Cicero: "it was he who arranged it all. He promised, guaranteed, made presents; bands of his slaves invaded the Forum, and all honest men retreated in a body."¹ Accordingly, the tribunal which pronounced the acquittal was in his eyes only "a house of ill-resort, which had never held such a set of rascals, — dishonored senators, tattered knights, and tribunes of the treasury as rich in debts as they were poor in cash."

Caesar, who had just repudiated his wife on the shadow of a suspicion, allowed himself much license; but he made pleasure subservient to politics. It is not by mere chance that we find his mistresses in those houses where they could best help his designs, — Tertulla, the wife of Crassus; Mucia, the wife of Pompey; Postumia, the wife of Sulpicius, whom she brought into friendship with Caesar. There were many others also, and, most important of all, Servilia, Cato's sister, and mother of Brutus the tyrannicide. This person, a widow, entertained a strong and lasting affection for Caesar; but unfortunately she had not the same influence over her brother and son, that Postumia had over her husband. Women at this time took part in public matters. It was a new thing, to which we have before referred, marking, with many other symptoms, the close of the old order of society, wherein a woman was never spoken of except to say, "She stays at home and spins."

The defeat experienced by the nobles in the affair of Clodius was a severe one, for it must be measured by the importance which both parties attached to it and by the effects it produced. In the Senate

¹ *Ad Att.* i. 16.

it was asserted that the judges had been bribed, and an inquiry was opened. The equestrian order took offence at this, seeing in it an attempt to expel the knights from their tribunals; and their displeasure was increased, when, some time afterwards, Crassus stirred up the publicans to ask for a reduction in the price of the farms in Asia, — a request which the Senate refused. Being already exasperated at the disgrace inflicted on the judges of Clodius, the knights haughtily separated themselves from the Senate; and the union of the orders, Cicero's constant aim, was gone.

Before the conclusion of the trial of Clodius, Caesar had set out for his government in Further Spain. He left behind him Crassus pledged to Clodius, and in open rupture with the oligarchy. He had attached the opulent ex-consul to himself by persuading the latter to be surety to his creditors for the sum of eight hundred and fifty talents (nearly a million dollars); and the knights looked with complacency on these men who defended their interests and their honor. Finally the proconsul of Asia arrived. He was coming, it was said, at the head of his legions to make an end of the Republic. But Pompey had neither the ambition nor the daring for this. Not knowing what to put in the place of the present government, he only intended to be its head, and for this he did not at the time think he had need of soldiers: his military fame would be sufficient. As soon, therefore, as he landed at Brundisium, he dismissed his army.



POMPEY,
VANQUISHER OF
THE PIRATES.¹

This proceeding completely blinded the nobles. They believed themselves masters of the situation; and when Pompey asked to have the consular comitia delayed, in order that he might solicit votes in favor of one of his friends, Cato caused his request to be refused. Some time previously (63 B.C.), the Senate had granted Lucullus the triumph which he had for three years solicited in vain, and they had also lately authorized that of Metellus Creticus, thus saying to the people,

"These are the true conquerors of Mithridates and the pirates."² Pompey had been deeply wounded at this. Nevertheless, in his first

¹ CN. MAGNVS IMP. Pompey, on disembarking, receives a palm from the hands of Victory. Reverse of a silver coin of the Podician family.

² Pompey only arrived in Rome at the close of the year 62 B.C. (Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* iii. 181.).

address to the people¹ he spoke without anger and with great consideration for all parties, and he even tried to win over Cato. This moderation, at a time when the Forum was accustomed to violent speech, was coldly received; and no one accepted Pompey in the character of supreme arbiter, which he seemed to claim. Towards the end of September he celebrated his triumph. It is probable the Senate were not willing to grant him more than two days. Certainly the ceremony lasted no longer, and enough objects remained to deck another triumph. There were carried in procession the jewels and engraved gems of Mithridates, his statue in silver, his throne and sceptre, thirty crowns of pearls, three golden statues of Minerva, Mars, and Apollo, the golden bed of Darius, son of Hystaspes, then the tables

VICTORY (FROM THE VATICAN).²

¹ *Prima concio Pompeii . . . non jucunda miseris, inanis improbis, beatis non grata, bonis non gravis; itaque frigeat* (Cic., *Ad Att.* i. 14).

² Statue, in Grecian marble, with its back against a trophy, which must have served as a pilaster (Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 636, No. 1442). The full-page engraving is taken from Roux (*Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii. second series, pl. 120), and represents a triumphant general crowned by Victory, and seated upon a pile of arms. In the painting he is clothed in a blue tunic held up by a golden girdle: on his shoulders is a purple mantle. His red shoes are edged with gold, and ornamented with fur.

on which it was written that Pompey had subjugated twelve million men, taken eight hundred vessels, a thousand fortresses and three hundred towns, that he had founded or repeopled thirty-nine cities, poured into the treasury twenty thousand talents, and almost doubled the public revenue.¹ Medals struck in his name showed the globe encircled with laurel, and above it the golden wreath decreed to the conqueror of Africa, Spain, and Asia. He had distributed to each of his legionaries six thousand sesterces.² The soldiers of the Republic are already the mercenaries of the Empire.

But on descending from his chariot, in which he had appeared in the costume of Alexander, Pompey found himself alone in the city just now filled with his renown. Lucullus attacked him; the Senate was hostile to him; Cato asserted that he had had only women to fight against; even Cicero confessed that his hero of former days lacked dignity and elevation.³ Of the two consuls, one, Metellus Celer, was his enemy: the other, Afranius, whose election to office he had paid for, was, Cicero says, a very non-entity, not knowing even the value of the place he had bought.⁴ Pompey soon put his influence to the test. In the East he had disposed of crowns, had made and unmade kingdoms, and founded cities: in short, had ruled everything with sovereign sway from the Aegean to the Caucasus, and from the Hellespont to the Red Sea. The confirmation of all his acts was a point of honor with him; he asked of the Senate a prompt and general approval. Lucullus, supported by Cato, proposed to deliberate upon each act separately. Such a prolonged discussion, in which many checks were inevitable, would have been singularly humiliating to the man who in Asia had lately played the part of a King of kings: he rejected it. At the same time he asked the people, through the tribune Flavius,

¹ Eighty-five million drachmae instead of fifty million, or about fifteen million dollars instead of nine million (Plut., *Pompey*, 17). The triumph was celebrated on the 28th and the 29th of September, 61 B.C.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 6. After the deliverance of Modena, in 43 B.C., the Senate promised ten thousand, and the triumvirs gave them. The gratuities under the Empire did not usually amount to so much. As for the medal representing a globe wreathed with laurels, no specimen of it is known, and it was not the custom of the Roman monetary triumvirs to strike such types.

³ *Nihil habet amplum, excelsum, nihil non summissum atque popolare* (*Ad Att.* i. 20).

⁴ The money paid for his appointment had been distributed in the very gardens of Pompey, and the Senate ordered an inquiry (*Cic.*, *Ad Att.* i. 16).

for lands for his veterans. In the Forum as in the curia he encountered Cato and the consul Metellus. Things came to such a pass that Flavius had the consul dragged to prison. But the tribune's patron was ashamed of this violence. He yielded a second time, his heart deeply imbittered against the nobles who thus disgraced him in the eyes of his soldiers and of all Asia.

Then, according to one historian,¹ he repented having dismissed his troops; but it was too late. Repulsed by the nobles, he could resume the part of demagogue, for which he was so little fitted. But on the popular side the first place was already occupied: Pompey must be content to share it with Caesar, who had anticipated him there.

¹ Dion. xxxvii. 50.

² Engraved gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1546 of the Catalogue.



WINGED VICTORY CROWNING A WARRIOR.²

CHAPTER LII.

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE AND THE CONSULSHIP OF CAESAR.

I. — FORMATION OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE (60 B.C.).

DURING the events recorded at the close of the last chapter, Caesar was far away in Hispania Ulterior, having obtained the government of this province after his praetorship (61 B.C.). He had celebrated his arrival by the remission of the taxes which Metellus Pius had imposed upon the Spaniards, and he had distinguished himself in civil matters by an arrangement of debts¹ and by the pacification of Gades, to which he gave better laws; in



CAESAR.²

military affairs, by expeditions against the Lusitanians of the mountains and the Gallaeci, whence he returned with the title of "Imperator" (June, 60 B.C.). He forthwith solicited a triumph and the consulship. These two demands were irreconcilable. To obtain the one it was necessary to keep the imperium, the lictors, and the military costume; that is to say, to remain outside of Rome, for at the city gates this authority and this display ceased: to apply for the other, a man must come in person seventeen days before the election, give in his name to the president of the comitia, and solicit votes in the Forum. Many a time had the

¹ The creditors, who were, for the most part, Roman citizens, were accustomed to obtain payment by taking forcible possession of their debtors' property. Caesar allowed them only two-thirds of the income till the debt should be cancelled (Plut., *Caesar*; Cic., *Pro Balbo*, 19).

² Laurel-crowned head. We do not know whether Caesar was authorized by the Senate to put his likeness on the coin, or whether he assumed the right himself. In any case, — since upon the pieces of money bearing the inscription COS TERT. DICT. ITER. of the year 46, and DIC TER of the year 45, his head does not yet appear, and that with DICT QVART of the year 44 it does not always appear, — we are led to the conclusion that it was during the year 44 B.C. that Caesar obtained or arrogated to himself this right, which has since remained a monarchical privilege.

Senate allowed generals to omit these prescribed formalities; but at the instance of Cato they now refused to do so.¹

Between an affair of vanity and a question of power Caesar quickly made his choice. He gave up the triumph, sent away his lictors, and hastened to the Forum with the white robe of a candidate. Crassus and Pompey accompanied him and canvassed for him. How had this triple alliance been formed?

The complete defeat of Catiline, the disarming and humiliation of Pompey, the twofold victory over the people and their tribunes, lastly the exile, as it were, of Caesar to a remote province—so many successes had inspired the oligarchy with that confidence, which, to their final destruction, endues exhausted parties with a momentary energy. Cicero had already ceased to be their favorite leader. To the reserve and discretion of the cautious ex-consul, the Senate preferred Cato's blind zeal. But Cato, by his respect for ancient and obsolete laws, gained nothing, and compromised everything. "With the best intentions," wrote Cicero to Atticus, "Cato often does harm, for his sentiments are more suited to the perfect commonwealth of Plato than to the rabble of Romulus."² He had driven Metellus Nepos from Rome, caused the accusation against Clodius, and made the Senate refuse Pompey everything. After the election of Afranius (whose election Pompey had paid for) he had obtained a decree that all who took any part in such bargains should be declared public enemies, and he had energetically supported a new law of the tribune Lurco against bribery. After the trial of Clodius, and against the advice of Cicero, who was anxious that in any case the equestrian order should be treated with consideration, Cato had caused an inquiry to be made into the conduct of the judges. When the farmers of the taxes in Asia had asked for the cancelling of their agreements, Cato again, in spite of Cicero, obliged them to hold to their former contracts.³ Accordingly, in the debates raised by the agrarian law of Pompey, the publicans had refused their support to the Senate.

This time, too, the oligarchy had conquered; but it was only due

¹ At least Cato, to put off a decision, spoke till sunset, obliging the meeting to disperse (Suet., *Caesar*, i. 8; Dion. xxxvii. 54; Plut., *Caesar* and *Cato*). Ten years previously the Senate had granted to Pompey what it now refused to Caesar.

² Cic., *Ad Att.* ii. 1.

³ *Cato qui miseros publicanos . . . tertium jam mensem vexata* (Cicero, *Ad Att.* i. 18).

to the moderation of their foe. Accordingly, while the nobles congratulated themselves on having overcome everything, Cicero saw the storm gathering. "Not a man can be found," he said, "who pays the slightest attention to the interests of the Republic;"¹ and he prudently reefed his sails,² and prepared the way for a return to Pompey's side, supporting the agrarian law of Flavius with reasons which contradicted his speech on that of Rullus.³ It was a fresh recantation. "But," wrote he, "since the acquittal of Clodius I know what dependence can be placed upon justice; I have seen, too, the *publicani* estranged from the Senate, and how our momentary victors, those great lovers of fish-ponds, no longer conceal the envy they cherish against me."⁴ Then I sought some more solid support." And Pompey had welcomed him,—Pompey, whom he describes above, solemnly draped in his triumphal robe, at last spoke with approval of the famous consulship. Then how he treats his former friends, Lucullus, Hortensius, and all those great personages "who imagine themselves in heaven when they have in their fish-ponds old barbel trained to come and eat out of their hands!"

Unless the orator overdraws his portraits in order to excuse to himself his defection, such men were not very formidable; and the zeal and activity of the intractable Cato only increased the illusion as to their real strength. Quite recently a *senatus-consultum* had failed to become law, and Cicero had seized the opportunity to exclaim, "Of the two things which my consulship had established, the union of the orders and the authority of the Senate, one is gone, and every day helps to shatter the other."⁵ Thus Caesar returned opportunely from his province. The Senate was at once feeble and threatening, Pompey was exasperated, Cicero discontented, and Crassus in full opposition.

Since the day when Caesar had dared to brave the all-powerful Sylla, he had said nothing and done nothing which was not in keeping with this first act of his life. The replacing of the trophies of Marius on the Capitol, the bringing to justice of the

¹ *Μολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ὅραρ quisquam inveniri potest* (*Ad Att.* i. 18). And elsewhere: *Nihil ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum* (*Ibid.* 13).

² *Contrarij vela* (*Ibid.* i. 16).

³ *Ad Att.* i. 19.

⁴ In their eyes, Cicero was never anything more than an upstart. See, in his letters, with what haughtiness Appian, his predecessor in the government of Cilicia, treated him

⁵ *Ad Att.* i. 18.

dictator's hired murderers, the recall of the proscribed, the prosecution of extortioners, the restoration to the tribuneship of its rights, and the revival of hope in the people by the proposal of agrarian laws—all these things showed a fidelity to the opinions of his youth and of his party, which doubled the power given him by his eloquence as an orator, his attractions as a man, and his high birth. He therefore held a position at Rome which enabled him to treat as an equal with the most powerful rivals. His first care was to reconcile his old friend and his new, — Pompey and Crassus : to the one he promised to obtain for him from the people that which the Senate had not been willing to give him ; to the other, to dismiss to their villas those leaders of the oligarchy who had relegated him to the second rank, and to restore to him that influence in the State which was due to his services.¹ All three pledged themselves to have their credit and their resources in common, to speak and act in all matters only in conformity with the interests of the association. The military renown of Pompey, the wealth of Crassus, and the popularity of Caesar, contributed to make this three-headed monster, as the triumvirate was called, a power which ruled the people, the Senate, and the whole government.² But each of the three triumvirs retained his own special schemes. Pompey saw in the union only a combination of influences, by which he was sure to be raised without any disturbance or revolution to the first place. Crassus foresaw the rivalry between his colleagues, and the facilities it would afford him for raising himself above them by making his support necessary to each. Caesar, for his part, aspired to that highest place which was the dream of all ; but his plan was, first, by the united force of the triumvirate, to overthrow the aristocracy, which was a party, thinking that afterwards he could easily deal with Pompey and Crassus, who were only individuals. Then, being master of the Republic, he intended to undertake the reforms of which his grand intellect perceived the necessity, — reforms which he commenced as soon as he was in possession of the consulship (60 B.C.).

¹ *Crassus, ut quem principatum solus adsequi non poterat . . . viribus teneret Caesaris* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 44).

² Τρικράπavος (App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 9). [This title was originally given to a scurrilous libel on Theopompus by Anaximenes of Lampsacus. Cf. Mahaffy's *Hist. of Greek Literature* ii. 248. — *Ed.*]

His two associates had undertaken to support his candidature. The nobles did all in their power to defeat it. They clubbed together to buy up the votes: even Cato thought that here the end justified the means, and furnished his share. When they saw that their efforts would be useless, they revenged themselves in advance for this election, which they could not prevent, by assigning as consular provinces only a care of woods and pasture-lands.¹ They hoped thus to reduce the future consul to a condition of powerlessness at the expiration of his term of office. But it was an imprudent and useless measure, and enabled Caesar to ask from the people reparation for the insult offered to the people's choice. Caesar was elected; but the nobles succeeded in giving him as a colleague Bibulus, who had long been his enemy.

II. — CAESAR'S CONSULSHIP (59 B.C.).

THE new consul's first words were, however, conciliatory; he promised the Senate to propose nothing contrary to its prerogatives; he sought to effect a reconciliation with Bibulus; and he asked Cicero's advice. On taking possession of his office he ordained that a daily record of all the acts of the Senate should be regularly kept and published, in order to check secret intrigues by submitting the government to the censorship of public opinion.² A few days later he presented to the Senate the following law:³ "In order to restore agriculture, and repopulate the solitudes of Italy, the lands of the public domain shall be distributed among the poor. Those in Campania, where twenty thousand colonists shall be

¹ . . . *Provinciae minimi negotii, id est silvae callesque* (Suet., *Caesar*, 19). These absurd provinces, however, suggest the idea that the Romans already concerned themselves about the preservation of forests.

² Suet., *Caesar*, 20. See Leclerc, *Des Journaux chez les Romains*.

³ Cicero, who had supported, with modifications, the law of Flavius, which was not so well put together, and by which, said he, it was possible for *sentina urbis exhauriri et Italiae solitudo frequentari* (*Ad Att.* i. 19.), offers but poor reasons against Caesar's proposal (*Ad Att.* ii. 16). According to him, the treasury would be ruined: *Portoriis Italiae sublatis, agro Campano diviso, quod rectique superest domesticum, praeter vicesimum*; but he forgot the tributes of the provinces, which Caesar's law did not touch. He forgot, too, that the expenditure for the distributions of wheat to the people would be diminished if the famished masses at Rome became less numerous.

established, are to be given to citizens who have at least three children; and a rent shall be paid to the treasury for these concessions. If the public lands do not suffice, the money brought home by Pompey shall be employed to purchase private domains, with the proprietors' consent, at the price with which they were marked on the registers at the last census. Twenty commissioners shall direct the execution of this law." There was nothing to object to in this



REMAINS OF CICERO'S VILLA AT TUSCULUM.¹

proposal, the wisdom and opportuneness of which recalled the first law of Tiberius Gracchus, with this difference, that Caesar declared he was not willing to be among the commissioners. In the time of the Gracchi, the aristocracy was all-powerful: it crushed both the law and the tribune. Now it was from the consulship, as in the days of Spurius Cassius, that the blow came; and the nobility had only Cato to defend them, for Cicero remained at his villas, that he might not be obliged to praise in Caesar what he had blamed in

¹ From a print in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

Rullus: fearing to speak, fearing to keep silent, he had fled far from the field of battle. "It is not the law I dread," said Cato, "but the price the people will have to pay for it;" and he spoke so violently, that Caesar, giving way to impatience, had him seized, and dragged to prison, the door of which was not shut upon him. Then the consul dismissed the Senate, saying, "I had made you the judges and supreme arbiters of this law in order, that, if any of its provisions displeased you, it might not be brought before the people till it had been discussed by you; but, since you are not willing to proceed to a preliminary deliberation, the people alone shall decide." It was a return to the Hortensian Law, which the Cornelian legislation had suppressed.¹ Driven by this refusal of co-operation to bring everything before the popular assembly, he rarely summoned the Senate.² The comitia, it is true, represented the national sovereignty, of which the Senate was but the high council; but to make the comitia everything was to displace the axis of government. Hitherto it had been in the curia: Caesar transferred it to the Forum. And yet scarcely twenty years ago Sylla had deprived the tribes of their legislative power.

On the day when he brought his law before the people, the scene between Gracchus and Octavius seemed about to be repeated; but Caesar carefully avoided the excess which had ruined the son of Cornelia. For a long time he begged his colleague not to oppose this act of justice, and, in order to make the nobles detested, he prevailed upon the people to add their entreaties to his own. "Though you should all clamor for this law, you should not have it," said Bibulus. Then Caesar, turning towards Pompey and Crassus, asked them what they thought of the proposal. Both praised it highly. "But, in case it is rejected by force, what will you do?" said he to Pompey. "If it is attacked with the sword, I will defend it with sword and buckler."³ On hearing him speak thus, the nobles understood why it was they had seen the town filling with Pompeian veterans.⁴

¹ Dion, xxxviii. 3. For the *Hortensian Law* see vol. i. p. 394.

² Appian and Dion are wrong in affirming that he ceased to assemble the Senate; for he called them together several times, among other things, to make them swear to observe his law, and to declare Ptolemy and Ariovistus friends of the Roman people, etc.

³ Dion, xxxviii. 45; Plut., *Caesar*, 14.

⁴ Plut., *Pompey*, 49.

Bibulus, a man of narrow and stubborn mind, resisted to the last. On the day of voting, in spite of the threatening aspect of the Forum, filled with armed men, he came with Cato and Lucullus, and took his place near his colleague, only to declare that he "was observing the heavens," and that consequently all business must be suspended. But, as soon as he attempted to speak, Bibulus was set upon: he was thrown down the steps of the Temple of Castor, and forced to seek shelter in a neighboring house. Lucullus, too, narrowly escaped with his life. Two tribunes were wounded. Cato was twice driven from the rostra, twice made his way back to it. Finally, however, the law passed, and a plebiscitum compelled the senators, magistrates, and all who should in future canvass an office, to swear to observe it literally. Men remembered Metellus, and all took the oath, even Cato: one man only, Laterensis, chose rather to give up his candidature for the tribuneship. "He is highly appreciated," writes Cicero, who praises, but did not imitate him.¹

This agrarian law was the first which had been passed for the last sixty years. Caesar, already heir of the popularity of Marius, was now to succeed to that of the Gracchi also. And yet the two other triumvirs had no right to take alarm; for he appeared to act only in the common interest. When he diminished by one-third the price of the taxing contracts in Asia, where the publicans had lost greatly during the war against Mithridates, it was, he said, to reconcile to the triumvirs the whole equestrian order,² now that the people were already won over. When he obtained the confirmation of Pompey's acts in the East,³ it was the pledge given by his colleague to the kings and peoples of Asia that he redeemed, as he had just fulfilled by the agrarian law Pompey's promises to his veterans. And finally, when he sold the alliance of Rome to Ptolemy Auletes, King of Egypt, for six thousand talents,⁴ it was again in order that

¹ Dion, xxxviii. 7; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 12; Cic., *Ad Att.*, ii. 18. I do not speak of the pretended plot against Pompey's life, which Vettius denounced, and in which he implicated several important persons. It was doubtless an attempt to extort money, and was disposed of by strangling Vettius in prison. Dion (xxxviii. 9) does not hesitate to say that Vettius had been paid by Cicero and Lucullus to kill Caesar and Pompey; but Dion is fond of tragic stories, and changes doubt into certainty with great facility. Appian (*Bell. civ.* ii. 12) does not believe it.

² Cic., *Ad Att.* ii. 16; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 13.

³ Lucullus attempted to offer opposition; but he was threatened with an accusation on the subject of his immense property, and he became silent (Dion. xxxviii. 7; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 13; Plut., *Pompey*, 13).

⁴ Caesar, *Bell. civ.* iii. 107; Suet., *Caesar*, 54; Dion. xxxix. 12.

the prince might owe his crown to the triumvirate. He was only faithfully carrying out the treaty of alliance. But he that gives is much better remembered than he that promises; and Caesar, accomplishing what his colleague had not been able to do, reaped gratitude, or at least raised himself in public opinion. Pompey was under obligations to him. He even consented to lose the advantage of his seniority in age by becoming Caesar's son-in-law. This marriage added the bonds of relationship to those of politics; and in the family, as in the State, Pompey accepted the inferior place.¹ He himself did not perceive this, for he could not suppose that any one would presume to claim equality with him;² and Caesar avoided dispelling this idea. It was a custom at Rome, that, at the meetings of the Senate, he for whose opinion the consul had asked first should retain throughout the year this privilege, which was highly valued. Caesar had at first paid this honor to Crassus; but after Julia's marriage he intrusted Pompey with the opening of the debate, — a trifle which gratified the vanity of a man who desired to have the pre-eminence in everything.

Two laws of Caesar's consulship, — *De Provinciis ordinandis* and *De Pecuniis repetundis*, — which supplemented one another, remained the basis of legislation in the matter until the last days of the Empire.³ Their object was the good administration of the provinces and the repression of extortion. Like all the young nobles of the time, he had made his first appearance in the Forum as the accuser of guilty governors; but he always remained faithful to the duties he had assumed towards the provincials, which others forgot as soon as they attained office. It had become clear to him that the time was come for rising above the narrow prejudices of the city, and that Rome owed to the world something besides incessant pillage.

The second of these laws had more than a hundred articles,⁴ and it differed from similar earlier laws by greater detail and stringency.⁵ It applied to all sorts of bribery at home or abroad.

¹ Julia was only twenty-three years of age, and Pompey was forty-eight. At the same time Caesar married Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Piso. (Suet., *Caesar*, 21; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 11.)

² . . . *Et quod neminem secum dignitate exaequari volebat* (Caesar, *Bell. civ.* i. 4). *Neque . . . quemquam aequo animo parem tulit* (Vell. Patere., i. 33).

³ *Digest*, xlvi., the whole of section ii.; *Id.*, *ibid.*, L. 5, 3; and *Code*, book ix. section xxvii.

⁴ Caelius (Cic., *Ad Fam.* viii. 8) cites article 101 of it.

⁵ *Calpurnia* (149), *Junia* (126?), *Acilia* (101?), *Servilia* (100), *Cornelia* (81).

Accordingly, Cicero calls it "a law as wise as it is just, by which free nations at length truly enjoyed their liberty."¹ It regulated the expenditure of cities for the proconsul, his legates, and his quaestor, and it forbade all those voluntary gifts which men in power could so easily exact without asking for anything.² It increased the penalty against persons guilty of extortion, declaring them incapable of sitting in the Senate, or of appearing in court as accusers or as witnesses.³ In order that proof against them might be easily obtained, the governors were obliged to leave a copy of their accounts in two of the most important towns of their provinces, and to deposit a third in the public treasury at Rome.⁴ Hitherto an extortioner, when prosecuted, had been able to save his property by going into exile before the trial, thus putting an end to the suit. The Julian Law decreed, that in this case the property should be seized, even if it were already in the hands of the heirs, and be applied to compensate the injured parties. If it did not suffice, those who had profited by the abuse were condemned to complete the restitution. Finally it decreed that a governor should only remain two years in the consular, and one year in the praetorian provinces. Sylla had not allowed knights or plebeians to challenge more than three judges in their suits. The tribune Vatinius, one of Caesar's friends, obtained an equal right of challenge for accused and accuser, whatever their condition might be.

Lands for the poor of Rome, justice for the provinces, severity for venality, the evil which was sapping the Republic—such were the principal acts of Caesar during his magistracy.

What were the nobles doing during this consulship, so full of wise reforms? Cato was protesting in favor of abuses of which he took no advantage. Favonius imitated his complaints and even his gestures, and was the last to swear to observe the agrarian

¹ *In Pison*. 16, and *Pro Sestio*, 64.

² *Cic.*, *Ad Att.* v. 10, 16, 21; *In Pison*. 37. Caesar also occupied himself with the *liberum legationes*, one of the most crying abuses; but we do not know in what particular he modified preceding regulations on the point (*Cic.*, *Ad Att.* xv. 11; cf. *Dion.* xliii. 25; *Cic.*, *Phil.* i. 8; *In Pison*. 86).

³ *Suet.*, *Caesar*, 43; *Tac.*, *Hist.* i. 77.

⁴ *Cic.*, *Ad Att.* vi. 7, *Ad Fam.* ii. 17, v. 20. Gabinius, one of the most severe proconsuls towards his subjects, had already, in 71 B. C., caused it to be decreed that all the sittings of the Senate during the month of February should be devoted to the examination of complaints brought to Rome by deputies from the provinces (*Cic.*, *Ad Quint.* ii. 13).

law. Lucullus had joined in the opposition to the consul; but a few words from Caesar upon his immense wealth, which, as spoil of war, belonged to the State, sent him back into silence and obscurity. Hortensius, disconcerted by his unlucky intervention in the affair of Clodius, had quitted politics, and devoted himself to the care of his lampreys. Cicero, who had been for a time led away by Pompey's advances and Caesar's smiles,¹ had soon retraced his steps. He was anxious to return to literature, to flee "to his native hills and the cradle of his infancy."² "When shall we live?" — *quando vivemus?* — he exclaims, and he invited Atticus to come and philosophize with him "under the shadow of Aristotle's statue." But he could not stay quiet: he travelled from Formiae to Antium, from Antium to Tusculum, restless, nervous, eager for news, circling round Rome without daring to enter it, and trying by partial overtures, by cautious confidences, to have the augurship offered to him to give him an excuse for re-appearing on the scene. It is the sad spectacle of a noble mind unable, when its hour is past, to give up either power or the applause of the multitude.³

As for the Senate, it seemed no longer to exist; one of the consuls summoning it but rarely, and the other, by the proclamation of a *justitium*, having forbidden it to assemble. Bibulus, in order to taint the acts of his colleague with illegality, had declared all the days of his consulship to be *feriae* (sacred days, on which no work could be done). But religion was a worn-out tool; and this opposition in the name of long-lost beliefs only caused a smile. The wits named this year the consulship of Julius and of Caesar.

Not being able to wage serious war, his enemies made a war of epigrams against him. Bibulus, shut up in his house, launched against his colleague edicts "in the style of Archilochus," in which the accusation of having been the minion of Nicomedes and the accomplice of Catiline were among the least insults.⁴ The nobles

¹ Cf. Cic., *Ad Att.* i. 16.

² *Ad Att.* ii. 15.

³ Dion. xxxviii. 8; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 13; Suet., *Caesar*, 20. I do not in 1880 strike out this sentence which I wrote in 1813, which is true for certain men. I content myself with adding that Cicero could, better than any man, find in his rare literary faculties the means of forgetting the attractions or disappointments of political life by fixing his gaze on things both higher and more remote.

⁴ Suet., *Caesar*, 49; Cic., *Ad Att.* ii. 19-22. Cicero did not talk openly of these calumnies; but he propagated them quietly in his private letters. At Rome, indeed, men readily

extolled their champion to the skies; but Cicero, jealous of the stir made about an inactive consul, maliciously remarked that his method of attaining fame was a new one. As for Caesar, he left his foes this last consolation of the vanquished. Pompey reconciled himself to it less easily: on the 25th of July he ascended the rostra to speak against these edicts of Bibulus. "His appearance was so mean and humiliating," writes Cicero, "as to excite the commiseration of every observer, and to mortify even himself."¹ Elsewhere, with naïve pride, the orator allows himself to say: "I have been tormented with fear lest Pompey's services should appear to posterity greater than my own. That anxiety is gone, he has fallen so low."

Caesar's laws were excellent. By refusing to co-operate with him, and to associate themselves with his plans, the oligarchy had committed the last capital mistake, that which precedes great catastrophes and is their cause. Caesar at that time desired reforms, not a revolution, and his reforms might perhaps have saved the Republic. Ten years afterwards it was too late, for the reason that the aristocratic government, instead of employing these ten years in delivering themselves from the evils which were undermining them, employed the time only in seeking means to deliver themselves from Caesar. The nobles counted upon their idle *senatus-consultum* concerning the province set apart for the popular consul for being soon rid of him. But the people, whose affection he had retained² by an uninterrupted succession of games, spectacles, and largesses,³ did for him what they had already done for Marius.

cast at their enemies the accusation of being publicly and shamelessly immoral. Suetonius, who collected all these tales, says that Caesar stole three thousand pounds of gold from the Capitol, and replaced them with gilded copper. But we possess a proof of the falseness of this accusation. Cicero does not mention it, and he would not have failed to do so frequently, if the thing, incredible in itself, had really taken place.

¹ Cic., *Ibid.* ii. 21.

² The "unpopularity of popular men," as Cicero calls it, has been too easily credited. It was Curio and the young nobles, not the people, who launched forth the sarcasms of which Cicero speaks, and the latter is even driven to confess that there was much more spite than force in it all: *Magis odio quam praesidio* (*Ad Att.* ii. 19). It must be noticed, too, that it was Pompey, not Caesar, who was scoffed at and insulted.

³ *Σκοπὸς ἐστὶ, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνω, ἵνα τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οὐκ ἔδειξεν οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων ἐπισημάτων* (Cic., *Ad Att.* ii. 18). Suetonius (*Caesar*, 20) says almost the same, and in both cases the remark is without foundation; for Crassus, Lucullus, and Pompey had also given many games and largesses: it was an obligation on men of distinction to do so, and nothing particularly remarkable was observed in these festivals of Caesar's consulship.

Lucullus, and Pompey. On the proposal of the tribune Vatinius, they replied to the derisive *senatus-consultum* respecting the proconsular provinces by bestowing upon Caesar, by the Vatinian plebiscitum, the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria for five years with three legions.¹ This law was most skilfully put together in the interests of Caesar; for it gave him, with a con-



THEATRICAL TOKEN (TESSERA).

THEATRICAL TOKEN (TESSERA).²

siderable army, a province of which he had constituted himself patron,³ and one which, being in proximity to Rome, daily received the news of the Forum and the curia; but it was also most useful to the Republic, just now threatened by a formidable war on the other side of the Alps. Cato paid no heed to this danger. In his great republican fervor and his hatred against Caesar, he had exclaimed, "It is tyranny you are arming, and you are placing it in a fort above your heads." But the senatorial majority, more patriotic in the face of the State's peril than the oligarchic faction, at Pompey's solicitation added to the popular gift a fourth legion and a third province, Gallia Narbonensis, at that time in great danger; and Caesar's command in that province was to be for at least as long a time as that fixed by the plebiscitum.

These prolonged commands were in accordance with the spirit of the Roman constitution. The proconsulship had been called into existence three centuries before with the express object of securing

¹ Pompey's veterans had come to vote for this Vatinian Law (Suet., *Caesar*, 22). Pompey himself insisted on having Transalpine Gaul given to Caesar (Cic., *Ad Att.* viii. 3): *Ille Galliae ulterioris adiunctor*. With Caesar gone, he thought that he should be left master.

² The theatrical *tesserae* were tokens answering to our tickets. Those here given are of ivory, and artistically worked. The one represents an amphitheatre with its *vomitoria*, and in the middle a *pompa*, a kind of tower on which combatants were placed. The inscription on the reverse denotes the place assigned to the bearer of the *tessera* (1A, eleventh hemicycle). The place assigned by the other ticket, ΑΙΟΝΙΟΝ, denotes, perhaps, the last place (αἰσχρὸν or αἰσχίστον) the one farthest removed from the places of honor, and reserved for the lowest class and slaves (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. second series, pl. 134).

³ He had just sent thither with the title of citizens five thousand colonists, who established themselves at Como (Strabo, V. i. 6; Suet., *Caesar*, 28). The southern boundary of Cisalpine Gaul passed south of Lucca and Ravenna—Ariminum, a short distance from the Rubicon, was only thirteen hundred and fifty stadia from Rome, and Lucca scarcely farther.

for a consul the time to complete his military operations. Metellus, Lucullus, and Pompey had recently held it longer than the period granted to Caesar, and the people and Senate were quite right in resorting to a precaution customary in times of danger. The Allobroges, who had been, as they thought, very insufficiently rewarded for the conduct of their ambassadors in Catiline's conspiracy, had just ravaged Gallia Narbonensis. This rising had caused little uneasiness; but the Germanic invasion, which had been arrested forty years before by Marius, was recommencing. The mass of tribes settled in the upper basins of the Danube and Rhine, and in the valleys of the Alps, were in a state of confused restlessness. Already the Suevi, the most dreaded people of all Germany, to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand, had forced their way into Gaul, north of the Roman province, the frontier of which they touched; and four hundred thousand Helvetii were preparing to traverse it in arms, so that Southern Gaul, and consequently Italy, lay exposed to an invasion as dangerous as that which had penetrated to the neighborhood of Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae.¹ The Suevi were in fact only the vanguard of that barbaric world, ceaselessly attracted towards the world of civilization; and the country abandoned by the Helvetii was soon to be occupied by warlike tribes, which from the heights of the Alps would cast longing looks upon the rich plains of Gallia Cisalpina. For the moment these invaders, masters of the valleys of the Rhine and Saône, seemed to threaten merely the east and centre of Gaul; but the avidity of those who were ready to follow them was enough to make the former change their course; and at Rome the memory of the terror caused for ten years by the Cimbri and Teutones, was ever present. The Vatinian plebiscitum, therefore, was not one of those thoughtless favors sometimes bestowed by the people upon their leaders. It was desirable for the public interest that the guarding of the whole northern frontier should be confided to one general, and that that general should have time enough before him to prepare his plan of defence, as Marius his uncle had done, and to carry it into execu-

¹ Caesar says this (*De Bello Gallico*, i. 33): . . . *quum omnem Galliam occuparissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in Provinciam exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent*. A senatus-consultum of 61, of which we shall speak later, shows, by the precautions taken in Gallia Narbonensis, that the Senate was very uneasy about that quarter.

tion. The alliances concluded by Caesar in Noricum¹ prove that he fully realized the importance of his commission. He took precautions on that side to protect the eastern gate of Italy against an attack from the Gallic Pannonians, whilst he defended the outposts in the west against their brethren of Gallia Transalpina.

The equal duration of the two governorships has been disputed: that of Narbonensian Gaul was shorter, it is said, than that of Cisalpine; but the practical sense of the Romans would not have made any difference, especially when the true danger was on the banks of the Rhone. The Senate, which was then in a fair way to a reconciliation with Caesar, could not have done it; and Pompey, who upheld in the Forum the plebiscitum for Cisalpine Gaul, and gave his utmost support in the curia to the senatus-consultum for the Narbonensis, no doubt insisted that the conditions should be alike. Indeed, Velleius Paterculus, Appian, and Plutarch affirm that they were so.²

We have another proof that the senators were swayed by the energetic and far-seeing will of Caesar, even after the expiration of his consulship. As soon as he had resigned the fasces, two praetors attempted to invalidate his acts: he demanded that the question should be at once discussed in the curia. Cato's friends made a great disturbance, and for three days there were violent altercations; but the Senate refused to allow the institution of a regular debate.³ One of the tribunes also proposed to summon him before a court of justice; but his colleagues opposed their veto,—a double intrigue, doubly illegal, for the senators had been compelled by a plebiscitum to swear to observe his principal law; and no action could be brought against a magistrate while he was in office: which immunity Caesar possessed, being a proconsul at the expiration of his consulship.

Warned by these ill-timed attacks, he resolved to avert their repetition and their effects by causing the urban magistracies to be given every year to friends disposed to guard him against a surprise.

¹ Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* i. 18.

² Vell. Patere., ii. 44: . . . *tum Caesari decretae in quinquennium Galliae.* App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 13; Γαλατίας τῆς τε ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων καὶ ὑπερ Ἀλπεὺς ἐπὶ πενταετής ἀρχεῖν. Plut., *Cato*, 33: . . . ἐψηφίσαντο Καίσαρι μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν ἀπάσης καὶ τεσσάρα τάγματα στρατιάς εἰς πενταετίαν.

³ *Ne illi suscipiunt* (Suet., *Caesar*, 23).

"Several swore an oath to him," says Suetonius, "to prevent his being accused during his absence, and some renewed the engagement in writing."

Among the senators apparently so well disposed towards Caesar, there were doubtless some who counted upon a barbarian's sword to free them from their formidable adversary. Pompey, without any evil purpose, thought that Caesar's absence from Rome for five years would leave him most of the real profits of their partnership, — a preponderating influence in Rome, and that place of supreme arbitrator which was sufficient for a man who had more of the vanity than the ambition of power. Caesar reckoned otherwise. Two opposite examples, the sad end of the Gracchi and the success of Sylla, had shown that nothing could be done without an army. In order to have an army, a province was needed, a successful war, and spoil. Gaul was rich and formidable: it lay at the very gates of Italy. A war against that hated race, whose name recalled the sad story of the Capitol ransomed with gold, would almost be witnessed from Rome; the noise of victory would re-echo through her streets, as if the battlefield were close at hand. Caesar thought that after he had gained military fame equal to that of Marius, Sylla, and Pompey, he should use it better than they had done, by giving the Republic that organization which for the last century she had been seeking amid civil wars and proscriptions. Was there more ambition than patriotism in these ideas? Many see only the former motive in Caesar's conduct: I firmly believe that the latter must also be added.

III. — CLODIUS, EXILE OF CICERO (58 B.C.).

BEFORE his departure, Caesar caused the consulship of the year 58 to be conferred upon Piso, his father-in-law, and Gabinius, a friend of Pompey, with the rich governments of Macedon and Syria for their proconsular year. He had made out the list of consuls who were to succeed them, and to keep watch with Pompey and Crassus over the maintenance of the Julian Laws during his absence. Finally Pompey, placed at the head of the commission for the

agrarian law, remained at Rome with an indefinite authority which could not but appear formidable to the enemies of the triumvirate.

Among the dismayed aristocracy there were now but two men who caused any uneasiness. Cato was a source of anxiety, because the populace loved those rude virtues which they no longer possessed, and those demands for a liberty for which they had ceased to exert themselves. He was more popular in Rome than Pompey, almost as much so as Caesar; but it was a popularity which arose from curiosity rather than from confidence. His dress, his language, his life, were interesting, like a picture of past ages, though no one thought of imitating him. There was no reason to fear that such a man would ever lead the people to any act of violence against their present masters. Yet his opposition was an annoyance, and it was resolved to get rid of it. Cicero was more dangerous, because, living more in the present than Cato, and knowing it better, he demanded less, and ran a chance of obtaining more. His eloquence, too, might bring about unexpected results, and he had lately, on his return to Rome, completely broken with the triumvirs. "If I am driven too far," he had said, "I shall be quite able to resist the oppressors." Moreover, Clodius claimed him as a victim, and Caesar reckoned on Clodius to keep Pompey and the Senate in check during his absence.

The law required a man to be forty-three years of age before he could obtain the office of consul; but through the tribuneship a position of influence was much more quickly attainable: Clodius, therefore, was desirous of becoming a tribune. But he was a patrician, and his adoption by a man of another order would deprive him of his rank: he did not hesitate, however, but brought forward as his adoptive father an obscure plebeian, younger than himself. Neither Pompey nor Caesar had at first cared to support this turbulent and ambitious man, whom they were not sure that they could control, like Vatinius, at their will. But, in an action brought against C. Antonius, Cicero had seen fit to speak ill of the triumvirs.¹ That very day the adoption was decided upon, and Pompey officiated at it as augur.² Cicero took alarm, and retired to the country,

¹ Cic., *Pro Domo*, 16; Suet., *Caesar*, 20.

² Cic., *Ad Att.* viii. 3. Pompey was unfortunate in the choice of his friends. Thus he raised up Clodius, who did him so much harm, just as he had helped on Caesar's fortunes: *quem in rempublicam abuit, auxit, armavit.*

hoping by silence to make amends for the energy of his words. His manœuvre proved successful, and the triumvirs made fresh advances to him. Among several means of attaining an object, Caesar always chose that which agreed best with the kindness of his nature. Wishing to remove Cicero from Rome, or else to attach him to his own cause, Caesar had successively offered him a free legation, one of the twenty places of land commissioner, and, lastly, the rank of lieutenant in his Gallic army. After long hesitation, Cicero had refused them all; and Caesar, though with regret, abandoned him to the resentment of Clodius.

MINERVA WITH THE NECKLACE.¹

On the 10th of December, 59 B.C., this scion of the Claudii took his seat on the bench of the plebeian magistrates. As usual, the public treasury bore the cost of the new tribune's popularity; a *lex frumentaria* abolished the moderate price which the poor had paid for the wheat supplied from the public granaries.² A second law forbade any magistrate to break up the

¹ Statue from the Museum of the Louvre (Clarac, *Descript. des Ant.* No. 522). Necklaces are very rare in ancient sculptural monuments, and this example is perhaps unique among good statues. Phidias had put a necklace on his Athene, of which our Minerva may be an imitation.

² This bounty diminished the receipts of the treasury by a fifth, says Cicero (*Pro Sextio*, 25).

comitia on pretence of consulting the heavens, to the end that no one might attempt to renew the strange opposition of Bibulus.¹ A third law re-established the ancient corporations² recently suppressed by the Senate (in 64?), which the tribune hoped to use for his own purposes; lastly, he diminished the power of the censorship, which had so often been a weapon in the hands of the aristocracy. For a name to be erased from the roll of the Senate



CYPRUS (VIEW OF NICOSIA AND THE CERINIAN CHAIN).³

or the equestrian order, it was henceforth necessary to have a formal accusation, an examination, a defence of the accused offered in person or by an advocate, and, lastly, the agreement of both censors in pronouncing a verdict.⁴ It was the substitution of a trial with regular formalities for a sentence without any argument in court; and, since party spirit had replaced the true spirit of government in the Senate, the measure was a good one. It will be remembered that Catiline's principal accomplices were senators

¹ This was the reversal of the *lex Aelia Fufia* (Cic., *Pro Sestio*, 15). In point of fact the conduct of Bibulus had been only a scandalous abuse of a right formerly useful.

² *Collegia restituit* (Cic., *In Pisonem*, 4; *Pro Sestio*, 25. xxxviii. 13).

³ A. Gaudry, *Géologie de l'île de Chypre*, in the *Mém. de la Soc. de Géologie*, second series, vol. vii. pl. 149.

⁴ Ascon., *In Pisonem*, 4.

and knights degraded by the censors: it may be that many were driven into the opposition, and thence into sedition, by unmerited disgrace.

All these preparations had but one object, to render the tribune master of the field whereon the true question was to be decided,—that of exile of the leaders of the aristocratic party. He began with Cicero, and proposed this law: “Fire and water shall be forbidden to any man who has caused the death of a citizen without trial.” Cicero was protected by a *senatus-consultum*, and, in delivering up Lentulus to the executioners, he had only carried out an order of the Senate. But in those unhappy times laws had no other force than that which they borrowed from the man or party whose work they were. Cicero did not even think of bringing forward these decrees in his defence; he put on mourning; he implored the assistance of the triumvirs and consuls: and a number of knights and senators entreated the people to save the man whom the people had named “Father of his Country.” All was in vain. Before the votes were given, Cicero quitted the city. He hoped by this voluntary exile to disarm his enemies, and prevent a condemnation; but on the morrow Clodius caused sentence to be declared: Cicero was not to approach nearer Rome than four hundred miles (April. 58 B.C.). At the moment of his departure Cicero had caused his most beautiful statue of Minerva to be carried to the Capitol, and had there consecrated it in the Temple of Jupiter, with this inscription: “To Minerva, Guardian of the City, *φύλαχίδα*.” Was this a genuine impulse of devotion, awakening in the midst of his misfortunes? Or was it not rather a harmless revenge, designed to recall to the people of Rome that it was the wise goddess who had inspired him with the resolution they now condemned, — a resolution which five years earlier had saved them? He himself assigns the first motive;¹ but his constant thought of himself and of the famous consulship leads us to believe in the second.

Cicero was a victim of the *coup d'État* accomplished by the senators in 63 B.C.; and the law which struck him down had that retrospective character which sound politics condemn, but which is

¹ *De Legibus*, ii. 17.

not always displeasing to factions. The second of the Gracchi had set the example of it,¹ and had commenced the era of revolutions. Pompey afterwards imitated Clodius, and his law was one of the causes of the Civil war.

Cato gave no opportunity for an accusation. But Clodius induced the people to send him to Cyprus for the purpose of reducing that island to a province, and bringing back the treasures of the king.² In order to prolong this exile, Clodius added the duty of going into Thrace to bring back the Cypriots who had been exiled to Byzantium.³ Cato obeyed; and now Caesar was free to depart.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 471.

² Dion. xxxviii. 39; Plut., *Cato*, 39. "The Romans appropriated the inheritance of a living man and the confiscation of a prince in alliance with them" (Montesquieu, *Gr. et décad.*). But this prince had formerly offended the all-powerful tribune by sending Clodius only two talents for his ransom when he had been taken by pirates. Cato carried out his commission with such rigor, that he boasted on his return of having brought back more gold than Pompey. He poured the whole of it into the treasury, and did not retain a single drachma (Plut., *Cato Minor*, 45).

³ Cic., *Pro Domo*, 20.

⁴ KOINON KΥΠΡΙΩΝ ("the polity of the Cypriots"). The Temple of Venus at Paphos with her emblem (the conical stone) and the doves of the goddess. Coin of the Island of Cyprus.



COIN OF CYPRUS.⁴

CHAPTER LIII.

GAUL BEFORE CAESAR.

I. — PRIMITIVE POPULATIONS.

IN all ages man inquires whence he comes and whither he is going. Philosophy and religion undertake to answer the second of these questions: history attempts to elucidate the first by clearing away the darkness which envelops his origin. Since the course of our narrative leads us into Ancient Gaul, let us pause for a moment to study the nations which first began its civilization. This we have done for Italy: we may fairly undertake to do the same for France.

In the geological ages, Gaul had experienced all kinds of climates, from intense colds to torrid heats, and possessed all kinds of fauna. The giant mammoth, the great elk with its enormous horns, the reindeer, and the great cave-bear inhabited it when the Alpine glaciers, passing beyond the Jura, stretched to the Rhone, and those of the Pyrenees spread far into the lower valleys. The elephant, the rhinoceros, the ape, the lion, lived there in the time when the country had an African temperature.

Five or six thousand years ago, however, when Babylon was building her temples, and Egypt her Pyramids, Gaul had the temperate climate which it still retains, and was nothing but one great forest.¹ From the higher regions of the mountains came down the dark army of pines; on the slopes and in the valleys, the oak, the elm, the beech, the maple, and the birch; in damp plains, the willow; in gloomy spots, the gigantic box, and the yew with its poisonous juice,² were crowded together. The granitic soil of

¹ Before the Roman Invasion, says M. Belgrand (*Le Bassin parisien aux âges pré-historiques*, p. 139), France was covered with thick forests, and even the soil of Champagne was carpeted with brushwood.

² At least the Gauls regarded it as a poison. [It is so for cattle. — *Ed.*]

Auvergne¹ was covered with alders; and the hills of the Limousin country, with chestnut-trees.²

In the shadow of these vast woods wandered the wild ox,³ which no longer exists except in the forests of Lithuania, and



ELK MEGALOCEROS (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).⁴

numberless herds of wild boars, which fed on the acorns of the oak-forests. On the banks of the overflowing rivers, which were far greater then than they now are,⁵ the beaver built his dams,

¹ Arvernica, from the Gaelic *ar* ("the"), and *vern* ("alder"). Cf. A. Maury, *Anciennes forêts de France*.

² Among the exotic plants of Gaul, Pliny mentions the chestnut-tree; but this tree is indigenous in the temperate regions of Europe.

³ The urus or bison of Europe still exists in the Caucasus (?) and Livonia, where it is provided with food during the winter. [The *Bos primigenius*, on the other hand, the short-horned ancestor of the domestic cow, is preserved in Lord Tankerville's park at Chillingham, on the Scottish border, where there is still a herd of about seventy in a wild state. — *Ed.*]

⁴ [The cut hardly exaggerates the horns, which might be twelve to fifteen feet from point to point. Many specimens are found in the Irish bogs. These specimens have the reindeer shovel at the root of the horn, showing the climate to which the animal was suited. — *Ed.*]

⁵ The channel of the river Vanne, now about thirty-six feet wide, was once over three thousand feet in width, according to M. Belgrand (*Op. cit.*).

and the bee made its comb undisturbed in the hollow trees.¹ In the mountains the bear, in the plain the wolf and the lynx, were the real masters of the country. Man, however, had already been there for a long time,² and the caves have preserved his remains, his arms, and even his arts, — spear-heads of split flint and quartz



VERY ANCIENT STONE AXES FOUND AT SAINT ACHEUL.

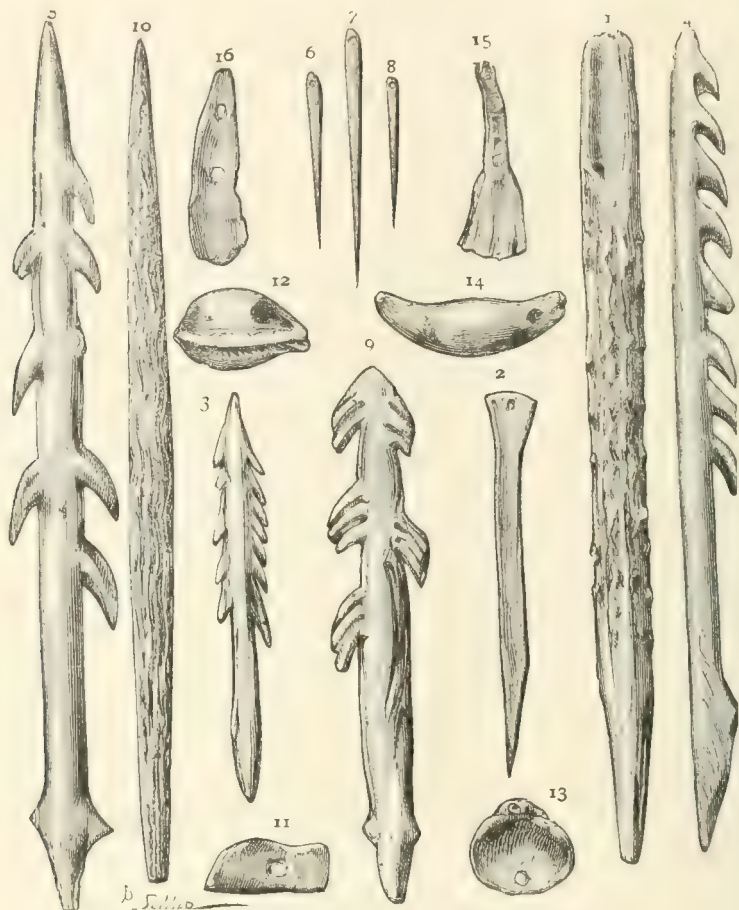
(the axes of Saint Acheul), tools and hunting-implements, carved bones, other bones pierced to serve as instruments of music, reindeer-horns bearing scratched designs, etc. (See pp. 224–227.) This was the stone age. Of these first-born of Gaul we know nothing.³ The ancestors of the present race were at that time living their nomadic life in a far distant land.

¹ Hydromel, made with water and honey, was one of the favorite beverages of the Gauls (Diod. v. 26).

² He inhabited Gaul during the whole quaternary (post-tertiary) period, and “probably lived on the borders of the tertiary deposits” (De Quatrefages, *L’Espèce humaine*).

³ A new science, anthropology, the generalizations of which are premature, ventures to insist that the skulls found in the most ancient deposits are brachycephalous, or almost round (ratio of eighty-five to a hundred between the two diameters, transverse and longitudinal),

Until very recent times, it has been only through Greek and Roman authors that anything could be known of the origin of the



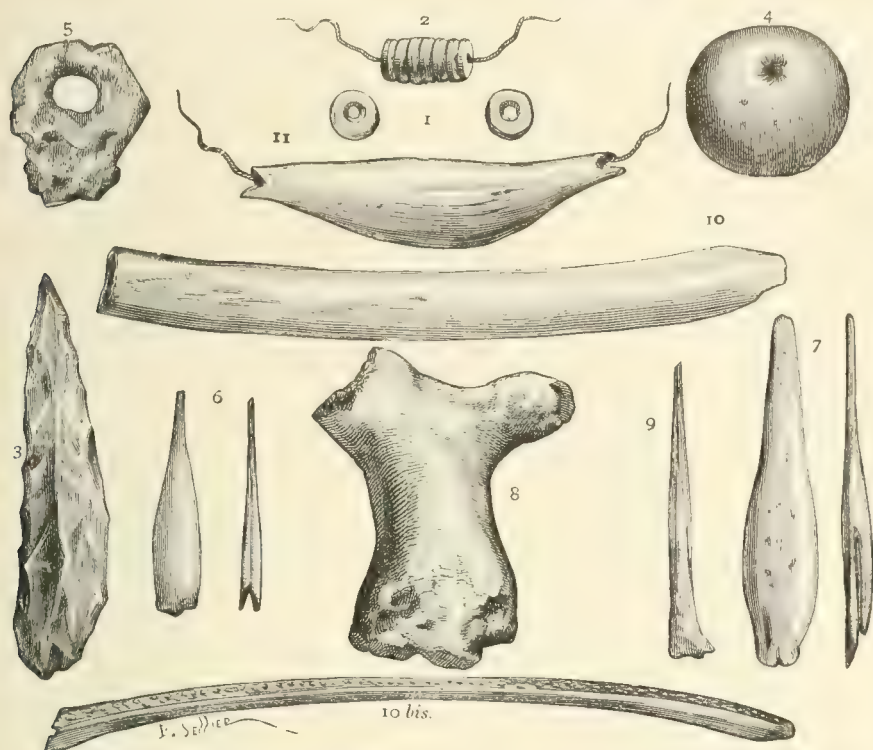
MANUFACTURED OBJECTS: CAVE OF PÉRIGORD¹ (P. 75).

French people. When the Romans arrived in Gaul they found there three or four hundred tribes, belonging to three great families, — the

whereas the more modern, or Aryan skulls, are dolichocephalous, that is to say, elongated (ratio between the same diameters less than seventy-five to a hundred).

¹ 1. Fragment of reindeer-horn carved in relief, hollowed out at the extremity to serve as a spoon for marrow (Museum of Saint Germain). 2. Bone bodkin (*Dict. arch. de la Gaule*). 3. Arrow-head or harpoon of reindeer-horn (Museum of Saint Germain). 4. Harpoon of reindeer-horn, cave of Bruniquel (Tarn-et-Garonne) (*Ibid.*). 5. Harpoon of reindeer-horn, very prominent barb (*Ibid.*). 6. Bone needles (*Ibid.*). 7 and 8. Bone needles (*Ibid.*). 9. Harpoon of reindeer-horn (*Dict. arch.*). 10. Spear-head of reindeer-horn (Museum of Saint Germain). 11. Canine tooth of reindeer bored artificially to serve as an ornament. 12. Cowry-shell bored artificially to serve as an ornament (*Dict. arch.*). 13. Scallop-shell artificially bored (*Dict. arch.*). 14. Canine tooth of wolf artificially bored (Museum of Saint Germain). 15 and 16. Incisor of ox bored and slightly notched (*Ibid.*).

Celts or Gauls, the Belgae, and the Iberi or Vascones. But whence had they come? Rome neither knew nor cared. In those days the question of origin was easily settled by deciding that nations had sprung from the soil which bore them. The Druids boasted of being the children of Gaul. In modern times men have been more



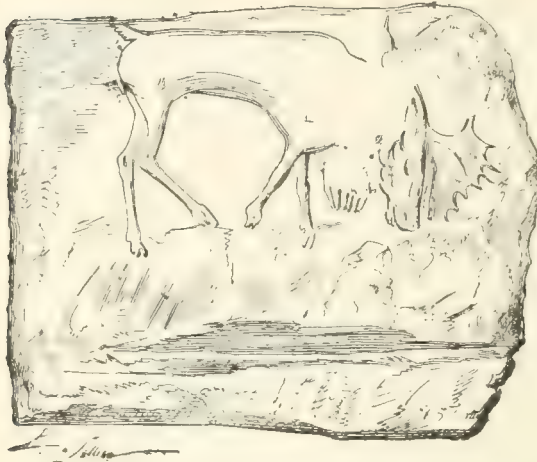
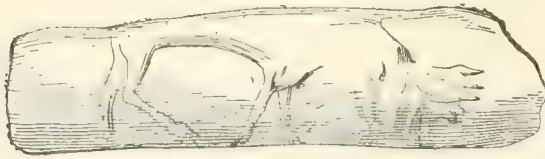
MANUFACTURED OBJECTS IN BONE, FLINT, AND HORN (CAVES OF AURIGNAC).¹

curious; but their search was long in vain. Comparative philology has at last solved the problem.

The fathers of the French race at first inhabited the plains of Upper Asia, together with the ancestors of the Hindus and Persians, speaking a common language, and perhaps already possessing the germ of the sacerdotal corporation of Druids, as the other two nations possessed those of the Brahmins and the Magi. At some

¹ Objects in the Museum of Saint Germain, discovered and designated by Édouard Lartet.
1. Disks of cockle-shell. 2. The same disks strung to form a necklace. 3. Silex implement for scratching and piercing. 4. Pounding or crushing tool, of dioritic rock. 5. Horse's ear-bone pierced, for an ornament. 6 and 7. Arrow-heads of bone, cleft at the bottom. 8. Handle for a tool, of deer's horn. 9. Bodkin of reindeer-bone. 10. Polishing-tool, made of a rib of the wild ox, or horse. 11. Canine tooth of cave-bear, strung for an ornament.

unknown epoch the Celts separated from their Asiatic brethren; they set forth westward, and went in that direction as long as there was any land to occupy.¹

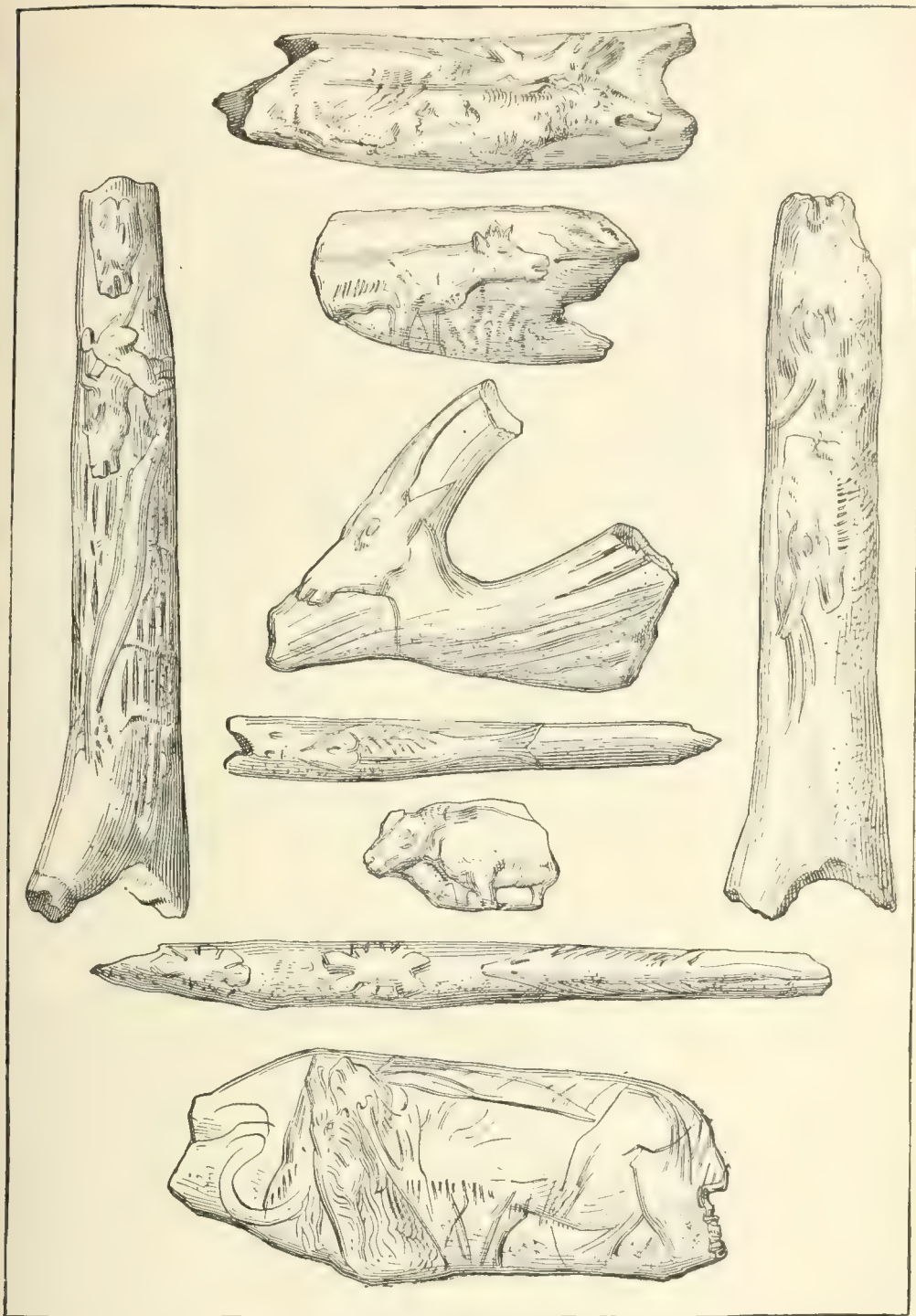


DRAWINGS ENGRAVED UPON REINDEER-HORN
(MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN), P. 227.

Europe, like Gaul, was at that time covered with virgin forests, wherein, had not full rivers intervened, the squirrel might have passed from the Ural to the ocean without ever touching the ground. The Celts, coming from the steppes of Upper Asia, where they had by turns suffered from the extremes of heat and cold, plunged resolutely into the unfathomable depths of these vast forests, halting per-

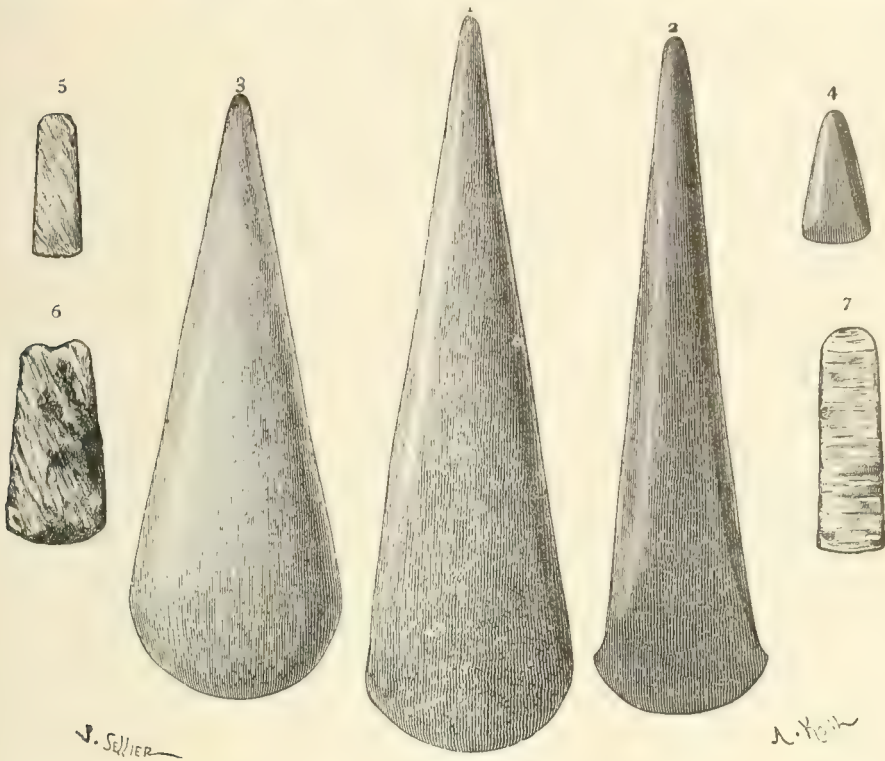
haps, where the trees were thinner, to sow a little rye or oats, which they had brought from Asia, and leading with them the ox and the horse, which the most ancient nations were able to

¹ M. Ad. Pictet of Geneva, in his book on the primitive Aryans, which is a sort of linguistic paleontology, has already settled what was the primitive abode of the Aryans, what were their migrations towards the west, and what relations existed between the Celts, who set out first, and the Pelasgians or Græco-Latins, the Germans, and the Slavs, who followed them. He shows what the state of these Aryan tribes was before their separation, how they already cultivated the plants which form the basis of our agriculture, employed the help of our domestic animals, and were acquainted with the use of metals. He has even made investigations as to what their ideas and social organization may have been. *Explanation of the Drawings on p. 227.* — 1 and 2. Front and back of a piece of reindeer-horn, on which are engraved a man, horses' heads, a serpent, and heads of oxen. 3. Fragment of reindeer-horn, having a reindeer engraved on one of its surfaces. 4. Ox engraved on a fragment of bone. (These three objects are in the Museum of Saint Germain, which also possesses a cast of the three following ones.) 5. Rod of reindeer-horn with ornaments and a lizard, or the skin of some animal (British Museum). 6. Fish engraved on a rod of reindeer-horn (British Museum). 7. Mammoth, or *Elephas primigenius*, engraved on an ivory slab (*Musée d'hist. nat. de Paris*). 8. Ox engraved on a fragment of bone (British Museum). 9. Wild goat engraved on the fork of a reindeer-horn (Collection of Édouard Lartet). (*Dict. arch. de la Gaule, époque celtique*, vol. i., *Cavernes*.)



MANUFACTURED OBJECTS: CAVES OF PÉRIGORD (DICT. ARCH. DE LA GAULE).

domesticate, also the dog, the sheep, the goat, and the common



AXES OF POLISHED STONE.¹

fowl, which were already reduced to the domestic state, and the pig, the flesh of which, cooked in coarse earthenware pots, con-



FLINT ARROW-HEADS (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

tinued to be their principal food. In later times the wild boar became the symbol and the standard of the Gallic nations.

¹ 1, 2, 3. Axes of chloromelanite, from the dolmens of Morbihan (Museum of Vannes, casts in the Museum of Saint Germain). 4. Axe of jade (Museum of Saint Germain). 5, 6, 7. Axes of feblolith, from the dolmens of Morbihan (Museum of Vannes, casts in the Museum of Saint Germain).

With their axes and knives of smoothed stone, sharpened on a grindstone or polisher, with their flint-headed arrows and harpoons of reindeer-horn, they lived by hunting and fishing, like the American Indians; but they did not, like them, always return to the accustomed wigwam. Their hunting-grounds extended ever wider.

They were, in truth, the "men of the forests," Kelts¹ as the Greeks called them.



MILLSTONE.²

By dint of wandering, and crossing rivers and mountains, at last they came to the shores of the great sea which bounded the west. From one point on its coasts they saw high cliffs, showing white on the horizon, and were eager to reach these also. Thus the great island which flanked Gaul became their domain: they only halted, when, from the western promontories of Scotland and Ireland, they saw before them nothing but the immensity of the ocean. They could go no

farther: the long journey begun in Bactriana was at an end.

Of this journey they preserved no memory whatever, and believed themselves sprung from Gaul; but, in proof of their Asiatic origin, they retained a language akin to Sanserit.—the sacred language in which the religious books of India are written.

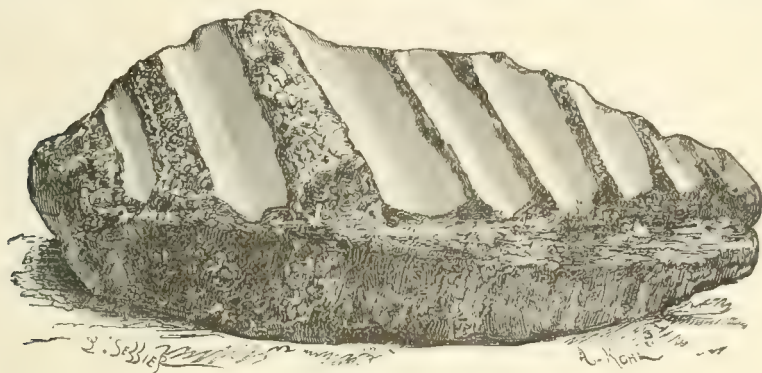
This language of the Celts is not lost. It has a literature, poems, and legends, and is still spoken in the heart of Brittany, in Wales, in the north of Scotland, in the mountains of Ireland, and, until lately, in the Isle of Man and in Cornwall. Those who use it are the last representatives of that ancient people. Thus do a few fragments still existing attest the greatness of an ancient monument which has fallen; but even these fragments diminish day by day. In France there are not three hundred thousand Bas-Bretons who understand and speak the dialect of the Druids. The Celtic language recedes

¹ In Gaelic *koille* ("forest").

² Grindstone of polished sandstone, found in the Gallic cemetery at Chassemy (Aisne) (Museum of Saint Germain).

before the French: the elementary school, the regimental school, and trade wage against it a deadly war.

The Celts appear in classic authors about the close of the fifth century before our era; but this is no proof that the nation had not long existed in Gaul, where it formed the second stratum of the population and the second period of history, — the age of polished stone, of megalithic monuments and pile-constructions, or lake dwellings. From this period date the dolmens and covered passages, tumulary constructions which have been found in eleven hundred communes of



POLISHER¹ (P. 230).

France, and have suggested a new science, which questions the dead, or rather their appointments, well named by the Italians “the science of the tombs.”

After a long interval came the main body of Gallic tribes akin to the Celts, who had started much later from Asia, and brought with them a more advanced civilization. Having first established themselves in the valley of the Danube, in the neighborhood of rich and civilized countries, — Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, — these Gauls made numerous incursions thither, and from time to time we come upon objects which they obtained in those distant expeditions: at Rodenbach, near Speyer, a piece of Etruscan pottery; in other places, bronze vases, tripods, and jewels, which perhaps were taken at the sack of Clusium.

Pursuing their way westward, they crossed the Rhine and the Jura, drove back the first Celts before them, and covered Eastern

¹ Of polished sandstone with veins of jasper: Department of Vienne (Museum of Saint Germain).

Gaul and the south of Germany with innumerable tumuli. This was the third age,—the age of metals.

A distinction has been made between the Celts and the Gauls, or Galatae.¹ We shall not discuss special questions of ethnology in this rapid summary, which is only intended to show the general physiognomy of the nations which Rome conquered. Gallic archaeology, a new science, has made rapid progress; but it is still in course of formation, and the historian can only make use of sciences which are complete, or sufficiently advanced to have solved the most important problems. But from the work already accomplished we may conclude that the great antiquity of man in Gaul may be considered beyond doubt; also that of the megalithic monuments, which have long been called Druidic, but whose existence in very many parts of the globe has now been established; also the Aryan origin of the Celts and Gauls and of their language; the succession of different civilizations upon French soil, or rather the progressive development of manufacture, extending from the clumsy flints of Saint Acheul to the arms and implements of bronze, and especially of iron, of the tumuli; and, finally, the long occupation of the Danube valley by the Gauls. For anything further than this it is best to await the evidence to be derived from the Museum of Saint Germain,² where the objects found in numberless researches carried on by an army of scientific men are now accumulating. Meanwhile we may adhere to Caesar's words about the inhabitants of Central Gaul: *Qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli appellantur*.³ These words are not true for the whole chronological series; but they were for Caesar's time, and that alone concerns us here.

On arriving in the country which was to retain their name, the Gauls found some unknown peoples, whom they exterminated or enslaved, and some Iberian tribes settled between the Loire and Rhone and the Pyrenees. These latter, the Basques, are the despair of modern erudition. No one has ever yet discovered the road by which the Iberi entered Europe; and their language is not an evident

¹ On this question, see, in the *Journal des Savants* of 1875, a paper by M. Maury, who does not admit the distinction proposed by M. Alexandre Bertrand.

² [As well as from those of Copenhagen, of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, and of Pesth, where so many traces of incoming tribes are collected.—*Ed.*] See in vol. ii. p. 494, the megalithic monuments at Sigus in Numidia.

³ *De Bell. Gall.* i. 1.

derivation from any known tongue. In Gaul they were called Aquitani; in Spain, Iberi: they called themselves the Eskualdunac. Did they come from Africa by way of the Straits of Gibraltar? or did they traverse the continent from the heart of Asia, leaving some of their race in the Caucasus, which also possesses an Iberia? No one knows. Some authorities having found in the Euskara language certain affinities with the Ougro-Tartar dialects, and particularly with those spoken from the north of Sweden to Kamtschatka, have believed that a wave of invaders, kindred to the Mongol race, spread over Europe before the Celts, and that the Basques are the last survivors of this invasion in Western Europe. The Celts first, and, after that, the Germans, must have made their way through this earlier population, flinging off the fragments on either side, — on the south-west towards the Pyrenees; on the north-east, towards the polar sea.¹ If such was the route by which the Iberi came, they arrived at a very early date in the region where we now find them. Antiquity already noted in them that brown complexion, spare frame and short stature, which a long sojourn in sun-scorched lands produces. The Gaul never possessed these physiological characteristics, or else had lost them beneath the thick, dark vault of the woods. In that damp, cold atmosphere he had come to resemble the man of the north, with slender figure and light hair, but therewith that lymphatic temperament which will not long maintain the same effort. Eager at the outset, the Gauls quickly wearied.²

There were long struggles between the two races. The Eskualdunac were driven from the banks of the Loire: they could not even hold out against Gallic impetuosity in the central mountains, and recrossed the Garonne. But, with the Pyrenees in their rear, they offered a resistance over which the invaders were unable to triumph. Leaving to the Iberi the rugged valleys whence they afterwards

¹ This hypothesis has been much impaired by the recent researches of M. Gustave Retzius.

² Anthropologists are disposed to admit that the primitive Aryan type, and consequently the Gallic too, had a dolichocephalous head, light hair, and blue eyes. Our chestnut-haired Gauls must be a mixed race, arising from a crossing with the ancient dark-complexioned inhabitants. The excavations made formerly in the caves of Périgord brought to light several skeletons belonging to a tall and vigorous race. Among them was one of a young woman, who, having been wounded in the forehead by the stroke of a flint dagger, must have survived the wound for a month, as was proved by the repairs which Nature had commenced in the bone.

swept down and won back the plain as far as the Garonne, the Celts crossed the Pyrenean chain, and overran Spain as far as Cadiz; and there was a time when the name *Celtica* applied to the immense territory which extends from the shores of the Atlantic to the mouths of the Danube.

When the reaction of the Iberian tribes took place, two Gallic nations, the Tectosages and the Arecomici, held their ground in the basins of the Garonne and the Aude. The former intrenched themselves at Toulouse, the latter at Nismes; and these places became two powerful cities.

Celts commingled with Germans had remained on the right bank of the Rhine; they, in turn, crossed the great river, and advanced along the "misty sea" as far as the mouth of the Seine: these were the Belgae, who ruled between the Marne, the Rhine, and the German Ocean. Between Celt and Belgian there was no essential difference; the transition from one of these groups to the other was made insensibly; but the farther one went towards the north-east, the more apparent became the German character and barbarism. The great mass of Belgae were mainly of the Celtic race; and the latter were



TYRIAN HERCULES.¹

certainly our ancestors. Nineteen-twentieths of the French are descended from the Gauls.

¹ Bronze in the British Museum (Clarae, *Musée de Sculpt.* pl. 785, No. 1966). This statue, found in Phœnicia, on the site of Byblos, and brought into England in 1799, resembles the figures of Hercules upon Syrian coins, to a degree that marks the statue as a representation of the Tyrian Hercules, Baal-Melkarth.

Two nations, of a very different origin and civilization, — the Phoenicians and the Greeks, — came to add a little foreign admixture to the Gallic blood. The bold navigators of Tyre and Carthage, who so early explored all the Mediterranean coasts, also visited the mouth of the Rhone. At first they contented themselves with a few bartering transactions with the natives, then, obeying that instinct of invasion which led them to cover with colonies the coasts of Africa, Sicily, and Spain, they advanced into the interior of the country. The legendary story of the labors of the Tyrian Hercules conceals the real history of the travels and establishments of the Phoenician race in Gaul. The god, says tradition, came from Spain to the banks of the Rhone, where he had to fight a terrible combat. His arrows were exhausted, and he was about to yield, when Jupiter succored him by causing a shower of stones to fall from heaven, which furnished the hero with fresh weapons. These stones may still be seen: they cover the immense plain of the Crau, whither the Durance brought them down from the Alps. The victorious Hercules founded the city of Nîmes near this spot, and, in the heart of Gaul, the town of Alesia. The valley of the Rhone being thus conquered for commerce and civilization, the hero resumed his way towards the Alps; and the gods beheld him cleaving the clouds, and rending the mountain-peaks. It was the Col di Tenda that Hercules laid open, and the road from Italy into Spain that he thus made across the Alps. Thus, in the remote ages, men loved to attribute to the invincible arm of some god or hero the long efforts of many generations.¹

The legend of the Tyrian Hercules says too much when it asserts that the Phoenicians founded cities in the interior of Gaul; but it does not say enough of the numerous colonies of that people along the coasts of Languedoc and Provence, nor of the voyages of those daring sailors across the stormy seas of the west. Coasting Spain and then Gaul, they reached the Island of Albion, and perhaps the Cimbric peninsula, going thither in search of amber, “tears of the daughters of the Sun weeping the death of Phaëthon their brother.”²

¹ On the Phoenician colonies in Gaul, see E. Desjardins, *Geogr. hist.* etc., vol. ii. p. 133 *sqq.*

² Apoll., *Argonaut.* iv. 610. The tragic end of Phaëthon and his sisters is represented on several ancient monuments. In the bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre, next page,

The Phoenicians had preceded the Greeks in the supremacy of the Mediterranean, but were supplanted by them. The Rhodians established themselves at the mouth of the Rhone, whilst the colonies or factories of the Phoenicians in the interior fell into the hands of the natives. Towards the year 600 B.C. came the Phocæans, who founded Massilia. The Greeks place a graceful legend at the beginning of this town. A Phocæan merchant, named Euxenus, landed, it was said, on the Gallie coast, at some distance from the mouth of the Rhone. It was the territory of Nannus, the chief of the Segobrigii, who received the stranger well, and invited him to the feast given on his daughter's betrothal. Custom required that the young virgin should herself go and offer a cup to the man among her father's guests whom she chose for her husband. At the close of the repast she entered, holding a full cup, and passed around the table where fair-haired young chiefs tried to arrest her glance. But it was fixed upon the stranger with the dark eyes and the proud and intelligent features. This Southern beauty, which was unknown to her, captivated the child of the North, and she handed the cup to the Greek. Nannus accepted his daughter's choice. He gave the Phocæan for her dowry the territory adjacent to the bay where the new-comers had landed. There Euxenus laid the foundation of Marseilles. The story is said to come from Persia; but it was worthy of being repeated by the Greeks, and preserved by us.

The new city grew rapidly under the protection of the powerful chief of the Segobrigii. But Comanus, his successor, felt differently towards it. One day, when a great feast was announced Comanus sent word to the Massaliots, that he wished to pay honor to their gods; and he sent wagons into the town, covered with foliage beneath which there were hidden armed men. He himself drew near the gates with his warriors, and there lay in ambush. A woman had

the Eridanus, under the figure of an old man, receives the rash youth amid his waves; behind them is Amphitrite, holding a dolphin; near her are Jupiter or Pluto, and Juno, the divinities who presided over air and fire; Earth lies near, holding in her arms three children, the personifications of the three seasons of the ancients; on the left, Cygnus, Phaëthon's friend, is weeping his death; before him is a swan, to call to mind that the son of Apollo was metamorphosed into that bird; finally, the sisters of Phaëthon are changed to poplars, notwithstanding the prayers of their mother, Clymene, who was the cause of her son's death. His horses, in charge of the Dioscuri, occupy the upper part of the picture. (Clarac, *Descript. des ant.* No. 766A.)



FALL AND DEATH OF PHAËTHON (SEE P. 235, NOTE 2).

founded the town: another woman saved it. The daughter of one of the Segobrigii, being in love with a Phocaean, disclosed the plot. The Barbarians, taken by surprise, were slain, and Comanus himself perished. But from this there resulted continual wars, which would at length have exhausted the strength of the Massaliots but for the arrival of unexpected help. An immense horde swept down from the north to cross the Alps. Their leader, Bellovesus, took the part of Marseilles, and inflicted such losses on the Ligures, that for a long time they were unable to disturb the Phocaean city. Moreover, in 542 B.C. it received numerous re-enforcements. When Cyrus



THE STONE OF ANTIBES.

and his Persians subdued the Greeks of Asia Minor, the inhabitants of Phocaea, rather than obey him, abandoned their town, and cast into the sea a mass of red-hot iron, swearing never to return to Phocaea till that iron should rise burning to the surface of the waters: they then set sail for their thriving colony among the Gauls. Marseilles prospered by her alliance with the Romans, who kept down all rivals of her commerce. In gratitude she gave them entrance into Gaul, and it was for her protection that they formed their first province.¹

There remains to us a curious souvenir of those distant ages, which scarcely suggests the masterpieces that Greek sculpture was already producing. It is a stone which might be taken for a common pebble but for the inscription it bears, announcing it to be the representation of the son of Venus.² The first idol that

¹ Vol. ii. p. 522 *sqq.*

² Heuzey, vol. xxxv. of the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1874. This stone, found near Antibes in 1866, and similar to those adored in Asia, is the most ancient

Greece raised in the country of Druidic stones is a wave-worn pebble. Like a child who endows with life everything he touches, and takes a piece of wood for a man, the peoples of early times did not require the form to answer to the conception: they embodied an idea in a stone, and it became a god.

II. — THE GAULS.

THE Gauls have often been pictured as morally a very superior race. They have been praised for "courage and loyalty, religious faith and love of liberty, vivacity of intellect, an aptitude for literature, keenness for ideas and for novelties, and sensibility in regretting the past; and sometimes a readiness to give up an unsuccessful struggle." This is a charming sketch, but it is very doubtful whether our yellow-haired warriors, with their violent and brutal passions, would have recognized it. It would have been foolish to trust their loyalty too far. While it is but justice to own that they were brave and lovers of liberty, these were qualities to be found everywhere. The Druids possessed great influence among them; but have priests never ruled elsewhere? Their keenness for ideas and new things of all kinds may well astonish us, for they long lived near Greek and Roman civilization without adopting anything from it; and the Galatae, who for six centuries were established in the heart of Asia Minor, still remained true Gauls. The aptitude for letters attributed to them on account of a few

monument of Greek civilization in Gaul. M. Henzey puts it as far back as the fifth century before our era, and translates the inscription thus: "I am Terpon" (the local name of Eros or Amor), "servant of the august goddess Aphrodite. May Cypris reward with her favor those who placed me here!" M. Henzey continues, "It was long since the Greeks had been reduced to adore mere rude stones. But a persistent attachment to the most primitive forms of worship through all the advances of art is, so to say, a law of the history of religions. It was not till after the time of Pericles that the Amor of Praxiteles and that of Lysippus were placed side by side with the coarse pebble to which sacrifices were offered in the Temple of Thespieae. It was not till the time of Pausanias, that is to say, till the Roman Empire was in full sway, that men thought of consecrating in the Temple of Orchomenus, along with the three stones that had been adored during the whole Hellenic period, the group of the Graces such as Greek sculpture conceived it. And, moreover, the creations of art were only offerings, ornaments of the sanctuary, which in no way diminished the religious prestige of the true idols, the shapeless fetiches consecrated by tradition."

rhetoricians, perhaps of Italian origin, whom Gaul sent to Rome, seems too hasty praise. What shall be said, then, of the Spaniards, who made an epoch in Latin literature in giving to it Seneca, Lucan, Quintilian, and Martial, or of the African population whence sprang Terence, Apuleius, Tertullian, and S. Augustine? Regret for the past is one of the common sentiments of human nature, part of the poetry of the heart; and discouragement after defeat is one of the usual characteristics of savage life. But it does not, however, appear that perseverance was lacking in the nations and chiefs who maintained the great war of independence.¹

Let us quit these theories, and proceed to facts. French patriotism is not interested in concealing the fact that our ancestors were veritable barbarians, very brave, very quarrelsome, great slayers of men, and celebrating Homeric feasts when they could: in the main, very similar to barbarians of all ages, for the reason that the barbaric condition is much the same everywhere when the geographical conditions are identical.² Only the early Gauls were indebted to their long travels, and still more to their settlement in a country situated at the extremity of the line of Asiatic migrations, for a particular character. Look at the sea: far out the wave is long and smooth; on the shore, where it ends, it produces a heavy surf. Our Gauls, settled on the utmost boundary of the continent, and ceaselessly stirred up by fresh hordes of peoples, underwent a long struggle, which rendered them brave, and were sometimes obliged to yield up their lands, which compelled them to go in search of others, and gave them a taste for adventures.

Diodorus Siculus, who wrote at Rome in the time of Augustus, represents the Gauls as of tall stature, with fair skin and light hair. This portrait is not descriptive of the French race of our time, now very mixed, and living under different physical conditions; while it would suit the Scandinavians and a great part of the Germans.

¹ The idea of *race* has in this century had a brilliant but dangerous success in science, politics, and war. Under the various influences of geography and history, and by the union of frequently heterogeneous elements, we have seen nationalities take form, grow, and assume a distinctive character, which has rightly been called national spirit. But I acknowledge that I know nothing of the mysterious fairy, who, bending over the cradle of new-born races, endows them with good or bad qualities which they are forever to retain.

² Sir John Lubbock and Hartmann have found almost identical habits among the savages of Australia and Africa.

"Some of them," says the same writer, "shave the beard; others allow it to grow; the nobles wear long mustaches. They take their meals seated on the skins of wolves and dogs. Beside them, on broad hearths, are steaming caldrons, and spits on which enormous quarters of meat are roasting. The brave are honored by being offered the choicest morsels. Every stranger who happens to arrive is invited to the meal, and only after the repast do they ask him who he is and what he wants. Then there follow long stories; for the Gauls are curious to hear as well as to see. But these feasts are often stained with blood: words give rise to quarrels, and, as they despise life, they challenge one another to single combat.

"Their aspect is terrifying: they have loud, rough voices, speak little, and express themselves enigmatically, affecting in their speech to leave the greater part to be guessed." The French of our time have not retained this moderation in words; but it is found among the American Indians, who feel that they disgrace themselves if they speak otherwise. Diodorus adds, "They are fond of employing hyperbole in boasting of themselves, or depreciating others." This is another characteristic, which applies to very many barbarians and not a few civilized nations.

The ancients had a great dread of the Gauls, who, surrounding on the north and west the countries of Graeco-Latin civilization, had many a time sown terror and death broadcast among them. "A violent race," said they, "who make war on mankind, nature, and the gods. They shoot arrows against the sky when it thunders; they take arms against the tempest; they march sword in hand upon the overflowing rivers, or the ocean in its wrath." Strabo called them a frank and simple people, among whom each feels the injuries done to his neighbor, and that so keenly, that all promptly assemble to avenge them. It was an excellent disposition, but one which they shared with all the warrior tribes, who make common cause in bloodshed and injury.

The Romans, men of the South, wore only the tunie, a simple woollen shirt, and the toga, which enveloped the whole body, while leaving the limbs free, and formed a protection against the sun, like the burnous of the Arabs. With its broad folds and the hundred ways of wearing it, the toga is essentially the costume of art. Quite different was the dress of the Gauls, — breeches fitting

tightly on the legs, which they called *braccae*; for the upper part of the body a tunic of various colors, and over that a *sagum*, or broad band of cloth, which reminds one of the Scotch plaid, and was employed for the same uses: thick in winter, light in summer. it was fastened on the shoulder by a clasp or buckle. The *sagum* might hang loosely; but the rest of the costume, fitting closely to the body, was appropriate to the country; the Roman toga would at once have been torn to tatters in the thickets, nor would it, besides, have been any defence against the dampness and cold of the climate. Their *gallicae*, or wooden-soled shoes, were in like manner superior on their muddy soil to the sandals made for the solid, dry ground of the great Roman highways.¹



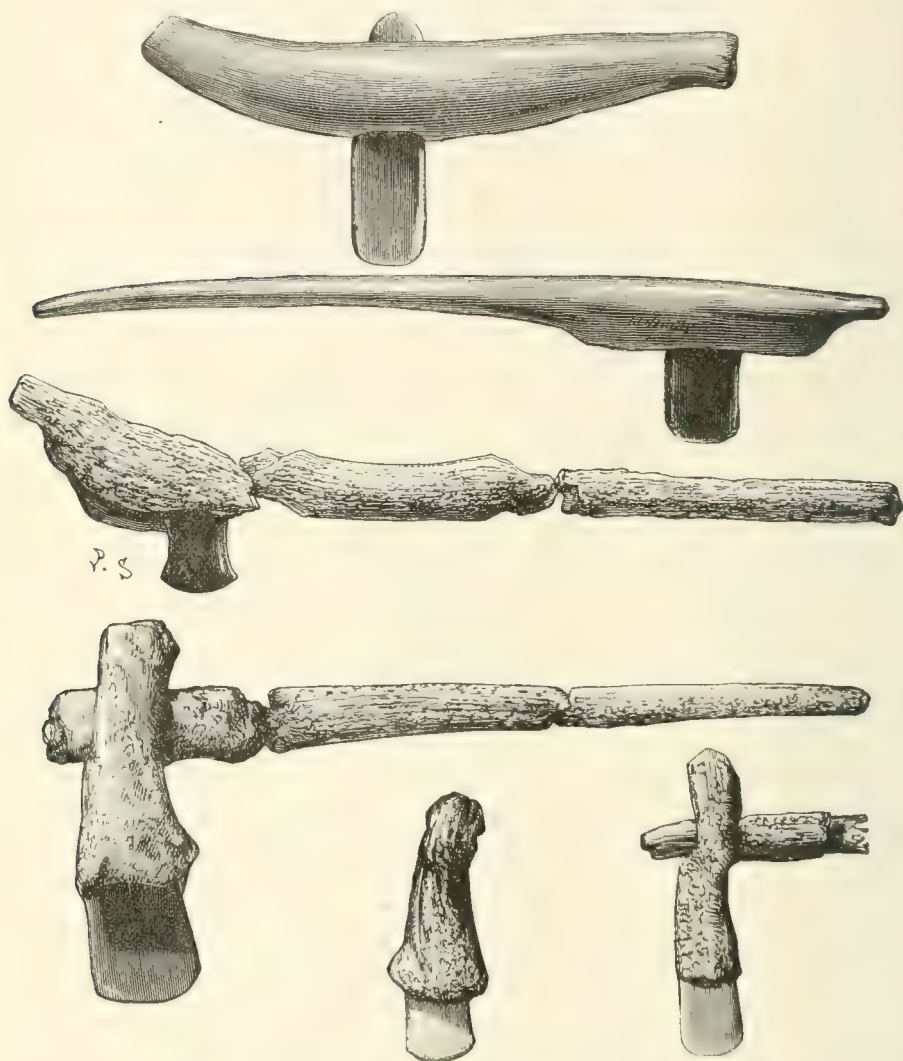
STONE AXES FOUND AT SAINT ACHEUL.²

Their dwellings were at first natural caves, or the *gourbis* of the Algerians,—round huts formed of boughs, and covered over with kneaded clay or turf, with a hole in the top for the smoke.

¹ The modern civilized costume resembles, with some slight difference, the dress of the Gauls. Our trousers answer to their *braccae*; our waistcoats, to their tunics. The *sagum* has been transformed into a coat, for the middle classes; but it remains in the blouse of French workmen and peasantry, who still wear the Gallic shoe, and have even retained its name, *galoches* (*gallicae*). The Gauls sought for the useful, because their climate did not permit of their adopting the beautiful. We have done the same.

² The use of these stone axes is met with among all barbarous nations. The savages of Oceanica still have them, as the Mexicans had, and numerous collections of them have been made. The richest of these collections is that of the Museum of Saint Germain. The kinds of stone made use of were flint, jade (which came from a very long distance), diorite, and serpentine. See Joly, *L'homme avant les métaux*, 1879.

and often having the interior dug out below the surface of the soil. These excavations are still to be seen in many places; and the people call them, without being far wrong, *wolf-pits*.¹ They liked to place



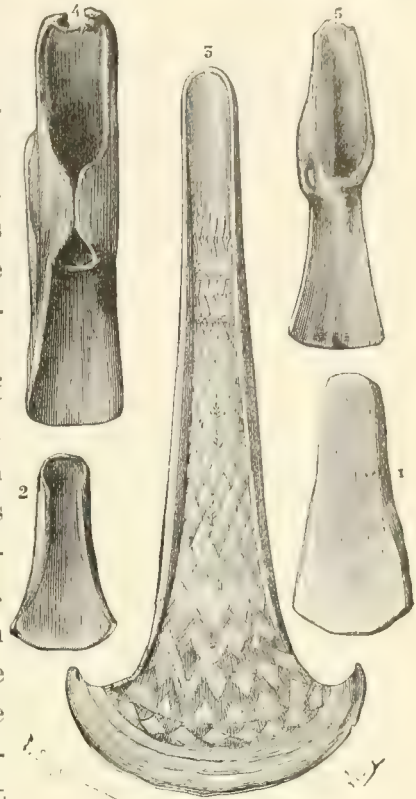
AXES FROM THE PALAFITTES (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN: THE STONE-AGE ROOM).

their dwellings at the confluence of two rivers, on islands or peninsulas, near a spring, or in the neighborhood of forests; and for this they did not require to go far. For greater security, the first Celts,

¹ The subterranean passages so numerous in the provinces do not all date from the Frankish and Norman Invasion, or from the Hundred Years War. Many were no doubt commenced by the Gauls.

when they found themselves in the vicinity of a lake, erected their huts on piles in the midst of the waters (lake-dwellings), and this custom was long preserved. In later times, when they knew how to dig wells, they established places of refuge (*oppida*) in strong and elevated positions. Each dwelling was surrounded by hurdles made of felled trees: several of these enclosures, surrounded by a similar fortification, formed a village or town.

For a long time the inhabitants of Gaul had only stone axes bound with thongs of leather to their wooden handles, and knives and arrow-heads of flint.¹ In a cave near Crécy (Seine-et-Marne) an axe has been found, formed of a piece of jade inserted in a stag's horn, and a blade of flint in the rib of an ox. Near Périgueux there has been discovered a kind of manufactory of stone arms, where, amidst heaps of rubbish, are seen axes cast aside as worthless, and others which had been recut. This kind of workshop exists in many other places. In one of them, found at Saint Acheul, near Amiens, these evidences of human industry are mixed with the fossil bones of mastodons, and consequently date from the most ancient times.

BRONZE AXES.²

¹ I found one of these arrow-heads in the sand of the Seine, at Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, in the spot where it fell three or four thousand years ago, perhaps with the man whose breast it had pierced; for its edges were as sharp as the first day it was made. A calcareous paste which had formed all round had protected it. The method of manufacture may still be traced on it: it is quite a lapidary's work. The workman had succeeded in giving the flint the same purity of form that iron would have had, by taking off microscopic splinters with the aid of some other hard substance. This arrow-head is still fit for service in the present day, and would now, as then, inflict mortal wounds.

² *Dict. archéol. de la Gaule, époque celtique.* Figs. 1, 2. Axes found in the Seine at Pas-de-Grigny and Ablon — Seine-et-Oise (Museum of Saint Germain). Fig. 3. Axe ornamented with engraving, found at Marcuil-sur-Ourq — Oise (Collection of Héricart de Thury). Fig. 4. Axe with heel-piece and lateral ring, Verneuil — Seine-et-Marne. Fig. 5. Axe with lateral flanges and ring (Museum of Vannes, and cast in the Museum of Saint Germain).

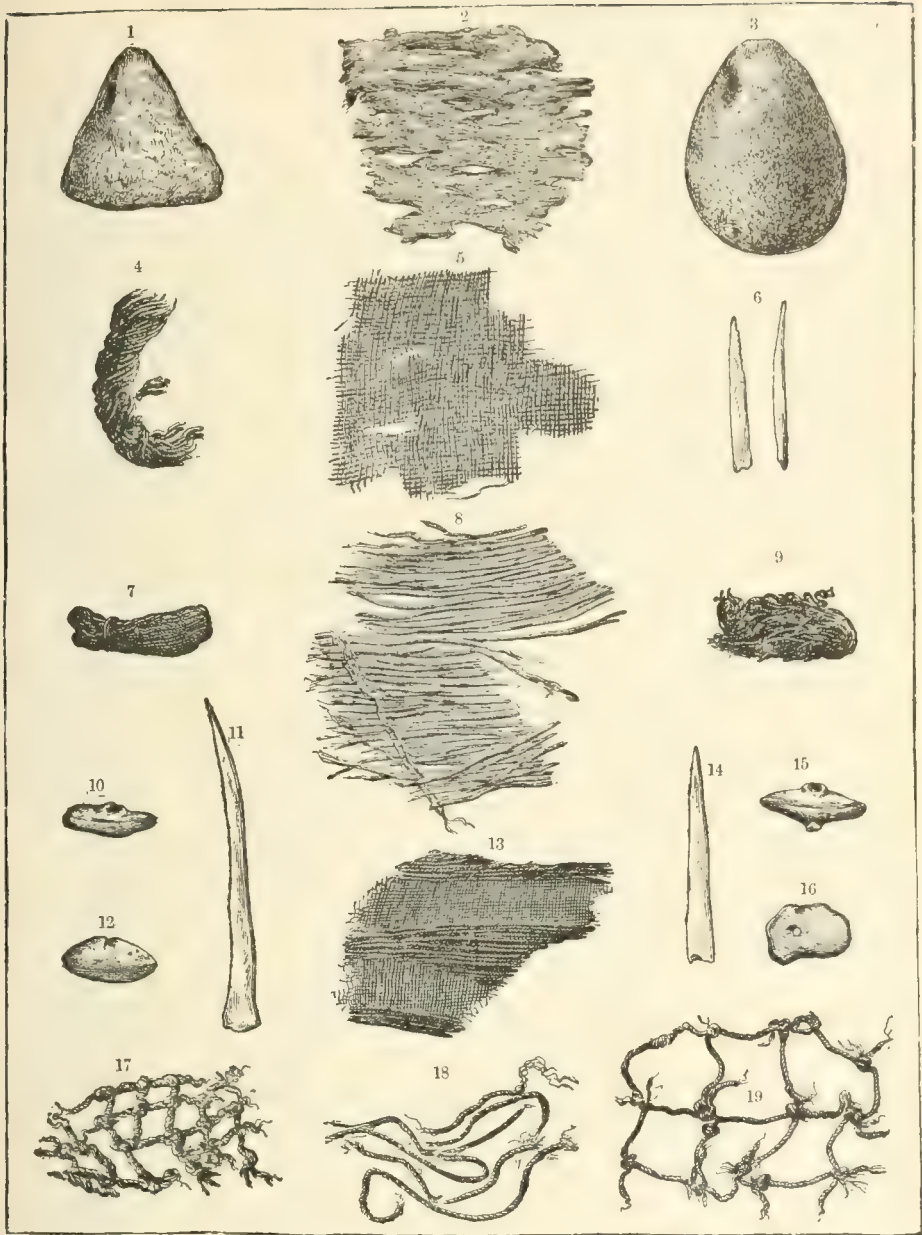
Arms of bronze (an alloy of copper and tin), and those of iron, which were more difficult to manufacture,¹ are of a later age, and first belonged to the tribes of Eastern Gaul, who were nearest to the north of Italy, where metallurgy had come into use.

These rude weapons must be handled with respect: they represent the first victory of mind, and a conquest far more valuable at that time than all the wonders of modern science. No man can say how much time and intelligence was expended in attaining to the shaping of flint, and the polishing of it upon a grindstone or polisher, and in discovering copper, its fusibility, the mixing of it with tin, or in making the moulds in which metal could be cast. With what might was he armed who first held in his hands an axe of metal! Then only did man cease to be the outcast of creation. He no longer envied the swiftness of the bird, or the bear's strength; for his arrow flew faster than the hawk, and his axe beat down the wild beast.

There is a famous ballad of Schiller's about the bold diver who plunges into the roaring whirlpool, seeking the golden cup which the king has thrown into it. His heart trembles, in spite of his courage, when he finds himself alone under the water, amid the monsters of the deep, which surround and threaten him. Thus it was for ages with humanity, unarmed amid ravenous beasts, until it had won the golden cup which contained the early arts, and intelligence was able to begin its great struggle against brute force.

In the Scandinavian regions archæologists have been able to divide prehistoric civilization into three periods, — the ages of stone, of bronze, and of iron. The order of sequence was not as regular in Gaul, where bronze and iron seem to have made their appearance at almost the same time, but in different quantities; the former metal furnishing more objects than the latter. Their presence does not mark a spontaneous outcome of Celtic civilization; for these metals came into Gaul by means of barter, and gave the Eastern tribes, who received them first, the strength to drive westward the more poorly armed representatives of the age of the dolmens and of

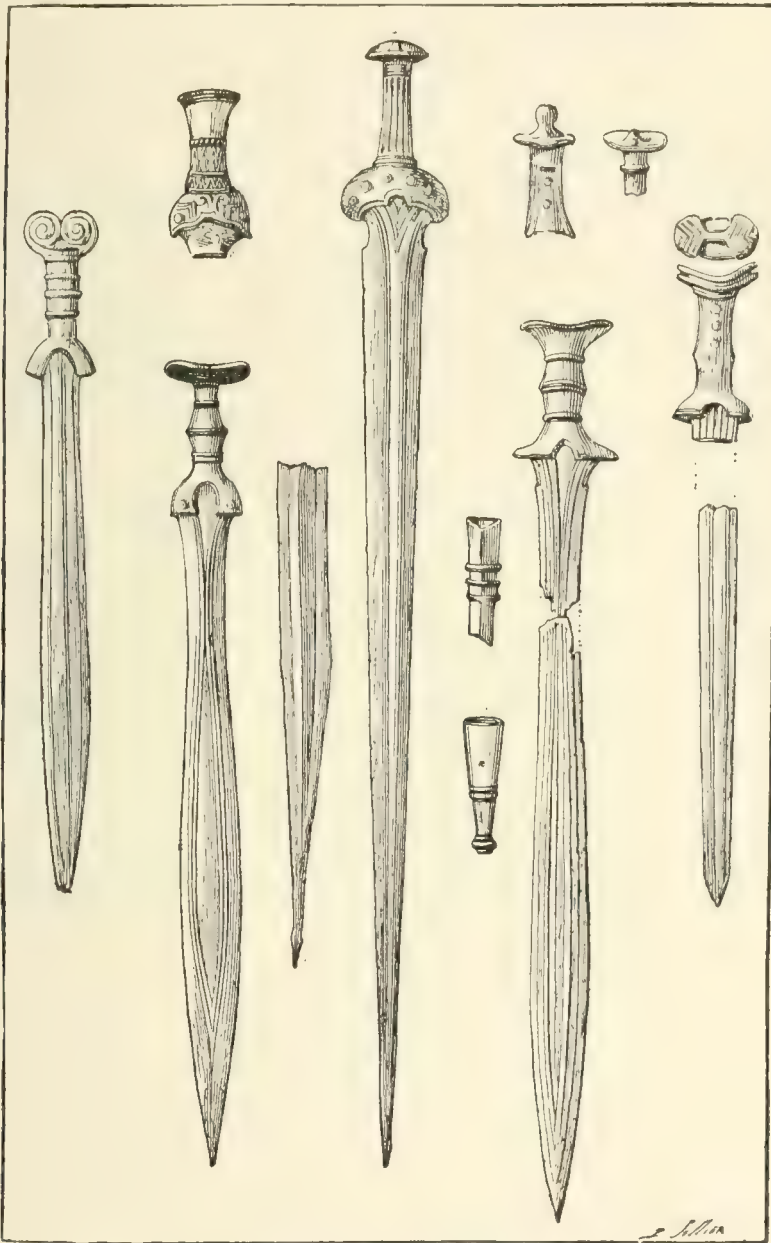
¹ Iron wrought with the hammer did not adapt itself so readily as molten bronze to all the forms of moulding: hence its rarity in the lake-dwellings and tumuli, in which, indeed, the exposure to oxidizing must have destroyed many iron objects; whereas bronze is almost indestructible.



OBJECTS AND TEXTILE FABRICS OBTAINED FROM THE PALAFITTES OF LAKES
CONSTANCE AND BOURGET.¹

¹ 1, 3. Counterweight of loom. 2. Felted cloth made of bark. 4, 5, 8. Carbonized linen cloth. 6, 11, 14. Teeth of flax-carder. 7, 9. Ball of carbonized flax. 10, 12, 15. Distaff-pins or spindles for spinning flax. 13. Embroidery on linen, carbonized. 16. Float for nets. 17. Net with small meshes. 18. Linen thread. 19. Net with large meshes.

smoothed stone. But, as a matter of fact, the ancient history of Gaul is still made up of hypotheses; and we are well acquainted

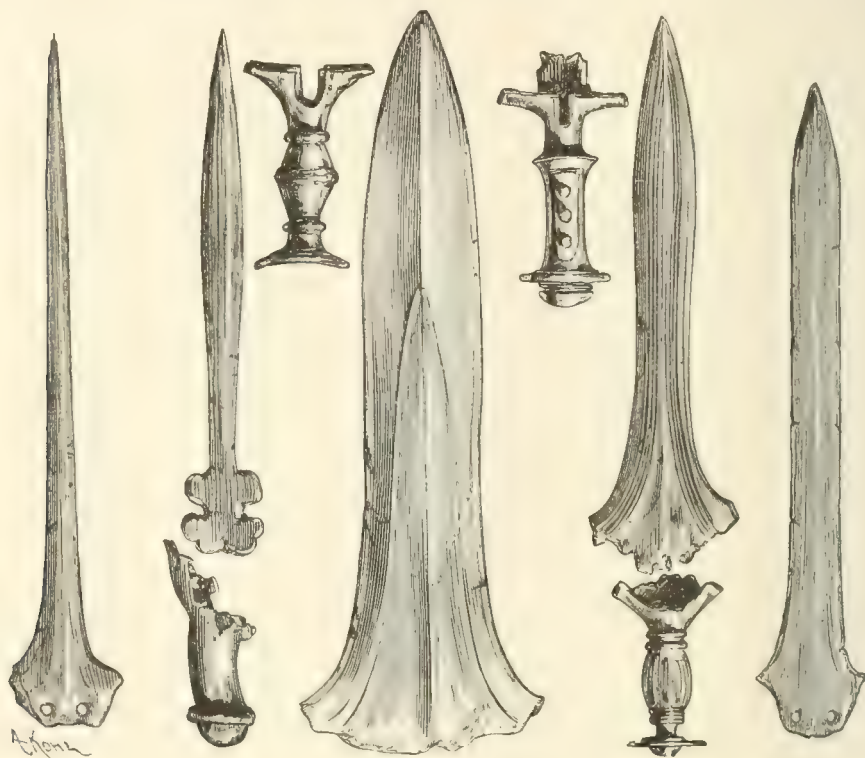


GALLIC ARMS OF BRONZE.¹

with only the last state of these tribes, — that in which Caesar found them.

¹ Swords and daggers (*Dict. archéol. de la Gaule, époque celtique*).

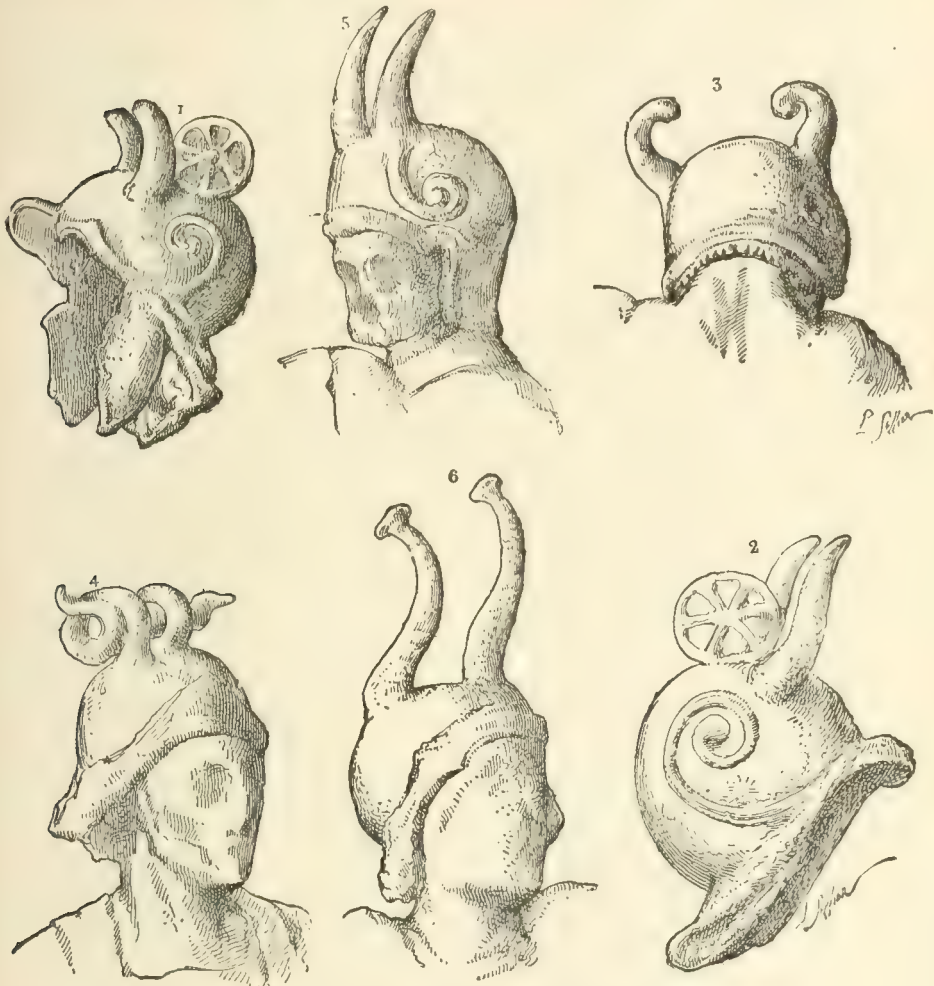
The Roman conqueror observed while he fought; and his "Commentaries," written in a clear and concise style, furnish valuable details concerning the manners and dress of Ancient Gaul: none knew the Gauls better than he who subdued them. Another writer, a contemporary of Augustus, seems also to have been well acquainted with their customs. "Some of them," says Diodorus, "wear coats of iron mail: others fight naked. Instead of swords, they have

BRONZE DAGGERS.¹

great sabres, hung on their right sides by chains of iron or brass. Some wear gold or silver girdles. They also use pikes, with heads a cubit long and almost two palms broad. Their swords are scarcely less in size than the javelin of other nations; and the *sauniae*, heavy javelins, which they throw, have points longer than their swords. Of these *sauniae*, some are straight, others curved; so that not only do they cut, but they also lacerate the flesh, and, if a man draw out the weapon, the wound is enlarged."

¹ Blades and handles of bronze daggers (Museum of Saint Germain).

Their bucklers were fashioned with great art, and sometimes decorated with brass figures in relief. Their brazen helmets bore



GALLIC AND GALLO-ROMAN HELMETS.¹

figures of birds or quadrupeds, or horns, which, like the collar (*torquis*), seem to have had some religious signification. Bracelets were also

¹ 1, 2. Horned helmets with wheel (Arc d'Orange, cast in the Museum of Saint Germain). 3. Horned helmet without wheel (Arc d'Orange, a cast in the Museum of Saint Germain). 4, 5, 6. Horned helmets from the tomb of the Julii at Saint Remys (Cast in the Museum of Saint Germain, rooms *b* and *c*). These eccentric ornaments of Gallic helmets, mentioned by Diodorus (*Biblioth. hist. liv. v. c. xxx*), and still to be seen in bas-reliefs, are not a mere freak of the soldiers who wore them. Horns were, both in Gaul and the East, one of the attributes of command, one of the signs of divine or royal power, βασιλείας παράσημον, according to the expression of Eusebius. The god Cernunnos, on the altar of Notre Dame in Paris, has horns. The same is the case with the squatting divinity on the altar at Rheims, and with the original

indispensable ornaments: in the stone age they were made of shells; later they were of metal, and even of gold.¹ The warriors of the American prairies and of the islands of Oceanica decorate their heads with brilliant feathers and strange ornaments. In a barbarous age the man possesses woman's vanity, and would fain appear beautiful, as well as strong and brave.



GALLIC TRUMPET.³

"On journeys and in battle the wealthy make use of chariots drawn by two horses, and carrying a driver and a warrior.² They throw the javelin first, and then leap down to attack the enemy with the sword. Some despise death so much as to come into the fight without other defensive armor than a girdle round the body. They bring with them servants of free condition, and employ them as drivers and guards. Before the trumpet has given the signal for action, they are accustomed to come forth from the ranks, and challenge the bravest of the enemy to single combat, brandishing their arms in order to intimidate their foes. If any one accepts the challenge, they sing the prowess of their ancestors, boast their own virtues, and insult their adversaries. They cut off the heads of their fallen enemies, fasten them on their horses' necks, and nail these trophies to their houses. If it is a renowned foe, they preserve his head in

statuette at Autun. The symbolic and religious character of horns is rendered the more probable, because, on the helmets of the Arc d'Orange, the horns are associated with the *wheel*, a well-known hieratic sign, and one of the special symbols of the Dioscuri. The wheel figures as such upon the coins of Marseilles. It is probable that we here have before us an Oriental souvenir. "It is quite allowable to trace an Oriental tradition in the attribute of horns worn by the gods," and, we may add, by Gallie warriors, says Baron de Witte (*Rec. arch.*, 1852, p. 56). Not only is the god Belus represented on the cylinders with horns on his head, but Oriental kings did themselves honor by ornamenting their tiaras with them. Seleucus Nicator, following the example of the ancient monarchs, caused himself to be represented on his coins with a helmet decorated with a bull's horns and ears" (Note by M. Bertrand). See in Layard's *Mon. of Ninereh*, i. pl. 12, two sitting statues of the Assyrian god Nebo, wearing tiaras with a double pair of horns.

¹ These collars and bracelets had probably a hieratic or social character: the chiefs wore gold ones; for freemen they were of bronze. The Museum of Saint Germain possesses more than a hundred and fifty of them. [There is also a fine collection at the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. — *Ed.*]

² There is one in the Museum of Saint Germain. See the *Revue archéol.*, 1877, p. 217.

³ Museum of Saint Germain.

oil of cedar; and some have been known to refuse to sell such a head for its weight in gold." "I have seen many of them," says the philosopher Posidonios, "and I was a long time in getting accustomed to the sight." Others set their enemies' skulls in gold, and used them as cups for religious libations.

These challenges, these long speeches before coming to blows, are found in the "Iliad;" and almost all barbarians have done their enemies the honor of preserving their heads or skulls as trophies. Before the fight, they often vowed the spoils of the foe to Hesus, and after the victory they sacrificed to him what remained of the cattle they had carried off. "The surplus of the booty is placed in a public place, and in many towns there may be seen these heaps of spoils piled up in consecrated spots. It very rarely happens, that in contempt of religion, a Gaul dares clandestinely to appropriate what he took in war, or carry off anything from these stores. Death is the punishment of those who commit this theft."

The condition of the women in Gaul indicates some advance in civilization. From chattels they had become persons. Free in their choice of a husband, they brought with them a dowry; the man advanced an equal value from his property; the whole was put together, and this sum went to the survivor, with the in-

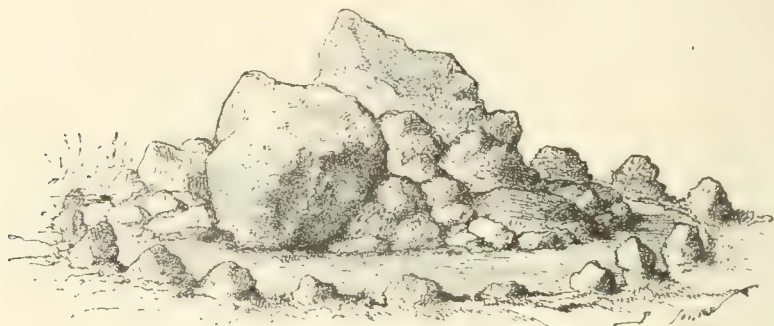


POSITONIOS.¹

¹ Museum of the Louvre (Clarac. *Deser. des ant.*, No. 89).

crease it had produced.¹ But the husband had the power of life and death over his wife, as well as over his children, and the son could not accost his father in public before he was of an age to bear arms.

“When the father of a family of high birth dies, his kin assemble, and, if they have any suspicion as to the cause of his end, the women are put to the torture:² if the crime is proved, they are put to death by fire, or with the most horrible torments. The funeral ceremonies are magnificent. All that is thought to have been dear to the departed during his life is cast upon the funeral-pile, even animals.” Not long before Caesar’s expedition it had been the



TOMB OF A GALLIC CHIEF (MUSEUM OF CLUNY).

custom to burn with the dead man the slaves and clients whom he had most loved.³

It seems that a portion of the territory of each tribe — the pastures, waters, and forests — remained common property: the tribe itself was like a collection of clans.⁴ There were two classes, — the nobles and the freemen. The former did not form an exclusive caste. They possessed honors and wealth and lands: and round each of them gathered a numerous crowd of servants and clients, who lived genera-

¹ Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 19: . . . *cum fructibus superiorum temporum*. It corresponded to our gift of survivorship.

² Caesar says (*De Bell. Gall.* vi. 19): *De uxoribus . . . quaestionem habent*, whence some writers have concluded that polygamy existed in Gaul.

³ There has recently been discovered, not far from the gates of Paris, at Saint-Maur-les-Fossés, the sepulchre of a chief buried more than twenty-five centuries ago, with his wife, his horse, and his flint arms. These remains are deposited in the Museum of Cluny.

⁴ I think, however, that it is going too far to liken the Gallic clientship to the system of clans in Scotland in all respects. All the members of the latter claimed to be descended from a common ancestor; whereas in the latter there were many elements foreign to blood relationship. Thus Dumnorix gained clients daily by his liberalities. (Caesar, *B. G.*, i. 18.)

tion after generation in the house or upon the land of their chief. Caesar calls them *equites* (knights); and this cavalry was much esteemed among the legions of the Empire. But their ranks were open to courage, and whosoever was worthy to take a place among the first men of the State could lay claim thereto. "When any war is declared, which occurs almost every year, all the nobles take arms, accompanied by a number of servants and clients proportionate to their birth and to their wealth." Some of these clients dedicated themselves to their chief for life and death. Among the Aquitani, persons thus devoted were called *soldurii*. "The *soldurii* enjoy all things in common with those to whom they have consecrated themselves by this bond of friendship: if the chief perishes, they refuse to survive him, and slay themselves. It has never yet happened within the memory of man that one of those who had devoted themselves to a chief by such a compact refused to follow him in death."

But this custom of clientship had also its inconveniences. The chief must defend his clients, and avenge wrong done to them; whence it resulted that each of these associations formed, as it were, a State within the State, which was a cause of endless disturbances. We have seen clientship at Rome, and it existed almost everywhere, because it is the first of social forms, the weak leaning upon the strong. But Roman discipline placed the State above the clan, the citizen above the individual; for this reason, Rome became strong, while Gaul, which had only an imperfect knowledge of the great discipline of citizenship, remained weak.

The knights and their clients left but a very humble place for the freemen, *plebs paene pro seruo habetur*. The numbers of the latter, however, constituted a force, and, utilized by some ambitious leader, more than once changed the constitution of the State.¹

The *elders* formed the council of the city, in which certain tribes did not allow two members of the same family to sit: above them was the king, or a temporary chief, who might even be elected annually. Some words in the "Commentaries" would lead us to think, that, in exceptional circumstances, a general council of the whole of Gaul were assembled. The divided condition of the country does not allow us to suppose that these were anything more than assemblies of confederate nations; yet the idea of a representative

¹ See in the following chapter what is related of Orgetorix, Ambiorix, Vercingetorix, etc.

assembly of Gaul was in men's minds, at least in Caesar's time, and answered to an obscure feeling of national unity.

In the assemblies, precautions were taken against hasty decisions. "In the cantons," says Caesar, "which are considered the best administered, it is a sacred law that he who learns any news of interest to the city should immediately inform the magistrate of it, without communicating with any other person; experience having shown that imprudent and unenlightened men are often alarmed by false reports, take extreme courses, and even proceed to crimes. The magistrates conceal what they consider proper, and reveal to the multitude only what they think useful to be publicly known. It is only in the assembly that public affairs are discussed."

To maintain order there, the Gauls had established a singular custom. If any one interrupted the orator, or attempted to speak out of his turn, a corner of his mantle was cut off. At gatherings of war, other customs existed: the man too corpulent to wear a standard girdle reserved for the purpose was punished with a fine, and he who arrived last at a military rendezvous was put to death: the latter, no doubt, by keeping the others waiting, came at last to be regarded as disloyal. The Romans had a similar custom: at the review of knights, a man who was too corpulent was deprived of his horse by the censor, and relegated to a lower class;¹ the citizen who did not answer when his name was called for military service was sold.²

III. — THE DRUIDS.

At first the Gauls worshipped the thunder, the stars, the ocean, rivers, lakes, the wind, forests, mountains, and great oaks; that is to say, the forces of nature, — beliefs, which in all places have formed the basis of primitive polytheism. Little by little the phenomena were personified: Kirk represented the fierce wind of the Rhone valley, — the Mistral, which the Provençals still call by its Gallic name of

¹ *Nimis pingui homini et corpulento* (Aul. Gell., vii. 22). The same was the case with him who presented himself with an ill-kept horse (*Ibid.*, iv. 12 and 20).

² Cic., *Pro Caccina*, 34.

Cers; Tarann was the spirit of the thunder; Bel, the sun god; Pennin, the genius of the Alps; Arduin, of the immense forest of the Ardennes, etc.

Still later the Gauls worshipped moral forces and higher gods, — Hesus, the first cause, “who ever springs up afresh;” Teutates, the orderer of the world, “the father of the people;” Mercury, the inventor of arts and conductor of souls, whose Gallic name has disappeared; Camul, the fierce genius of war, “the master of the brave;” Borvo, the god who heals;¹ Ogmius, the god of poetry and eloquence, who was represented with chains of gold and amber issuing from his mouth to bind and carry away those who heard him; the goddess Epona, protectress of horses and horsemen, so numerous in Gaul; the mother-goddesses, ancestresses of the good people and fairies of the middle ages, and others whose names are lost.

The Druid, the minister of these divinities, was at the same time the interpreter of the will of heaven and of the secrets of the earth. He was priest and sorcerer, himself deluded, and deluding others. This is the condition of religions and



TARANN.²

¹ The Romans likened him to Apollo, the great healer god, and he was highly honored at the *thermae*, three of which have retained his name. He also gave it to one of the branches of the house of Capet, — the Bourbons.

² Gaidoz, *Réligion gaul.* pl. i. The hammer which the god holds is the sign of the thunderbolt.

priesthoods in all barbarous ages. When as yet there is no science to explain phenomena, they assume a supernatural character, which the priest alone can explain, and alone appears able to control. Hence his power, which he strengthened by an imposing and terrible form of worship, and by teaching which kept the worshippers under his moral sway.¹

Every year, during the night of the 1st of May, the radiant return of Bel, the sun, was celebrated by great bonfires kindled upon the heights. The feast of Teutates was observed in the forests by torchlight on the first night of the new year. At that time was gathered with great ceremony the mistletoe, — a parasitic plant which springs from the branches of certain trees, most rarely of all from the oak, the tree venerated by the Druids, which rarity caused it to be prized when thus found. Great search was made for it, however, and when, on the sixth day of the last moon of winter (in February or March), the priests had at last discovered the plant spreading its green foliage over the leafless boughs of some oak, — an image of life issuing from the midst of dead nature, — the people flocked round the sacred tree. The chief of the Druids, clothed in white, cut with a golden sickle the holy plant, and other priests received it in their white tunics, not allowing it to touch the ground. Two white bulls were then sacrificed; and the people celebrated with a great festival the fortunate discovery. The mistletoe was dipped in water, and this water possessed the twofold power of purifying soul and body, restoring health and prosperity. This custom, like many others of that time, left behind it deep traces, which are found throughout the middle ages.

Other sacred herbs possessed marvellous virtues; but, after the mistletoe of the oak, nothing was so powerful as a serpent's

¹ Whence came the Druids? The Celts of Spain, of Gallia Cisalpina, of the valley of the Danube, and of Galatia, and even those of Gallia Narbonensis, had none. Outside of Gaul, they are found only in Britain and Ireland; and Caesar thought the great island was the chief centre of Druidic knowledge. To account for this fact, an explanation offers; but it is a merely hypothetical one. The primitive Aryans had their *shamans*, who, more fortunate than their Siberian successors, gained brilliant successes, like the Brahmins in India, the Magi in Persia, and the Druids among the Celts. It has been supposed that these Druids, leaving the early home in company with the first Celtic bands, arrived with them in Britain, where, in their insular isolation and under the influence of favorable circumstances or of some superior man, their institution was developed until it at last became strong enough to make the religious conquest of a part of Gaul. The *shamans* of the other Celtic tribes, remaining merely obscure and unimportant sorcerers, have escaped the notice of history.

egg.¹ The Gallic priests wore them hung about their necks, richly set, and they were sold at very high prices.

The Druids put nothing in writing; and the songs of the bards of ancient days died with them. But in one corner of England and one of France their memory has been preserved. Wales and Armorica have long had their national singers, — the heirs of the Celtic bards, of their tongue and their traditions. It has been thought possible to recover from these Welsh and Breton poems, especially the former, the ancient spirit of the Druids; and with these songs of a comparatively modern epoch, a whole system of metaphysics has been reconstructed. I fear the Druids have received credit for much which does not belong to them.² Human sacrifices stained with blood the rude altars which the Druids raised in the midst of the wild moors and under the dense shadow of primeval forests. What is the formidable danger which these green abysses conceal? The Druids explained that there were the gods greedy for human blood. “The Gauls,” says Caesar, “are very superstitious. Those who are attacked by serious illnesses, as well as those who live amid warfare and dangers, immolate human victims, or make a vow to immolate them; and for these sacrifices they have recourse to the ministration of the Druids, without whom no sacrifice can be offered. They believe that the life of a man is necessary to redeem that of another man, and that the immortal gods can only be appeased at that price; and they have even established public sacrifices of this description. Sometimes they make figures of men of immense size, woven of plaited osiers, and fill the interior with living men. They set fire to this, and cause their victims to perish

¹ This supposed serpent's egg, which in Claudius's reign cost a Roman knight his life, appears to have been a fossil sea-urchin, very frequently found in secondary and tertiary deposits. The traces of this superstition are not yet extinct in the mountains of Scotland. Glass balls, called serpent's teeth, are still worn, as the Druids wore them, on their necks. Hence, too, doubtless came the use of those ivory and amber necklaces which nurses place round children's necks to help on, as they say, their teething.

² Sharon Turner, the great historian of the Anglo-Saxons, at the commencement of this century affirmed the authenticity of the Welsh poems of the middle ages, and thereafter none ventured to doubt it. M. de la Villemarqué has also, through his *Barzaz-Breiz*, made the popular songs of Brittany widely known. But the authenticity of the Welsh poems has been energetically attacked by Mr. Nash, in his *Taliesin* (1858, pp. 119–121); and that of the songs in *Barzaz-Breiz* by M. Luzel, and in the *Revue celtique* of M. Gaidoz (vol. ii. pp. 44–70). Though M. de la Villemarqué's book is no longer an historical one, it retains a great charm as a literary work.

in the flames. They think that the death of those who have been convicted of theft, robbery, or any other crime, is more pleasing to the immortal gods;¹ but when such men are lacking they take the innocent." The manner in which the victim fell, the convulsions, of his death-pangs, and the color of his blood, were so many signs whereby the sacrificer recognized the will of the gods. The Greeks held the same belief when they sought to kill Iphigenia, and when Achilles slew his captives on the tomb of Patroclus; the Romans, when they buried Gauls alive in the Forum, or made gladiators fight before a tomb. According to the testimony of Greek and Latin antiquity, the Druids taught that punishments and rewards awaited man in a future life. "They try to persuade men," says Caesar, "that souls do not perish, and that after death they pass into another body,—a belief which is peculiarly fitted to inspire courage by driving away the fear of death."

Metempsychosis is a Pythagorean idea which the Greeks furnished to the Gauls, and it must have been brought to the notice of Caesar by some among the Druids who were disposed towards Greek culture. Nothing authorizes the opinion that these priests had, concerning the great mystery of death, a creed more definite than that of the Romans. But their funeral ceremonies prove a faith in a life beyond the grave far more sincere than the dim belief of the Latins in the sad existence of the manes. Horace, the epicurean who ceaselessly repeats, "Enjoy quickly, lose not a moment, for death draws near," thought this Gaul that had no dread of the funeral-rites—*non parentis funera Galliae*—a very savage country indeed. The West has never seen a nation that thought less of life, or encountered steel with less fear, in battles, in duels, in the voluntary immolation of victims for sacrifices, and even at festivals. Death was to them but a dark and narrow passage, beyond which they saw the light.

"The dust of the ancients shall spring to life again," said Merlin² the enchanter, in the sixth century of our era. As a sign of this renewal of life, on the night of the 1st of November, the

¹ Even in the last century, baskets were thrown into the fire, containing cats, foxes or wolves, instead of human beings (Gaidoz, *Religion des Gaulois*).

² A semi-fabulous personage who plays a great part in the legends of the Round Table, and to whom have been attributed prophetic utterances famous for ages.

Druids extinguished all fires. Plunged in darkness and silence, the earth seemed dead. Suddenly upon the highest hill a brilliant fire shone forth; the flame on domestic hearths was then rekindled, and the people broke forth into songs of gladness; life resumed possession of the world.

On that same night, Samhan, the judge of the dead, sat upon his throne far away in the west to judge the souls of those who had died during the year. They came in from all parts of Great Gaul to the extremity of Armorica, to the foot of the promontory of Plogoff, against which the sea utters its everlasting plaint. "The dwellers on this shore," says the poet Claudian, "hear the shades arrive wailing; they see the pale phantoms of the dead pass by." At the solemn hour of midnight, when legends say that coffins open and the dead re-appear, the fishermen of the coast were wont to hear a rapping at their door, and to find their barks laden with invisible passengers. The sail being set and the helm fixed, they were carried away by an unknown force, which in a few minutes bore the skiff to the shores of the isles of Prydain. The bark immediately grew lighter, and the mariner could return to his home: the souls had departed.

But they were to return to fulfil a second existence, better and more complete than the first. Death was but the middle point of life. "Do you not know," the ancient bard Gwenc'hlan¹ is made to say, "that every man must die three times before resting forever?" Thus the Druid would recommence his life of meditation and study in order to know more; thus the hero would live again to avenge his people. Did not the Welsh for five hundred years await the return of Arthur?

The Druids formed, not an hereditary caste, but a clergy recruited from the most able men, with a supreme pontiff, councils, and the terrible weapon of excommunication. Their chief possessed an unlimited authority. "At his death the most eminent in dignity succeeds him; or, if several have equal claims, the election takes place by the vote of the Druids; and the office is sometimes disputed in arms. At a certain period of the year all the Druids assemble in a consecrated place on the frontier of the country of

¹ One of the bards of *Barzaz-Breiz*.

the Carnutes (Chartres), which is supposed to be the central point of Gaul. Thither repair from all parts those who have any differences; and they conform to the judgments and decisions there pronounced.

“In certain cantons the Druids are still the judges of the people. If a crime has been committed, or a murder has taken place, or a quarrel has arisen about an inheritance or concerning a boundary, it is they who decide in the case. They assign rewards and penalties. If a private citizen or a public man does not defer to their decision, they forbid him the sacrifices: this is the rarest punishment among them. Those who incur this interdict are accounted impious and criminal; everyone withdraws from them; their presence and conversation are avoided, as though men feared the contagion of their penalty. All access to justice is refused them, and they have no consideration.

“The Druids do not go to war, and they pay no taxes. Enticed by such great privileges, many Gauls join them of their own accord, or are sent to them by their kindred. There, it is said, they learn a great number of verses. There are some who pass twenty years in this training. It is not allowed to commit these verses to writing; and yet in most public and private affairs they make use of the Greek letters. There are, it appears to me, two reasons for this custom: one is to prevent their knowledge being spread among the vulgar; the other, lest their disciples, trusting to writing, should neglect their memory. The movement of the stars, the immensity of the universe, the greatness of the earth, the nature of things, the strength and power of the immortal gods—such are the subjects of their discussions.” This profound knowledge possessed by the Druids, and this vast power, which during the Gallic war of independence was never seen acting, seem to us incredible. These priests evidently excited surprise among the Romans, and made them think of the sacerdotal castes of the East, whose wisdom it was the fashion at that time greatly to extol. We are tempted to think that the information to Caesar furnished by his principal agent in Gaul, the Druid Divitiacus, an imaginative and unscrupulous man, applied not to the present, but to a distant past, which his vanity held up as full of the might and majesty of his order.

Of Caesar's just quoted words we must, however, retain what

concerns the singular constitution of this great sacerdotal body. It contrasts with all the institutions of Græco-Latin antiquity. At Rome the priest and the magistrate were one; Caesar held the pontificate at the same time with the proconsular authority: in Gaul the military and religious chiefs were distinct. A veritable clergy held sway there, and, by a system of education such as was elsewhere unknown to the ancients, they must have exercised a powerful influence over men's minds. But when it is inferred that the Catholic Church has had a greater hold on nations whose early religious organization was so like what Christianity brought them, the fact is overlooked that this organization was already gone in the first century of our era, and that there remained only of Druidism those superstitious beliefs which so long survive dethroned religions. Between the reign of the priests of Hesus and of Christian priests, three centuries of Pagan rule must be placed. Moreover, it does not appear that Christianity was established either more quickly or more firmly in Gaul than in lands which had never known Druidism, like Italy and Spain.

Affiliated to the Druidic order were bards, diviners, and prophetesses. The latter, formidable magicians, loved to dwell on wild, rocky shores beside the tempestuous ocean. The nine Druidesses of the Isle-de-Sein, off the western point of Brittany, were understood to know the future, and to have power over the winds and waves. Like the Roman Vestals, they were vowed to perpetual virginity. Others, who dwelt on an island at the mouth of the Loire, had husbands upon the mainland, but rarely visited them. Yearly, on a fixed day, it was their duty to destroy and reconstruct, between sunrise and sunset, the dwelling of their god. With the first ray of the rising sun, the former structure began to fall under their swift blows, and another temple rose as quickly, emblem of the destruction and renewal of the world and of human life. But woe to her who should let fall the smallest piece of the new material! Her companions tore her limb from limb. Mount Saint-Michel had also its college of Druidesses: a specialty of these sacred women was the distribution to the faithful of amulets with marvellous properties, and of arrows which never missed their aim.

The *orates*, or diviners, had charge of all the material part of the Druidic worship. It was they who sought the revelation of the

future in the entrails of victims and the flight of birds. A Gaul accomplished no act of importance without having recourse to the divination of the *orate*. Such is the endless curiosity of races in their childhood. They know nothing of the past, and but very little about the present; their sole anxiety is to penetrate the mysterious future.

So long as the Druidic power was unquestioned, the bards were the sacred singers who took part in all religious ceremonies. But, after the military chiefs had enfranchised themselves from priestly dominion, it was the rich and powerful to whom the bards then devoted themselves. Originally the poets of gods and heroes, they afterwards became the courtiers of men. They were seen at the tables of the great, and paid for their right to sit there by the songs they composed in their host's honor.

IV. — THE SO-CALLED DRUIDIC MONUMENTS.

In a great number of the western provinces of France there are found strange monuments, — *peulvens*, or *menhirs* (*men*, "a stone;" *hir*, "long"), enormous blocks of rough stone planted in the earth separately, or ranged in avenues; cromlechs, or menhirs placed either in a single circle, or in several concentric circles around a higher menhir. Within these religious precincts were deposited the trophies of victories, the national standards, and even the treasures taken from the enemy, the guardianship of which was in later times confided to consecrated ponds¹ and woods. The dolmens, formed of one or more great flat stones placed horizontally upon several vertical stones, were sepulchral chambers, sometimes covered over with earth, which contained the remains of some famous chief. At the foot of one of the dolmens in the neighborhood of Saumur, a skeleton was discovered with a stone knife in its side. Was this the warrior who fell in battle, or was it a victim immolated at the funeral sacrifice? Some of these monuments are as much as twenty-three feet in length and the same in breadth.

In the dolmens are found implements of stone, sometimes of

¹ See B. Fillon, *Objets trouvés dans l'étang de Nesmy*, 1879.

bronze or gold, very rarely of iron. The lake-dwellings, or huts built upon piles, belong to the same age. They contain objects of bone and stone identical with those of the dolmens, but, in addition to these, woven fabrics, and, in the vessels which have fallen from the huts to the bottom of the water, grains of wheat, barley, and oats, pease and lentils, — a proof that these hunters also knew how to cultivate the ground.



THE FAIRIES' ROCK AT KORKORO, NEAR KARNAC.

They knew little or nothing of the metals, which, on the other hand, abound in the tumuli. These latter tombs, which contain a great many objects of bronze and iron, have only very few flint ones; and their pottery, less rude than that in the dolmens, is decorated with lozenge and dog-tooth patterns, which remind one of the ornamentation of the most ancient vases of Cisalpine Gaul. The east of Gaul was in advance of the west: and this was natural. The radiation of Greek and Italian civilization had penetrated thither more easily.¹

¹ See the curious map of dolmens and tumuli drawn up by M. A. Bertrand.

The most celebrated megalithic monuments are in Brittany and Anjou.¹ The lines of Karnac² formed ten alleys, having altogether a breadth of about three hundred feet, and more than two miles and a half in length. Until recently they have served as a quarry for the inhabitants of the neighborhood. When they were entire, they numbered from eight to ten thousand stones, some of which

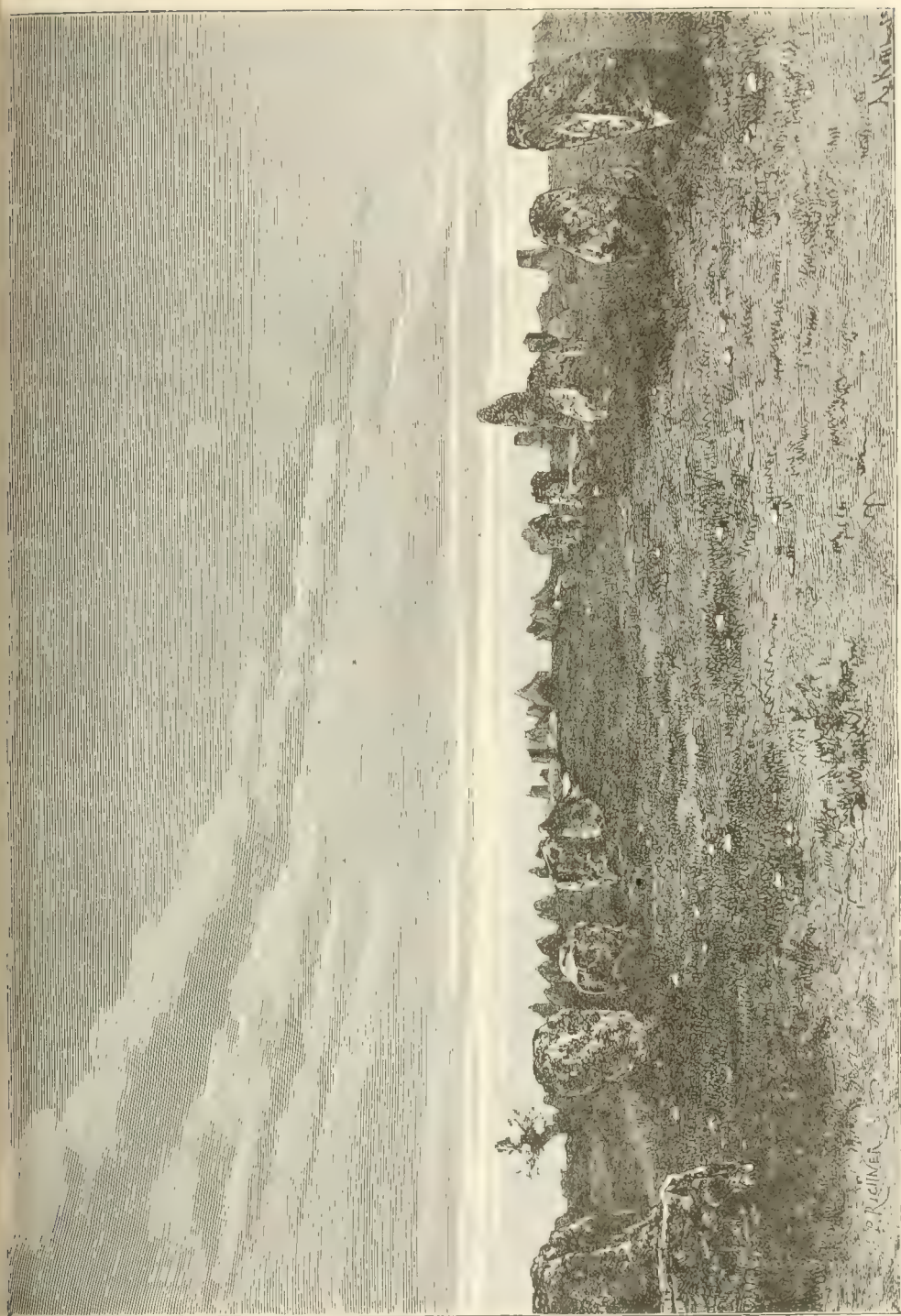


MOUNT SAINT-MICHEL AT KARNAC (TUMULUS).

rise to a height of fifteen or twenty feet above the ground; and many are placed with the thin end downwards. It is like an army of giants. An army it is, in truth, according to the tradition of the inhabitants, who could not live beside this wonder without explaining its existence after their fashion. A man of God, S.

¹ A menhir of granite in Belle-Isle and the one in the Island of Hoëdic were carried from the coast, which is sixteen miles distant. On reading the description given later of the great vessels of the Veneti, it will be understood how the Gauls were able to transport such masses across the sea.

² Karnac, in the Breton language, signifies "the place of rocks." The drawing which we give on p. 263 was made by P. Rielmer, from his picture in the Museum of Saint Germain.



LINES OF KARNAC (VIEW TAKEN FROM KER-MARIO).

Cornely, evangelized these countries. The enemies of Christianity, exasperated by his victories, assembled in great numbers to kill him. The saint fled to Karnac. The first ranks of the Pagan army were already close upon him, when God, to save his servant, changed them into stones; and there they still stand in their order of battle. The covered alley, or dolmen of Bagneux near Samur, called the Fairies' Rock (*Roche-aux-Fées*), is over sixty-five feet in length. It is formed of four flat stones, each twenty feet long and sixteen feet wide, and weighing from sixty to seventy tons, held at a height of seven feet and a half above the ground by eight other stones fixed



POTTERY OF THE DOLMENS (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

in the ground. The Rocking-Stone of Perros-Guyrech (*Côtes-du-Nord*), forty-six feet long by twenty-three broad, is so perfectly balanced, that a single man can set it rocking, in spite of its weight of five hundred tons.

On the moor of Upper Brambien there may still be counted nearly two thousand menhirs, standing or overturned.

At Lock-Maria-Ker are the King of the Menhirs, the Merchant's Table, and the covered alley of Mané-Lud. The King of the Menhirs, was a block larger than the obelisk in the Place de la Concorde at Paris. Unfortunately it has been overthrown, and lies on the ground, broken into four pieces: in its unbroken state it was

seventy-two feet in length, and must have weighed two hundred and fifty tons. By what means did these barbarians move such masses, which are enough to baffle our own mechanical arts?

Elsewhere are barrows like that in the peninsula of Rhuys, in the department of Morbihan, which is a hundred feet high and three hundred and fifty round the base. Beneath this artificial mountain, as in the sepulchral chambers of the Egyptian Pyramids, a skeleton was found, probably that of a religious chief. The first



GALLIC VASES IN TERRA-COTTA (CEMETERIES OF THE MARNE, IN THE MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

inhabitants of Gaul condemned themselves to immense labors to honor gods whom we no longer know, and dead men whose names lasted but for a day.

These strange monuments sometimes bear rough carvings and various signs: crescents are seen on them, round hollows arranged in circles, spirals, figures which perhaps represent stone axes, intertwined serpents, or trees. It is like the fantastic tattooing of savages applied to granite.

The so-called Druidic monuments were constructed before the arrival of the Druids in Gaul, or before the period of their power: they belong to the first Celtic population, who long continued to erect them. These colossal stones, set up either as landmarks, or in memory of men, or in homage to the gods, are the most ancient monumental manifestation of human force, not only among the Gauls, but everywhere. The "Iliad" and the Bible make mention of them; they existed in Abyssinia; Egypt made her obelisks and her Pyramids of them; the Scandinavian countries are full of

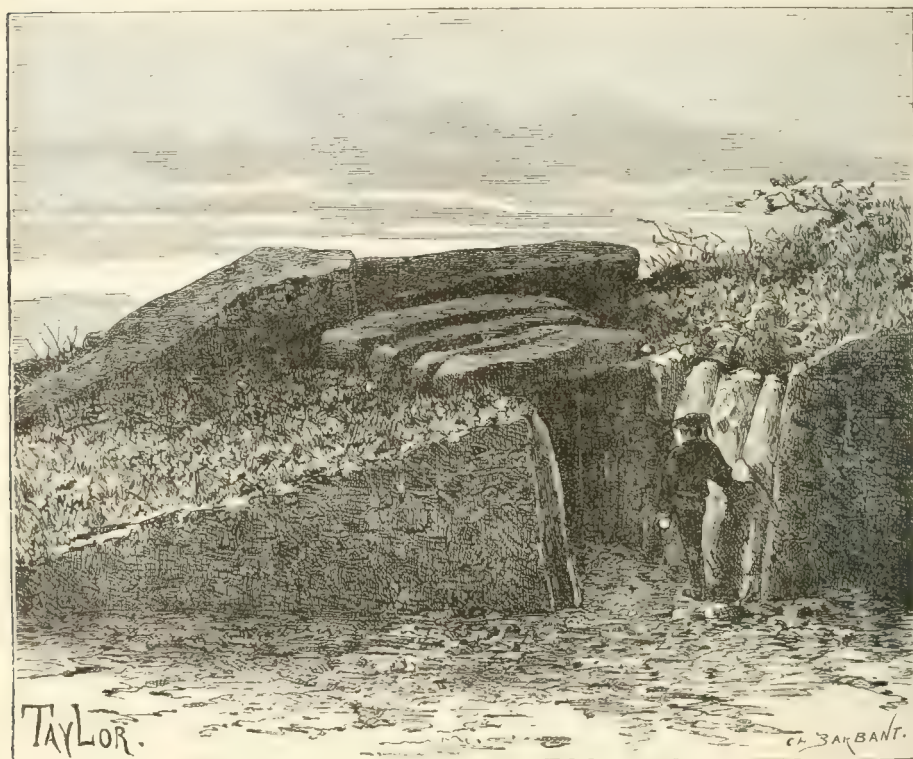


THE MERCHANTS' TABLE AT LOCK-MARIA-KER.

them; they are found in the Caucasus, in Arabia, in Easter Island, lost in the immensity of the Pacific Ocean, and even on the coast of Greenland. The ruins of Kandy, in the Island of Ceylon, are almost identical in aspect with those of Anglesey in England. A complete circle of Druidic stones exists at Darab, in Persia; and America has the *chalpas* of Peru and Bolivia, and the mounds of Ohio and Mississippi. It is the architecture of primitive humanity, and it marks a stage of culture through which at very various epochs ancient communities have passed.

Many ancient nations formed their first altars and the most ancient monuments of their piety towards the gods or of their gratitude towards men, out of great heaps of earth or unhewn stones

such as Nature provided. The greater the effort, the heavier the stone, the more satisfied they thought the deity would be. From the huge lines of Karnac to the magnificence of the Parthenon is a great distance, but the idea is the same; only the Gauls did not shut up the deity within narrow walls, they gave him temples with the sky for their roof.



COVERED ALLEY OF MANÉ-LUD AT LOCK-MARIA-KER.

The respect for the Druidic stones resisted the reiterated prohibitions of councils to "pray or light torches before the stones," and it is not yet extinct everywhere. Some Bas-Bretons still attribute supernatural virtues to them. In Normandy, by the fireside in winter, people talk, or quite lately used to talk, of *turning-stones*, which on Christmas night, at twelve o'clock, revolved of themselves.¹ In other places certain customs were connected

¹ The Councils of Arles (in 452), Tours (in 567), Nantes (in 700), etc. (cf. *Cours d'antiquité's monumentales*, by M. de Caumont, p. 119). On closing this chapter, I must thank M. Al. Bertrand, who with great kindness placed at my disposal the riches of the Museum of Saint Germain and his own profound knowledge of Celtic and Roman Gaul.

with them. Till recent times, the women of Croisie used to go and dance round the huge menhir, and others scratched the Druidic stones, with the idea that the dust would make them fruitful. At Guérande, the maiden who wished to be married would deposit in the clefts of a dolmen flocks of pink wool tied up with tinsel: at Colombiers, she mounted upon the top stone, placed a piece of money there, and must then jump down alone. These monuments, round which once such terrible scenes used to take place, no longer hear aught but maidens' vows.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE GALLIC WAR.

I. — GAUL IN THE TIME OF CAESAR.

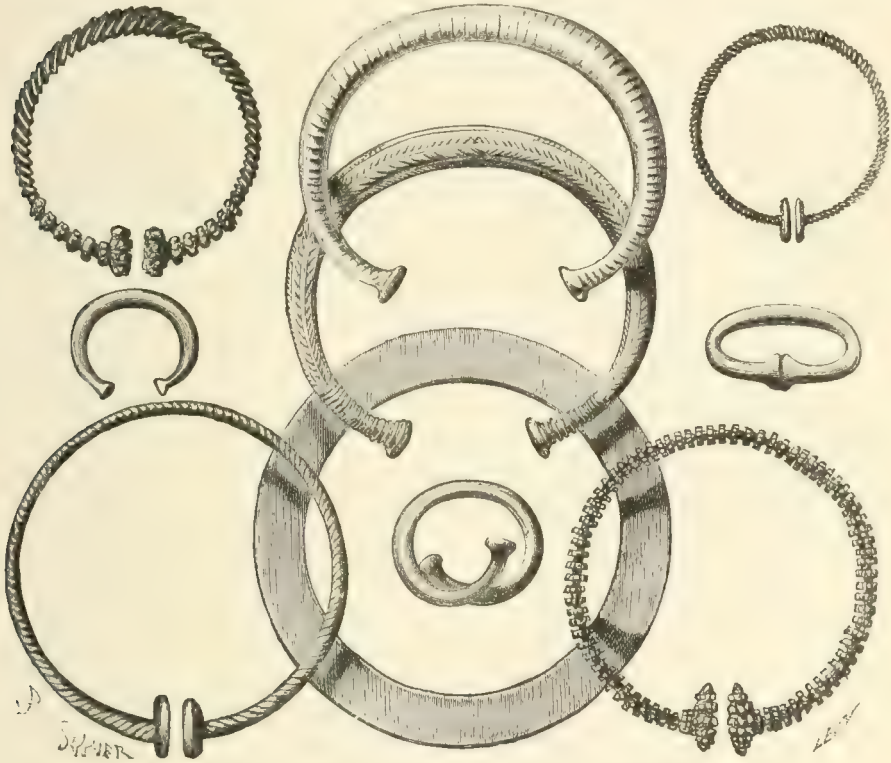
IN the middle of the century preceding the Christian era, many things in Ancient Gaul had changed. The chiefs of the tribes and nobles had thrown off the yoke of the sacerdotal class. The Druidic order, which was then decaying, did not play the part of a national clergy during the war of liberty: one Druid, Divitiacus, was even the guide and friend of Caesar. The aristocracy had, in its turn, found two powerful enemies. Some of its own number, the ablest or bravest, had united several tribes, and caused themselves to be proclaimed kings. At other points the inhabitants of the towns had risen; and the Druids, uniting with the rebels against the nobles who had dispossessed them, had attempted to abolish the aristocratic or royal government, and to replace it by a democratic one, more or less mixed with the former elements. In one district it was the notables (*principes*) and the priests, who, having constituted themselves a senate, appointed the *vergobret* (an annual judge), with jurisdiction in capital cases,¹ and in case of need the leader in war: in another the people had instituted a senate or magistrates, and sometimes a king, who remained dependent upon the public assembly.² Caesar relates, that, after his victory over the Helvetii, the chiefs of almost all the cities (*principes civitatum*) came and asked him to authorize them to assemble the council of Gaul.³ We have already said what must be thought about these general assemblies.

¹ *Vitae necisque in suos habet potestatem* (*De Bell. Gall.* i. 16).

² Each tribe of the Galatae in Asia Minor had also a chief and a senate of three hundred members (*Strabo*, xii. 5, 1).

³ . . . *Concilium totius Galliae* (*De Bell. Gall.* i. 30).

Thus, while Rome was overpowering the Gallic colonies in Italy and Asia Minor, Gaul was rending herself with her own hands, instead of organizing and uniting. No one principle of government had prevailed, — neither royalty, nor aristocracy, nor clergy. This is why Gaul lay open to invaders, — on the north to the Belgae and Germans, on the south to the Roman legions. Amid this chaos, however, some powerful States had been formed. These were the tribes, which,

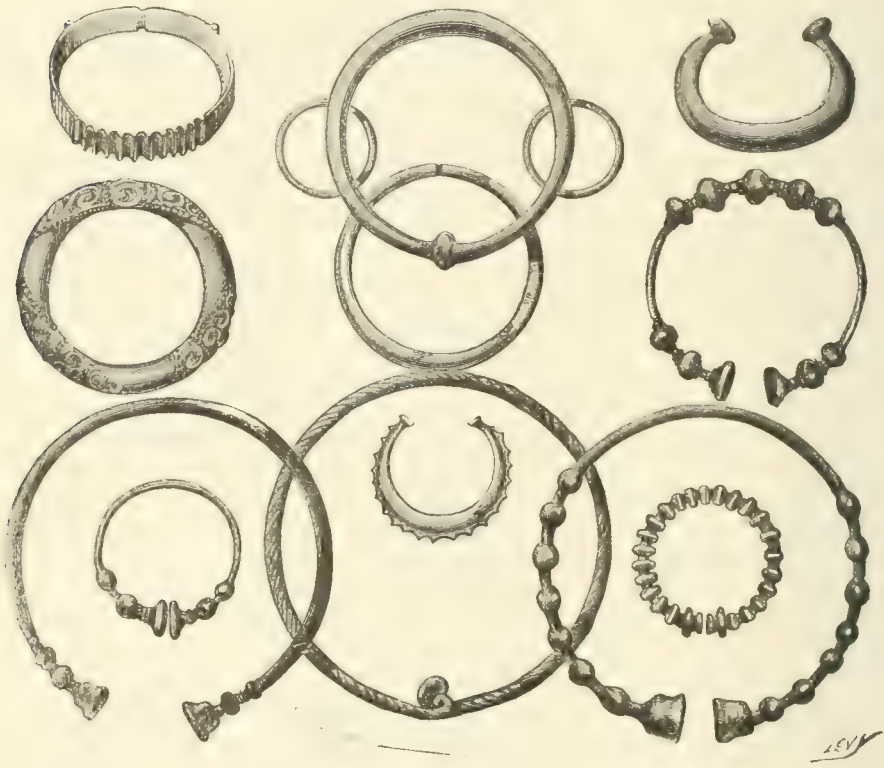


GOLDEN TORQUES¹ (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

being more numerous than their neighbors, had reduced them to dependence. As Gallic freemen placed themselves in the clientship of the great, so the smaller tribes had become, by choice or force, clients of the more powerful tribes, without parting with their internal liberty, and from this resulted great confederations, ruling over vast portions of Gallic territory. According to Strabo's account, the Arverni extended their sovereignty over the whole of Gaul; but this dominion we must reduce to more modest proportions.

¹ All these golden and bronze *torques* and bracelets come from tumuli, and are in the Museum of Saint Germain. See, too, *Dict. archéol.* vol. ii. part i. figs. 1-8.

These nations were ill acquainted with the municipal system, which brought about the greatness of the Græco-Italians and the civilization of the world. The social form which prevailed among them was that of the clan and of the tribe. The confederations of which we have just spoken were a first attempt at general organization. By spreading, and uniting with one another, they might



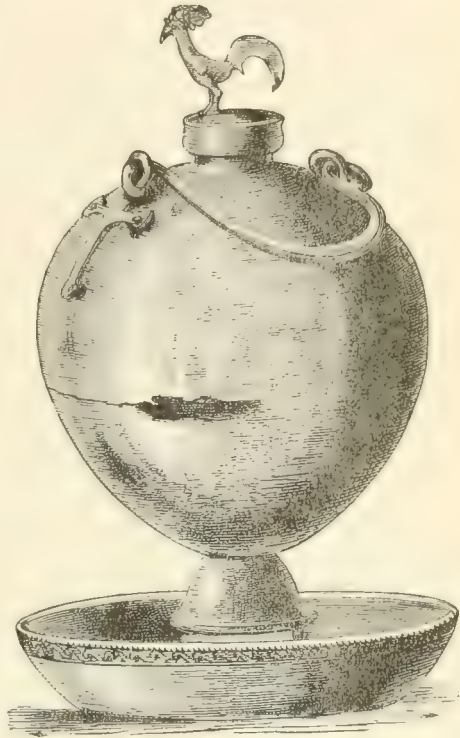
BRONZE TORQUES (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

have given peace to the land, and secured its independence. Unhappily the perception of the common peril awakened too late, and the whole of Gaul united itself but once, and then only to fall thus united beneath the sword of Caesar.

Though it could not yet be looked upon as a civilized land, the country had emerged from barbarism. Its tribes were no longer mere hordes of hunters wandering hither and thither, but communities settled upon the soil, whereon their hands and intelligence were already at work. They had a financial organization, custom-

duties, and taxes of various kinds.¹ Caesar contrasts the riches of Gaul with the poverty of Britain and Germany; and the wealth that he obtained from it was enough to buy the Roman people.

In his time the Gauls were acquainted with the art of working mines, and they carried it on very actively. The Aedui had manufactories for gold and silver; the Aquitani, for copper; and the Bituriges, for iron. This latter nation had even discovered the art, which remained traditional among them and their neighbors the Arverni, of plating with tin or white lead. The Aedui had invented silver plating: they thus ornamented the bits and harness of their horses. The chariot of King Bituitus was silvered, or perhaps even covered with silver plates. The chiefs wore iron coats-of-mail, a recent Gallic invention, and sometimes even a gilded cuirass; and our collections contain a quantity of arms, implements, collars (*torques*, pp. 271, 272), jewels, bronze vases, and enamelled objects manufactured by Gauls. They could weave and brocade stuffs; and their dyes were somewhat



BRONZE VASE SURMOUNTED BY A COCK.
(MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

¹ . . . *Dumnorigem . . . portoria reliquaque omnia Aeduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere* (*De Bell. Gall.* i. 18). The taxes were even extremely heavy: . . . *Cum magnitudine tributorum premuntur* (*Ibid.* vi. 13). The Veneti exacted dues from all who desired to make use of their ports (*Ibid.* iii. 8); the Valaisi, from the merchants who crossed the Great and Lesser Saint Bernard, etc.

² The beautiful vase of Graeckwyl was discovered in 1851 in a large tumulus, together with the remains of a chariot, two bronze buckles, and a funeral urn of terra-cotta. If it is not of Gallic manufacture, as the Etruscan or Oriental character of the raised work seems to indicate, it proves the existence of commercial relations with Marseilles, unless it reached the Helvetian chief in whose tomb it was buried, as spoil of war. The winged deity placed in the centre of the ornamentation is surmounted by a bird in repose, and flanked by four lions and two hares. Above, the wings spread on each side a broad-headed serpent. The Rhodians of Camirus thus represented their Diana; the inhabitants of Santorin did likewise. (*Dict. archéol. de la Gaule*, vol. i. pp. 461 sqq.)

famous. To them have been attributed the invention of the wheeled plough, the harrow, the horse-hair sieve, and the use of marl and ashes for manure. They made various kinds of fermented drinks, such as beer and hydromel. From the froth of beer they made-

GALLIC COIN.¹GALLIC COIN.²

yeast or leaven for bread. Although they had little wine, they are said to have been the first to manufacture the casks suitable for preserving it, while the Romans were still keeping it in leathern bottles, or earthenware jars. The rearing of domestic animals was

TETRADRACHM OF PHILIP.³

GALLIC IMITATION.

held in honor. Their geldings and oxen were sought after in Italy; and Celtic slaves were renowned for skill in the stables and cattle-stalls. The Massaliots, who were skilful in cultivating the vine and the olive, had taught some of their neighbors, and even the Helvetii, the use of Greek letters: the Arverni, bordering on Gallia Narbonensis, employed the Latin alphabet. We possess a great number

¹ Laurel-crowned head, facing right. On the reverse a horse, a hammer in front of the horse's chest; underneath, a vase or lamp. (*Dict. archéol.* vol. ii. part i. No. 286.) Both coins bear the same stamp on the reverse; but the obverse of the one is barbarous, while upon the other the influence of Marseilles is observable.

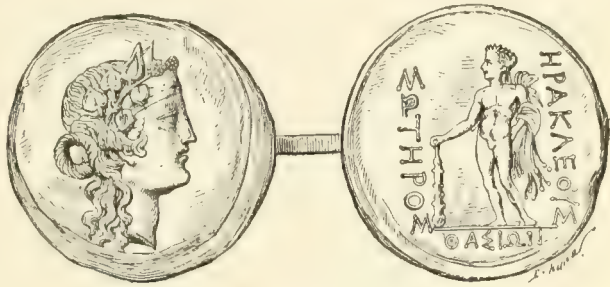
² Bust on the obverse. On the reverse a horse driven by a wild boar; underneath, an arrow fitted to a bow. (*Dict. archéol.* vol. ii. part i. No. 288.)

³ Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter. On the reverse ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, a Macedonian warrior on horseback, bearing a palm; underneath, a bunch of grapes. The comparison of these four pieces shows the difference between the Greek and Gallie civilizations and the effort made by the latter to imitate the former. The Gallie coins differ more and more from their models. Symbols and local emblems become more numerous around the horse and the boar, the national emblems; and there are what might be called federal coins, on which the symbols peculiar to several nations are united, proving that these coins circulated throughout the confederacy. After the conquest of Narbonensis, the Roman influence naturally made itself felt, especially in the centre of the country, where are found coins with Graeco-Latin legends.

of Gallic coins: on many of them is seen a horse without bridle, or a wild boar,—the double symbol of liberty and war.

Their monetary system was the same as that of the Gauls of the Danube, who, after the pillage of Greece, had copied the magnificent staters of Philip II., those of Thasos, and others. In their unskilled hands, however, the design had lost its beauty; but a sufficient number of these Macedonian pieces had found their way into Gaul to lead to the establishment of several mints, which produced some curious types, whereon the vanity of the chiefs led them to have themselves represented.¹

The activity of their commerce explains the wealth of Gaul; and it was facilitated by the bridges thrown across the rivers, the solidly constructed roads even across marshes,² a very active river navigation, and much coined money, which promoted exchange. The fine



TETRADRACHM OF THASOS.³

garnets which they found at the foot of many of their hills were much sought after by the Greeks, from the time of Alexander. By way of the Saône and the Rhone, the Sequani sent their salted provisions to Marseilles, whence they were distributed through Italy and Greece; and the Massaliot sailors also carried thither the cheeses of the Cevennes and the Alps, the wines of Béziers and of the slopes of the Durance, and slaves, who might sometimes be bought for an amphora of wine. In those days, with the immense demand for

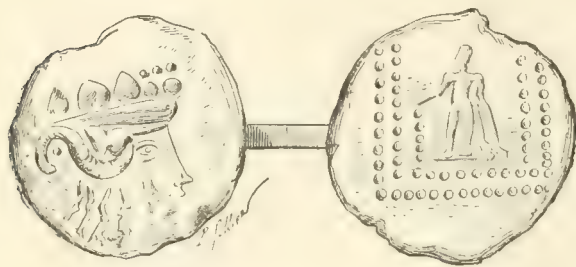
¹ In respect to the numerous mines in Gaul, see Ern. Desjardins (*Op. cit.* i. pp. 409–433). It has lately been discovered that tin was worked in Gaul in very early times; and digging for copper, silver, and gold, was more actively carried on there than it is now. The ancients, having many slaves, employed them on works producing little profit, not sufficient to maintain our free laborers; and, moreover, thanks to commerce, the rich lodes have caused the poor ones to be abandoned. Thus we see why Gaul was renowned for its wealth of precious metals, and France is not

² There still exist remains of the Gallic high-roads; and Caesar speaks of bridges built upon the Aisne, the Seine, the Loire, the Allier, and even the Rhone.

³ Head of Bacchus. On the reverse *HPAKΛEΩY ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΘΑΣΙΩΝ*; Hercules stands, leaning on his club, holding the skin of the Nemean lion.

slaves that existed among civilized nations, man was the commodity most in request, the one which could always be disposed of quickly and advantageously; and of this merchandise Gaul furnished much. She also exported coarse cloth and black pottery, and had frequent intercourse with the Island of Britain, the mart of which was Corbilo, at the mouth of the Loire. The Veneti around Morbihan even possessed a navy which in certain respects was superior to that of Rome or Greece. For the oar, the motive-power of war-fleets in classic times, they had substituted the sail, which allowed of distant voyages, and has been used up to our own days.

Towns multiplied, and were surrounded with ramparts formed



GALLIC IMITATION OF A COIN OF THASOS.

of several layers of trees and stones alternately, as was seen in the remains of the wall of Mursceints. The trees roughly hewn into beams, each forty feet long, were held together by inner cross-beams. Fire had no

effect upon the stones; and the battering-rams could do nothing against beams, the ends of which only they could reach. Julius Caesar admired this ingenious combination.

At Peran, near Saint Briene, and elsewhere, something more remarkable has been found. — a wall cemented with melted glass, a "glass castle," as it is called by the Scotch, who have seven or eight of these vitrified ramparts. This miracle was not difficult to execute: layers of sand and brush, with a great fire kept up for several days, would effect it. Some fire lighted on the strand or on the moorland no doubt revealed to the Gauls how easily sand could be vitrified. Thus the Phoenicians are said to have discovered the art of making glass.

Thus, alone and unaided, Gaul was developing. The country was divided indeed, but less so than Greece and Italy had been; and the elements of strength and civilization were not wanting. The questions have been asked: What would Gaul have become without the Roman Conquest? Was the loss of her independence a boon? Might there not, under the peaceful influence of the arts of Greece

and Italy, have issued finally from the Gallic society itself a civilization more original, and perhaps better, than that which Rome ingrafted?

Doubtless it is a pity that Gaul did not reach the complete development of her national life; but it was impossible that she should do so. Placed between the Romans, who in order to



OPPIDUM OF MURSCEINTS¹ (RESTORATION IN RELIEF IN THE MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN), p. 276.

protect Italy needed to have possession of the approaches to it, and the Germans, who for more than twenty centuries have coveted Gaul, this country could not fail to be the battlefield of the two hostile races. It was in Gaul that Marius had conquered the Teutons; it was there that Caesar was about to fight Ariovistus; and there, again, that the emperors, to the last days of the Empire, arrested invasions. The war which was about to commence was one of those historical fatalities over which thoughtful minds

¹ Restoration of the Gallic wall, the remains of which were discovered in 1868.

spend no vain regrets. "Since the rise of our Empire," says Cicero, "there is no man, who, having a clear view of the conditions of the existence of our Republic, has not thought that the Gauls constituted its greatest danger,"¹ and consequently their subjection was a necessity for Rome.



COIN OF
THE ALLOB-
ROGES.²

We have seen that the Romans had commenced the conquest of the Transalpine country sixty years previously, and that the tribes settled between Geneva and Toulouse and between Toulouse and Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges had recognized the authority of the Senate. From their great settlements of Narbo and Aquæ Sextiæ, the Romans kept watch over "long-haired" Gaul. They had humbled the powerful tribe of the Arverni by the defeat of Bituitus, and for their own interest had granted protection to the Aedui.³ Accordingly, the fear or the confidence with which Rome inspired these two nations which surrounded the Province had allowed the governors to impose all kinds of exactions with impunity. When the Allobroges, their patience being exhausted, rebelled, after the conspiracy of Catiline, they were crushed (61), and not a single Gaul drew his sword for them. Indeed, the condition of the country was not such that its tribes could devote themselves to a policy of war. Since the revolution which had overthrown the aristocratic forms of government, two parties had been formed in every city and village and almost in every family. The new republics, too young for their liberty to be a peaceful one, were subject to all the storms raised by rival or dissatisfied ambitions. About the time of Caesar's consulship, a chief of the Arverni had perished at the stake for attempting to re-establish the proscribed royal power:⁴ and at the very time certain nobles among the Helvetii, the Sequani, and the Aedui, were plotting the overthrow of the democratic government. Moreover, all the tribes were rivals: every year war broke out at many points.⁵ Proud of the humiliation of the Arverni and of the title of "allies of Rome."

¹ *De Provinciis consularibus*, 13.

² Chamois and wheel. Reverse of a coin of the Allobroges. The coins of the Allobroges of the mountains have, like this one, a chamois stamped on them. The others, belonging to the Allobroges of the shores of Lake Lemán, have a hippocampus. (Note by M. de Saulcy.)

³ Dion, xxxvii. 47-48; Livy, *Epit.* ciii.

⁴ Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* vii. 4.

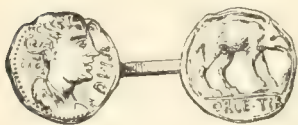
⁵ *Bellum incidit fere quotannis* (Caesar, *Ibid.* vi. 15).

the Aedui had taken advantage of their power, and of the fear inspired by the legions, to oppress their neighbors. Masters of the mid-course of the Loire through the fortified position of Noviodunum, and of that of the Saône through Châlon and Mâcon, they had forbidden the Arverni the navigation of the first-named of these rivers, and took heavy toll of the goods that the Sequani sent to Marseilles by the other. Driven to extremities, these two nations had united, and in order to make sure of the victory had taken into their pay fifteen thousand Suevi, with their chief, Ariovistus. The Aedui had been defeated, and obliged to give hostages; but the rejoicing of the Sequani over their victory had been speedily brought to an end. Having come from the damp forests and uncultivated lands of Germany, Ariovistus now refused to leave the beautiful country so imprudently laid open to him. Under various pretexts, he sent for eight times as many warriors as he had promised, and he demanded for them a third of the territory of the Sequani. The Aedui and Sequani, united by a common oppression, rose together against the German king. He evaded their wrath by

DIANA FOUND AT CHÂLON.¹

¹ Bronze statuette from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2957.

taking refuge beyond certain marshes, tired out their patience, and then seized a favorable opportunity for overpowering them. Their defeat at the confluence of the Saône and Oignon rendered him more rapacious. Now he required another third of the lands of the Sequani for twenty-four thousand Harudes, his allies.

COIN OF THE AEDUI.¹

Against these conquerors from the East, the Gauls invoked those from the South. Divitiacus, one of the leading men of the Aedui, came to Rome to claim the protection so often promised to his brethren. The answer was long delayed.

An unexpected event compelled the Senate to pay more attention to these complaints. News came that the Helvetii, tired of the continual incursions of the Suevi, intended to set forth to seek on the shores of great Ocean a milder

ORGETORIX.²

climate and a more tranquil life. But, with their allies of the right bank of the Rhine, the Helvetii numbered nearly four hundred thousand souls,³ and they intended taking the road through the Province. There was a double danger for Rome in this project: Helvetia when deserted would be occupied by the Suevi, whose prox-

COIN OF DUMNORIX.⁴

imity was to be dreaded, and in traversing Gaul these four hundred thousand emigrants would cause disorders there, the consequences of which could not be foreseen. Moreover, one of their chiefs, Orgetorix, hoped that, under cover of these movements, he might recover the royal authority which his forefathers had exercised. Casticus, a chief of the Sequani, and Dumnorix the Aeduan, having been initiated into his schemes, were to second him, and to receive from him the support necessary to effect

¹ Silver coin of the Aedui; a bear.

² Bust of Diana with a necklace of pearls and her quiver on her shoulder: the word EDVIS recalls the alliance between the Aedui and the Helvetii, attested by Caesar. On the reverse a bear, which Berne has retained in its arms. Silver denarius. We borrow from M. de Sauley (*Numismatique des chefs gaulois*) all the coins given in our narrative of the Gallic wars.

³ According to the registers, kept in the Greek language, which Caesar found in their camp, the emigrants numbered three hundred and sixty-eight thousand, of whom ninety-two thousand were fighting men (*Bell. Gall.* i. 29).

⁴ Dumnorix, or Doubnorix. Head with the hair in great curls and with the torques. On the reverse a horse galloping. (De Sauley, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 9.)

a similar revolution in their own country; then these barbaric leaders proposed to subdue the whole of Gaul.¹ The plans of Orgetorix were discovered; but the death of that chief did not divert the nation from their projected plan of emigration. At Rome a well-grounded alarm prevailed, for men called to mind the part which the Helvetii had taken in the Cimbrian invasion forty years previously. Three senators were despatched to Gaul with a *senatus-consultum*, giving the governor of Narbonensis unlimited power to do whatever he should consider useful to the Republic, and to protect the allies of the Roman people. The Aedui, won over by this decree, undertook, with the aid of the Sequani, to close the passes of Mount Jura.

The Helvetii and their allies had allowed themselves three years to complete their preparations:² the third year fell in the proconsulship of Caesar. Thus it was to him that this war would fall, in execution of the senatorial decree of 61. In anticipation of it, and with the design of sowing discord in advance among his enemies, he sought, as early as the year 59, to attach Ariovistus to himself by causing to be conferred upon him the title of "friend of the Roman people." The barbarian king gave a promise, in fact, that he would offer no obstacle to the plan decided upon against the Helvetii. In March, 58 B.C., Caesar set out for Narbonensis, one of his three provinces, and in eight days reached Geneva. The Helvetii, in order to deprive themselves of all desire to return, had just burned their twelve cities and four hundred villages: they had agreed to meet on the banks of the Rhone on the 28th of March.

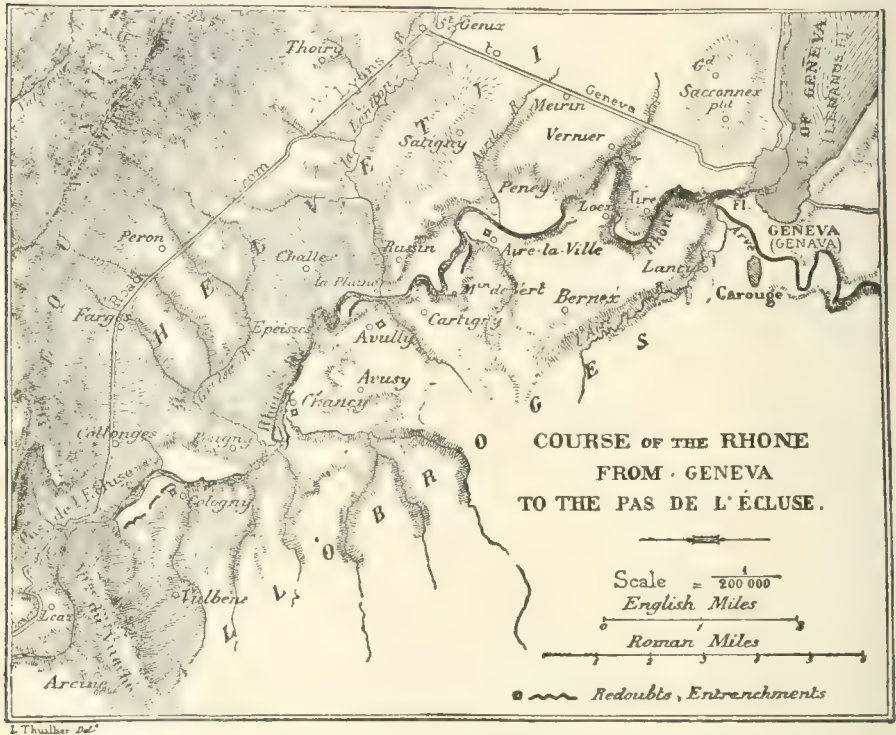
II. — CAESAR'S FIRST CAMPAIGN (58); VICTORIES OVER THE HELVETII AND ARIOVISTUS.

THE Rhone, descending from the Saint Gothard, flows between two chains of lofty mountains as far as Lake Leman, which it forms, and whence it issues at Geneva to dash itself, a few leagues

¹ *Per tres potentissimos . . . Galliae totius sese potiri posse sperant* (Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* i. 3).

² Caesar, *Ibid.* i. 3: *In tertium annum.*

below that town, against the Jura and a spur of the Alps called Mount Vuache. After a struggle in which the river finally triumphs, it makes a breach in the mountain, and it emerges from Switzerland through a tremendous gorge which separates Franche-Comté from Savoy, the country of the Sequani from that of the Allobroges. To



COURSE OF THE RHONE. FROM GENEVA TO THE PAS DE L'ÉCLUSE.

reach the interior of Gaul, there was no other way for the Helvetii, unless they plunged into the ravines of the Southern Jura, scarcely practicable for a migration of this kind, or crossed the Rhone at some point between Lake Lemman and the mountains of the Allobroges. But Caesar was at Geneva, and had already broken down the bridge there. The Helvetii, hesitating to entangle themselves in the Pas de l'Écluse, where a few resolute men might stop an army, asked of the proconsul a passage through the territory of the Allobroges. As he had as yet only one legion, he postponed his answer till the 13th



COIN OF THE
ALLOBRO-
GES.¹

¹ Hippocampus. Reverse of a silver coin of the Allobroges of Lake Lemman.



GAUL IN THE TIME OF CÆSAR

Scale
Mycrometres
Roman Miles



of April, thus giving himself a delay of fifteen days, of which he made good use. When the deputies returned, they found that these few days had sufficed him to fortify all the easily accessible points on the left bank of the river, from the Jura to the extremity of Lake Lemán,—a distance of over sixteen miles.¹ Troops hurriedly brought from the Province lined the ramparts, and all the attempts of the Barbarians to force a passage across the Rhone failed. They were obliged to fall back upon the Jura route. Dumnorix and Casticus obtained for them the consent of the Sequani, and, paying no heed to the refusal of the Aedui, the horde made their way towards the Saône, rejoicing that they had left behind them those dangerous defiles.



CUPS OF THE SEQUANI AND REMI, OF RED EARTHENWARE.²

¹ The Emperor Napoleon III., who had the ground carefully studied, does not think that Caesar formed a continuous intrenchment, as his words would indicate (*De Bell. Gall.* i. 8). From a report drawn up by Baron Stoffel, who was sent by the emperor to make a survey of the place, it appears that the points fortified by Caesar must have been as follows: the first, below Aire-la-Ville; the second, to the north of Cartigny; the third, to the north-west of Avully; the fourth, below Chancy, on the two sides of the Laire, where it enters the Rhone; the fifth, between Coligny and Pas de l'Écluse. These works are the first examples of the lines of defence with which the Empire was afterwards to protect every vulnerable part of its frontiers. At the present day there exists in this part of the course of the Rhone only one ford,—between Russin on the right, and Le Moulin de Vert on the left. The second volume of the “*Vie de César*” of Napoleon III. is the most complete commentary yet made upon Caesar’s book, thanks to the careful study of known localities, the search for those about which doubt has existed, the numerous excavations ordered, and the examination of all questions of topography, archæology, military art, and science involved in the text.

² The cup of the Sequani was found at Geneva in 1862 (cf. *Gazette arch.*, 1877, p. 179).

By skilful management, and without the loss of a single man, Caesar had thus saved the Province from a dangerous invasion. The peril was thrown back upon the Aedui; but Caesar had already resolved to make use of the authority given by the *senatus-con-*



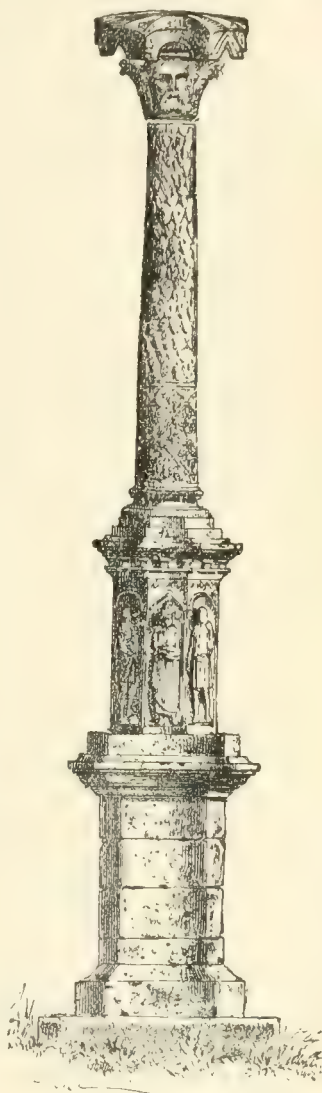
sultum of 61 B.C., to go outside of his provinces, and succor the allies of Rome.¹

The march of the Helvetii was so slow, that he had time to go to Italy for five legions, and return to find the Barbarians still

and pl. 17). With it we give that of the Remi, which is very much like it, and a transcript of the two inscriptions: *Sequanis Felicitas; Remis Feliciter (Ibid.)*.

¹ See p. 282. Caesar availed himself of the authority given him by this *senatus consultum* for the whole of his war against the Gauls: it secured legality for his operations, without the necessity of obtaining further decrees from the Senate or the people, and thus allowed him to raise fresh legions, and to add war to war each year, till the whole of Gaul was conquered (*De Bell. Gall.* i. 35).

occupied, as they had been for the last twenty days, in crossing the Saône, which the Aeduan troops had not dared to defend. He probably established himself at Sathonay, and waited there till three-quarters of the hostile army had reached the other side of the river, when he destroyed the rear-guard, left upon the eastern bank, on the hill of Mâcon (in June); then, throwing his whole army across the river in one day, he came upon the entire horde, which was moving northwards. For a fortnight he followed it at a very short distance, without finding an opportunity for an engagement, until, provisions failing him through the treachery of Dumnorix, he resolved to go and obtain them from the very capital of the Aedui, Bibracte (on Mount Beuvray, eight miles from Autun). The Helvetii believed him to be retreating, and fell upon his rear-guard; but they found the whole army drawn up in battle-array, and there ensued a violent struggle, which lasted until the middle of the night, with immense slaughter among the Gauls. At the commencement of the action, Caesar had sent away his horse as a sign that he wished to share all the perils of his soldiers (end of June, or beginning of July). The remainder of the horde hastened its march northwards in order to reach the Rhine and Germany. Being soon overtaken, they gave up their arms, and, by order of the proconsul, the survivors of this disastrous migration (a hundred and ten thousand men) returned to their mountains, which



MONUMENT OF CUSSEY, NEAR
AUTUN.¹

¹ *Revue arch.*, 1860 and 1879. The last act of the battle against the Helvetii has been placed on the *chaumes* (stubble-fields) of Auvénay, twelve miles from Autun, and it has been thought that the fragments of the Column of Cussy found at that spot were the remains of a monument commemorative of Caesar's victory. But the "Commentaries" give no geographical information by which the scene of the action can be recognized. The numerous barrows of

Caesar was unwilling to leave for the occupation of the Germans. The Allobroges received orders to provide them with wheat until they had sowed their land again.

The Boii, a tribe in alliance with the Helvetii, remained, with Caesar's permission, among the Aedui, who established them upon their south-western frontier (Beaujolais) to defend it against the Arverni. They were the descendants of that brave nation which had quitted Italy rather than live there subject to Rome. Threatened on the banks of the Danube by the Getae, they had joined their fortunes with those of the Helvetii, and returned, after a lapse of more than five centuries, to their early fatherland. There they were again doomed to meet with the dominion which they had so long avoided.

Gaul was then placed between two invasions, — that of the Suevi, a wild and barbaric force; and that of the Romans, an admirably organized power, — both of them formidable to a people who did not know how to unite their interests and their valor. The Suevi inspired fear by their barbarism. "Every year," says Caesar, "the warriors go in search of combats and booty. They never dwell in the same district more than one year: they live less on wheat than on milk, meat, and game. Their garments are the skins of beasts, which leave the greater part of the body exposed. They do not allow wine or foreign commodities to be brought among them, and love to surround themselves with vast solitudes. These great depopulated territories appear to them to reflect glory upon the nation which has committed such ravages: they are a proof that many tribes were unable to resist their arms. It is said that behind them, on the east, they have rendered desert a space of six hundred thousand paces." No wonder that Gaul, unable to close her gates against guests like these, was eager to free herself from them by the hand of Rome.

The war with the Helvetii being over, Caesar found himself opposed to Ariovistus. He took care not to reject the entreaties of the Gauls when the deputies of the principal cities, gathered in general assembly (*concilium totius Galliae*), came to implore his support against the German king; for these Barbarians were a far greater

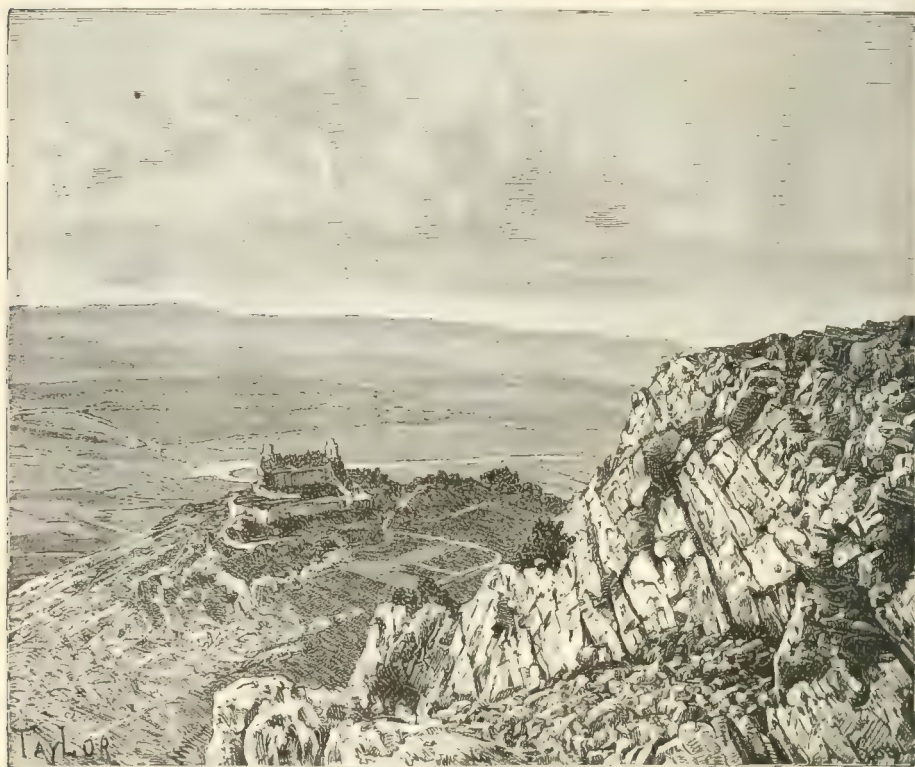
the plateau are a very ancient cemetery, not the immense ossuary of a battlefield, and the architectural details of the column indicate an epoch posterior to that of the Antonines. Nevertheless, we give a representation of the monument, which has played an important part in the attempts made to discover the spot where Caesar gained his first great victory.

cause of uneasiness to the Roman province than the Helvetii had been. Hannibal had imposed upon Rome the necessity of subduing Spain, whence had come the great blow of the Second Punic War: the conquest of that country had compelled the Senate to secure a road between the Alps and the Pyrenees, and the safety of the province formed along this military road required that the territorial *status quo* created in Gaul by the victories of Fabius and Domitius should not be changed. Such is the chain of historic necessities from which the Gallic war was the last and glorious consequence.

The proconsul sent to Ariovistus proposing an interview. The latter replied haughtily, "If I wanted Caesar, I should go in search of him: Caesar wants me, let him come to me." The proconsul making a threatening answer, Ariovistus retorted, "No man ever yet attacked me who did not have cause to repent of it. If Caesar desires, let us try our strength against each other, and he will learn what these warriors are, who for fourteen years have never slept under a roof." At the same time, the Aedui reported that the Harudes were invading their lands; and the Treveri sent word that new troops, furnished by the hundred districts of the Suevi, were approaching the Rhine. All Germany was astir, and there was not a moment to lose in repelling the invasion, of which Ariovistus was but the vanguard.

Caesar hastened towards him by forced marches in the direction of the important stronghold of Vesontio (Besançon), which Ariovistus attempted to seize, but was forestalled by Caesar, who reached the place about the beginning of August. The description he gives of it proves the exactness of the information he obtained, for this description might serve at the present day: "The city is so well defended by nature, that it affords every facility for war. The Dubis surrounds it almost completely, with the exception of a space sixteen hundred feet wide, which is occupied by a hill, whose base on each side is washed by the river. A wall surrounds it, and makes of it a fortress which is united to the city." Here Caesar halted a few days to collect provisions and gain a knowledge of the country. This delay was near proving fatal to him. His soldiers, terrified by the stories of the inhabitants about the great stature and courage of the Germans, were unwilling to advance farther. Throughout the camp every man made his will. Those least alarmed pointed out the diffi-

culty of the roads, the depth of the forests, the impossibility of transport or revictualling: it was even reported to Caesar that the soldiers had resolved not to obey him when he gave the order to raise the standards. He assembled a council of war, at which the centurions were present; he reminded them of all the victories of the legions over the nations of the north, — those of Marius over the Cimbri and Teutons, of Crassus over the gladiators, those he himself had just won over the Helvetii, so often themselves conquerors of the Suevi; and



ENVIRONS OF BESANÇON.

he represented Ariovistus as having gained the advantage over the Gauls only by subterfuges useless against Romans. "As for those," said he, "who, in order to hide their fears, talk of the difficulty of the roads and of obtaining provisions, they are very rash to pretend to point out to their general his duties, or to think that he will forget them. That is his care, and he has provided for it. The wheat will be furnished by the Sequani, the Lingones (Langres), and the Leuci (Toul): already it stands ripe in the fields. As for the roads,

they shall soon judge of them. It is asserted that the soldiers will refuse to obey. Their general does not believe this; for an army never becomes mutinous but with an incapable or criminal leader. For himself, his whole life bears witness to his integrity; and the war with the Helvetii, to his good fortune. Accordingly he will fix the start earlier. On the following night, at the fourth watch, the camp shall be struck; for he is impatient to see whether fear triumphs over duty and honor in the hearts of his soldiers. Should the army not follow him, he will set out with only the tenth legion: it shall be his praetorian cohort." The tenth legion, flattered by the confidence he had shown in it, promised its absolute devotion; and the others, through their tribunes and centurions, protested their submission to the orders of the leader, "who alone had the direction of the war."

Two roads led from Besançon to the valley of the Rhine: the one shorter, but mountainous and wooded, and consequently difficult; the other fifty miles longer, skirting this thick forest in the direction between Besançon and Vesoul. Caesar took the latter, and, after seven days' march, arrived in the valley of the Upper Rhine, whither no Roman had ever yet penetrated. Ariovistus was encamped there. He asked of the proconsul a conference midway between the two camps. Each repaired thither with ten horsemen: those of Caesar were soldiers of the tenth legion, whom he had mounted on Gallic horses. "He exceeds his promises," said they; "he was to make us praetorians, and here we are knights (*equites*)."¹ Ariovistus reproached the proconsul with having entered his territories as a foe. This part of Gaul, he said, was his province, as the Senate had theirs. He was not such a barbarian as not to understand, that, under the mask of friendship, Caesar was intending to subjugate the Gauls; and he added, "If thou dost not depart with thy army, I shall treat thee as an enemy; and know that many messengers have come to me on behalf of the nobles of Rome, offering me their friendship and their gratitude if I rid them of thee.¹ But leave me in free possession of Gaul, and, without fatigue or danger on thy part, I will take upon myself all the wars that thou wouldest undertake."

¹ Caesar gives these as the words of Ariovistus. Are they authentic? The implacable hatred of the nobles against the proconsul of Gaul, whom at a later period they would have willingly given up to the Germans, would lead us to think so.

Caesar had no idea of retiring; but Ariovistus refused battle for several days. This was because the women-diviners of the Suevi



MEDALLION OF OLBIA (OBVERSE).¹

had consulted the Fates by listening to the murmur of the waters, and studying the circles made by a stone thrown into the river; and the Fates had replied, "You must not fight till after the new moon has shown its silver crescent." Upon hearing this from some prisoners, Caesar was only the more anxious to bring on the action. He succeeded in forcing the Germans to accept the combat before the lucky

time fixed by their prophetesses. The battle was a desperate one, but ended disastrously for the Barbarians (10th of September). Only a small number escaped, and among them Ariovistus, who was wounded, and with difficulty recrossed the Rhine.

A few days before the battle, Ariovistus again asking for an interview, Caesar had sent him M. Mettius, and the Gaul Valerius Proculus, whose father had obtained from one of the governors of Gallia Narbonensis the title of citizen. Proculus spoke Celtic, and could converse with the German, who understood that language. But, upon their entry into his camp, he treated them as spies, and had them



MEDALLION OF OLBIA (REVERSE).

¹ Mask, or gorgon, front face. On the reverse, APXI, the initials of ἀρχιερεύς (?), high priest, or ἀρχεπαυκόν (?), pontifical; eagle upon a fish. Bronze medallion of Olbia.

put in irons. In the rout their guards were dragging them away, when Caesar, who was pursuing the enemy at the head of his cavalry, rescued them. Fortune, he said, was unwilling to mar the joy of his triumph by the loss of the man most highly esteemed in the Province, his guest and his friend. Procillus related how he had thrice seen the Fates consulted in order to decide whether he should be burnt immediately or later. Two of the wives of Ariovistus and one of his daughters were killed, and probably many of their female companions; for the women had placed themselves, as at the battle of Aquae Sextiae, on the chariots with which the Suevi had covered the flanks and rear of the army.

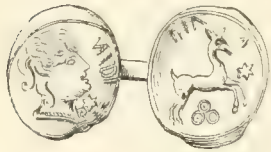
The news of this defeat spread joy through Gaul, and grief through Germany. The Suevi withdrew from the Rhine, and plunged into their forests. In a single campaign Caesar had terminated two formidable wars (58 B.C.). He returned into Cisalpine Gaul to pass the winter, there to receive the congratulations of his friends at Rome, and to fulfil the judicial duties of his office by holding assizes (*conventus*) in the principal towns of the province. Thence, too, he watched the restless tribes of Pannonia. They also were Celts, and at the report of the Gallic combats and the victories of their neighbors, the Getae, over the Greeks of Olbia and the coast of Thrace,¹ might be tempted to take the road to the Adriatic, where they would have found the bones of the legions destroyed by their forefathers. Skilful negotiations, of which only faint traces remain, retained the Pannonians in alliance with Rome; and Caesar, having nothing to fear for his eastern provinces, could strip them of troops, and carry all his forces into Gaul.²

¹ The rich city of Olbia, on the Hypanis (Bug), and all the towns of the north-western littoral of the Empire, as far as Apollonia, were destroyed about this time by the Getae (Dion Chrys. *Orat.* xxxvi.).

² The Gauls of the Danube had, like our own, already issued from the state of barbarism. As early as the fourth century before Christ, they had struck coins (see p. 290); whereas the Germans had no coinage until Charlemagne's time, and the Slavs, not until the eleventh century of our era (Fr. von Pulszky, *Monum. de la domination celtique en Hongrie*, in the *Revue arch.*, September, 1879).

III.—SECOND CAMPAIGN: OPERATIONS AGAINST THE BELGAE (56 B.C.).

THE defeat of Ariovistus had freed the Aedui and Sequani from slavery; but some of their clients, instead of again placing themselves under their protection, had entreated that of the Remi, a powerful tribe of Belgica; and Caesar had not opposed this defection. Moreover, instead of returning into Italy, the legions had taken up

ALOBRODIOS.¹

winter-quarters upon their territory, and it appeared that the valley of the Saône was already, like that of the Rhone, a Roman province. Discontent succeeded enthusiasm. The Aedui and Sequani feared they had only changed masters. The people were exasperated at a remark made by Caesar which had given rise to the belief that he proposed re-establishing royalty; and ambitious men apprehended that it was no longer their adversaries, but Rome, with whom they must now contend. A fresh war postponed these fears for a time.

GALBA.²

The Belgae had met in general assembly, and had decided upon a levy in mass: two hundred and ninety-six thousand men were to be ready in the spring, under the orders of Galba, the war-chief of the Suessiones and Bellovacii. Warned of these movements by letters from his lieutenant Labienus, Caesar enrolled two new legions in Italy, despatched them towards Belgica, and, as soon as the season permitted, arrived in person upon the frontier. He had long beforehand prepared the Remi to play in the north the part which Massilia had played in the south, and

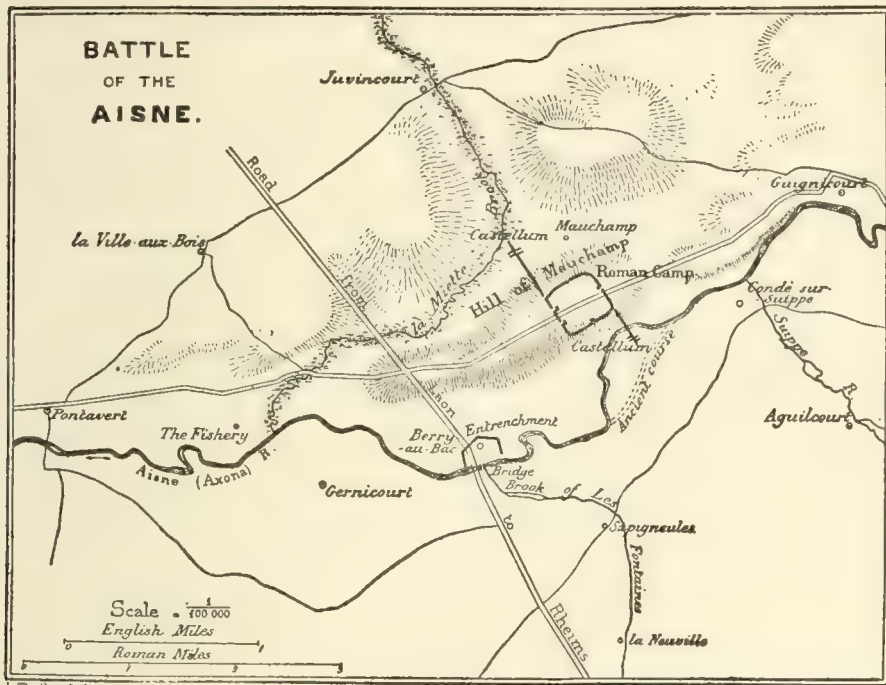
ANTEBROGIUS.³

¹ Head of chief named ALOBRODIOS, of the tribe of the Remi, or the Suessiones.

² Head ornamented with a *torquis*, with the name of CALOVA, or Galoua, which Caesar makes into Galba (De Sauley, *Op. cit.* No. 30).

³ Tiara, with diadem. On the reverse a horse galloping; below, the wild boar standard: ANDECOM (De Sauley, *Op. cit.* No. 15).

the Aedui in the centre; that is to say, to open to him the country, to guide him in his march, and to prepare the way for defections. They acquitted themselves of the task with shameful devotion. Iccius and Antebrogius, two of the principal chiefs, came to tell him that their nation intrusted themselves to the good faith of the Roman people, that they would do all that was ordered them, that they would deliver up hostages, their strongholds, and provisions. Caesar required the whole senate to come to him, and the sons of the most noble families to be given him as hostages.



BATTLE OF THE AISNE.

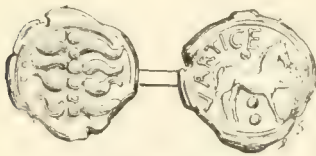
It was in the territory of the Remi, in the neighborhood of Bibrax (Vieux-Laon), that he encountered the Belgae. For some time he hesitated to risk his eight legions (sixty thousand men) against nearly three hundred thousand Barbarians, renowned as the bravest in Gaul. In order to divide them, he secretly sent Divitiacus and the army of the Aedui with orders to devastate the country of the Bellovaci in rear of the confederates, whilst he himself took the precautions necessary in such remote countries. He constructed at Berry-au-Bac a fortified bridge, where he stationed six cohorts, under

the command of Titurius Sabinus, to protect his convoys and, in case of need, his retreat; then with his legions he took up a strong position on the right bank of the Aisne. Thence he could without danger study the Barbarians' method of fighting, and familiarize his troops with their aspect. This caution encouraged the Barbarians. They tried to carry Bibrax, which was held by Iccius, a chief of the Remi. A re-enforcement sent by Caesar at the right moment obliged them to retire after a furious attack. As the Romans refused to cross the marshy land, the Belgæ decided to turn the position by crossing the

THE SUESSIO, DIVITIACUS.¹

Aisne lower down. Caesar, warned by his scouts, despatched against them his cavalry, who drove them into the bed of the river, and inflicted great slaughter upon them. This double check caused great disorder in their army. The news of the attack of Divitiacus completed the discomfiture. The Bellovaci, to the number of sixty thousand, hastened to protect their homes, the other tribes followed the fatal example; and Caesar had only to send his cavalry in pursuit, and the retreat was changed into a disorderly flight. For a whole day the Romans slaughtered without any resistance (57 B.C.).²

The coalition being dissolved, it only remained to subdue the tribes in detail,—an easier task, but one requiring more time. Caesar threw all his activity into it. On the following day he marched against the Suessiones, and took their capital, Noviodunum (Soissons). Their king, Galba, saved by the entreaties of the Remi,

COIN OF THE NERVII.³

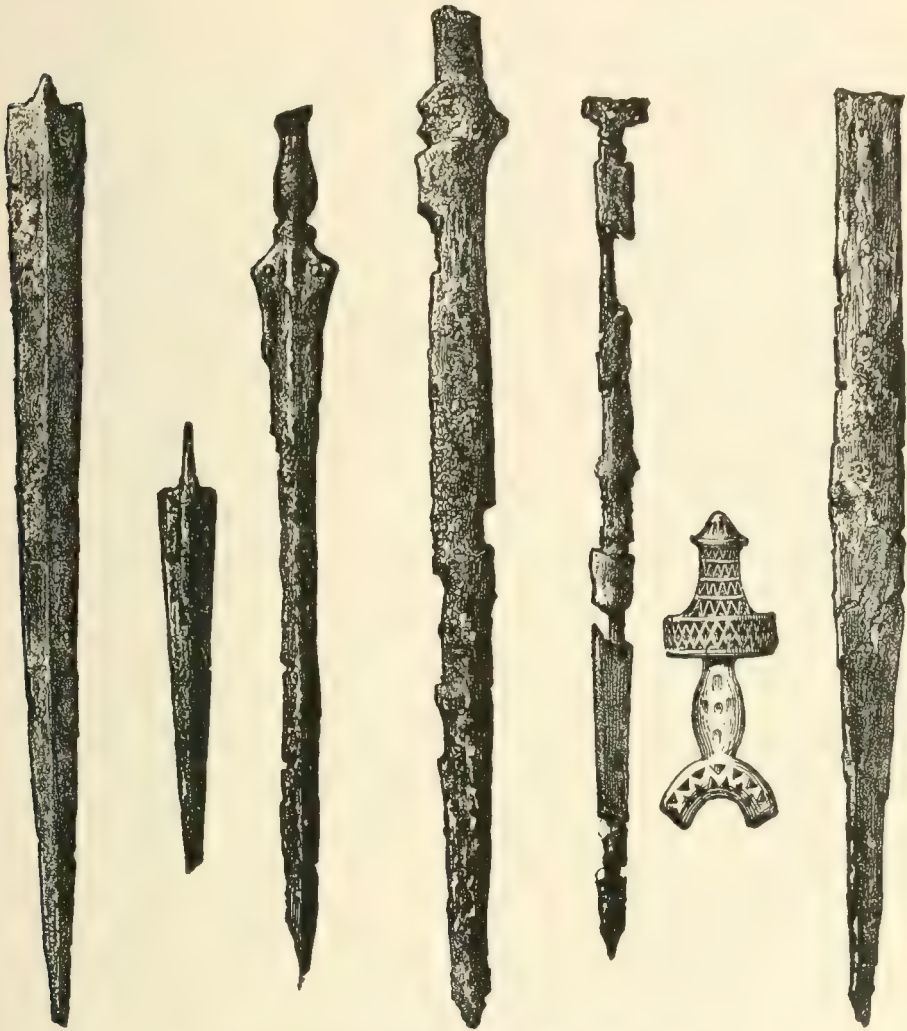
gave his sons as hostages. Thence the proconsul passed into the territory of the Bellovaci (Beauvais). Terror preceded him. Besieging their strongest position, he found only women and old men: the chiefs had fled to the Island of Britain. His politic generosity granted the pardon of the Bellovaci to the prayers of the

¹ Divitiacus, or Divitiæ, King of the Suessiones, the predecessor of Galba (De Sauley, *Op. cit.* No. 25).

² *Sine ullo periculo . . . interfecerunt quantum fuit diei spatium* (Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* ii. 11). The map given on p. 293 is taken from the "Histoire de César" by Napoleon III., vol. ii. p. 89.

³ A horse with the name of a Nervian VARTICE, who helped to save Cicero when he was besieged in his camp. On the reverse a branch with leaves in pairs. (De Sauley, *Op. cit.* No. 35.)

Aeduan Divitiacus, as he had yielded that of the Suessiones to the solicitations of the Remi. The Ambiani (Amiens) hastened to give hostages.



IRON SWORDS (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).¹

Half Belgica was subdued: the Marne, the Aisne, and the Somme had been crossed, and as yet the Roman army had encountered no serious dangers. But they were now about to begin. Caesar wished to penetrate into the wild country of the Nervii (Hainault). Immense marshes, forests through which the legions

¹ Swords, and remains of swords, of iron from various tumuli (Museum of Saint Germain).

could advance only by opening a way with the axe, and hedges formed of young trees, their branches bent in a horizontal direction and interwoven with briars and thorns, protected the territories of this nation, who rejected the name of Gauls, and boasted of their German origin. They had no towns, drove away merchants, and denied themselves the use of wine and of every enervating luxury. In conjunction with the Atrebatæ (Arras) and the Viromandui (inhabitants of Vermandois, Saint-Quentin), they awaited the Romans beyond the Sambre (in the neighborhood of Maubeuge).¹ In marching-order each legion was followed by its baggage, and the whole army formed a long column. Apprised of this by Gallic deserters, the Nervii prepared to surprise the legions one after another; and they waited, hidden in the wood, for the first to appear. But, on coming into the enemy's neighborhood, Caesar had altered his arrangements. Six legions marched together; and the two last, composed of fresh levies, kept guard over the baggage, gathered in one convoy. As soon as the army appeared, and had commenced the preparations for encampment, the Nervii dashed forward, and crossed the Sambre, which was everywhere fordable in that district. Their attack was so impetuous, that "the leaders had no time to assume their uniform, the soldiers to put on their helmets and take the covers off their shields. Each legionary, as he hastened up from his work, took his place near the first standard that he saw, lest, in seeking his own, he should lose time in the battle."

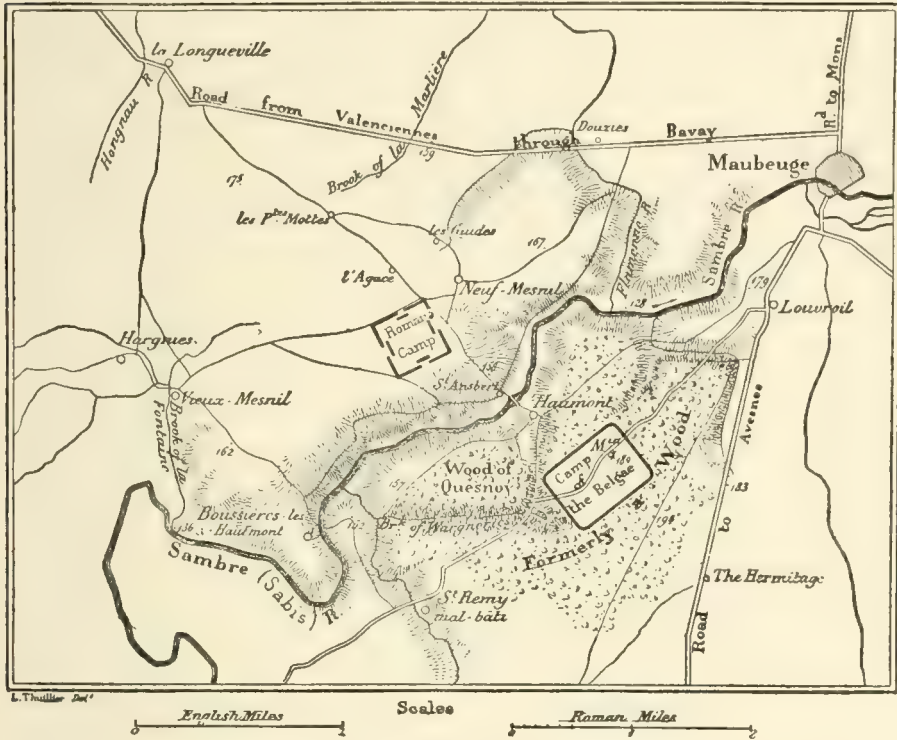
GERMAN AUXILIARY.²

up and turned the hill. On this side the scarcely marked-out camp

¹ Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, vol. i. p. 95.

² From the Column of Trajan.

was taken; the legions were separated from each other, and all the centurions of the twelfth legion slain, or severely wounded. The auxiliary light troops fled, even the Treveri, the bravest horsemen of Gaul, who set out for their own territory, spreading in all directions the report that the Romans were defeated and their baggage carried off. Caesar himself believed the battle to be lost: seizing a shield, he dashed forward, re-formed his line, and fought



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF THE SAMBRE.¹

like a common soldier. His troops, encouraged by this example, drove the Nervian troops a few paces backwards. He availed himself of the space which this vigorous effort gave him to deploy his crowded cohorts, and by degrees bring the legions closer together that they might support one another. The battle was renewed with more order; discipline and tactics regained their advantage; the

¹ Belgian writers, with the exception of M. Renard (*Hist. polit. et milit. de la Belgique*) place this battle at the village of Prêle, two leagues from Charleroi. M. Renard agrees with Napoleon in putting it near Maubeuge

rear-guard had time to hasten up ; and Labienus, who was pursuing the Atrebates, sent his tenth legion to the proconsul's aid. There was great loss among the Nervii. "Of our six hundred senators," said their old men to Caesar, "only three remain ; of sixty thousand fighting men, five hundred have escaped."¹

Such valiant foes inspired their conqueror with respect.² "It is not to be wondered at," said he, "that men so intrepid should have dared to cross a broad river, climb its steep banks, and fight in the most unfavorable place. The greatness of their courage rendered the most difficult enterprise easy to them."

The battle of the Sambre was one of the occasions upon which Caesar fought for life : it laid Belgica at his feet. Only the Aduatuci still remained in arms. They were descended from the Cimbri, who, nearly half a century earlier, had invaded Gaul. Six thousand of these Barbarians, left on the banks of the Rhine in charge of the heavy baggage of the horde, had made a settlement there, occupying the region near the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, where other Germans had doubtless joined them. They had promised their assistance to the Nervii ; but the news of the disaster made them draw back. Expecting soon to be attacked, they abandoned their villages, and took refuge, with all they possessed, in the strongest of their fastnesses. It was a mass of steep rocks crowned by a plateau, reached by a gently sloping path two hundred feet broad, which was, however, intersected by a trench and a double wall formed of enormous stones. If we believe this *oppidum* to have been situated at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, on the hill which now bears the citadel of Namur, it was also protected on two sides by those rivers.³

On the approach of the legions, the Aduatuci hastened bravely to meet them, and engaged in skirmishes, which did not stop Caesar's works. In a short time a counter-work, twelve feet high, fifteen

¹ These figures are much exaggerated ; for the Nervii are soon afterwards found to have become formidable again.

² He did more than praise their courage : he provided for the needs of the women, the children, and the old men, who had taken refuge in the marshes ; he left them the whole territory of their nation, and enjoined upon the neighboring tribes to protect the remnant of them against all violence.

³ Such is the opinion of the Emperor Napoleon III. Two other sites have been proposed : Mount Falhèze, on the left bank of the Meuse, opposite Huy ; and Saint Antoine, near Philippeville.

miles long, and furnished with redoubts, put a stop to sorties; then the Romans formed an earthwork, made mantlets, and constructed, out of reach of arrow-shot, a tower, of which the upper story was to overtop the rampart. "On seeing this, the besieged began to deride us from the battlements, asking us what we intended doing with such a heavy machine, and how men of our size and make could move it. But, when they saw it approaching their walls, they were terror-struck, and sent ambassadors to sue for peace. They were required to deliver up their arms, which they did, throwing such quantities of them into the trenches of the place, that they were piled up almost as high as the walls." But they had still retained some: on the following night, hoping to surprise the Roman camp, they made an attack. Signal-fires gave the alarm; from all sides the soldiers hastened toward the point attacked;¹ four thousand Aduatuci fell at the foot of the intrenchment; all the rest, to the number of fifty-three thousand, were sold on the following day to the slave-merchants who followed the army. These descendants of the Cimbri met the same fate as their forefathers.²

During these last fights the young Crassus, who had distinguished himself in the battle against Ariovistus, had been detached with one legion to scour the country between the Seine and the Loire. He had met with no resistance: all the tribes of that region, impressed by the fame of Caesar's victories, and unprepared for war, had resigned themselves to recognize the sovereignty of Rome, and to give hostages. This expedition had therefore been a mere military parade.

After the second campaign (57 B.C.), Gaul appeared subdued, and several Germanic tribes on the right bank of the Rhine sent humble deputations to the victor. Caesar left seven legions, however, in winter-quarters in the valley of the Loire, to keep watch over the tribes who had lately seen the Roman arms, but had not felt them; and the twelfth legion, with part of the cavalry under Galba, received orders to keep open a free passage between Celtica and Italy, across the Great Saint Bernard, by which Italian merchants already passed to and fro. Caesar himself proposed to employ the winter in

¹ *Celeriter, ut ante Caesar imperarat, ignibus significatione facta (De Bell. Gall. ii. 33).*

² The same remark applies to the Nervii. The Aduatuci remained one of the important nations of Belgium.

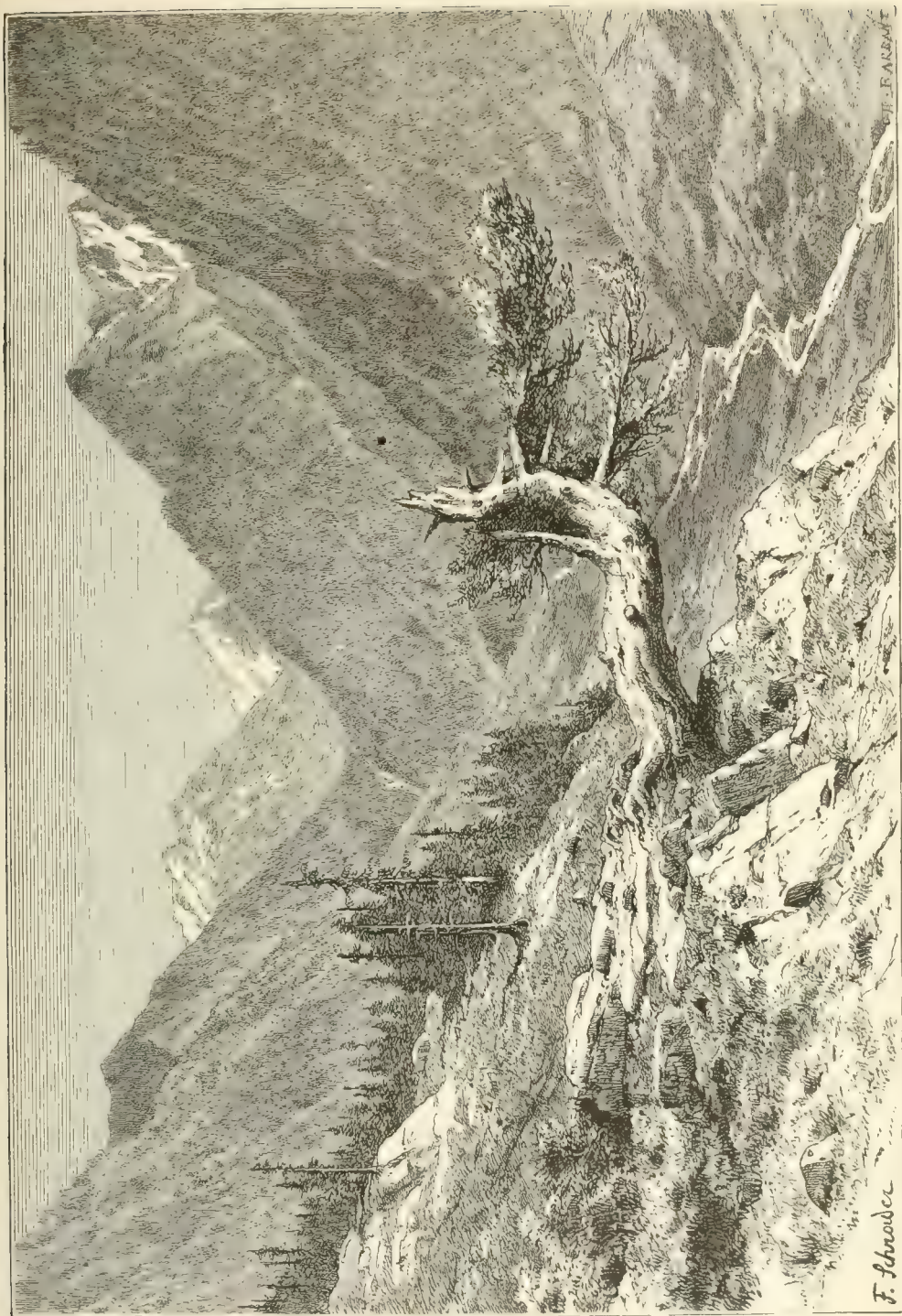
regulating the affairs of Cisalpine Gaul, Illyria, and his third province, Narbonensis, where the Pyrenees have preserved a souvenir of him in the Vieux-César Spring at Cauterets.¹

IV. — THIRD CAMPAIGN: WAR IN AQUITANIA.

SCARCELY, however, had the proconsul crossed the Alps, when news was brought him that the mountaineers had risen against Galba, and a severe battle had been fought, in which the Romans were victorious. But the lieutenant, fearing to remain for the winter in such a dangerous neighborhood, had brought his legion down into the vicinity of the Roman province.

This matter being arranged without need of his presence, Caesar proceeded as far as Illyria; but here information reached him of new and more serious disturbances. Crassus, who had been left in command of one of the legions in Aquitania, being in need of corn, had solicited it from the tribes in the neighborhood of his camps: they had put his envoys, Roman knights, in irons, and had declared that they would only give them up when he, in turn, restored the hostages he had taken. This was a violation of the law of nations, which even these Barbarians recognized, and it explains to us the cruelty which the Roman afterward displayed. Those who had taken this bold step employed the winter in forming a vast confederation, which comprised almost all the nations of the coast, from the Loire to the Scheldt: they sought aid even from the island of the Britons. Caesar was ready for this war, for he had studied beforehand the country and the men with whom he was to fight. His instructions were issued immediately. All the Gallic vessels that could be found were to be seized, others built, rowers levied in Gallia Narbonensis, pilots engaged; then, while Decimus Junius Brutus, the adopted son of Postumius Albinus, assembled the fleet at the mouth of the Loire,

¹ Even if all the "Caesar's camps" in Gaul are not camps of Caesar, there is nothing to prevent the belief that the proconsul came to Cauterets, — a bathing-place of the Romans, very ancient, and highly renowned, — either in an interval between his campaigns, or at the end of 51 B.C., after the pacification of Gaul and Aquitania.



F. Schauder

CAUTERETS (FROM THE BATHS OF CAESAR).

H. F. F. F. F.

no doubt at Corbilo (Saint Nazaire), Crassus would overrun the country to the south of that river as far as the Garonne. Labienus with all the legionary cavalry, which was useless in a maritime war, would hold Belgica in obedience, and stop the Germans, who were said to be inclined to cross the Rhine. Finally, Titurius Sabinus, at the head of three legions, would chastise the tribes settled between the mouths of the Seine and the Rance. His flanks and rear being thus protected, Caesar himself would attack the Veneti, the most powerful nation in Western Gaul.



DENARIUS OF
POSTUMIUS
ALBINUS.



English Miles Scales Roman Miles
0 5 10 15 5 10 15 20 25

MAP FOR THE WAR AGAINST THE VENETI¹

This war was of necessity a difficult one, owing to the nature of the country (intersected by deep bays and rocky peninsulas), and still more to the courage of the inhabitants, who defended foot by foot

¹ From Napoleon III., *Hist. de César*, vol. iii. pl. 15. The emperor places the encounter between the two fleets in the Bay of Quiberon, off Saint Gildas, in the direction of the mouth of the river Auray: M. E. Desjardins puts it amid the former islands of the Loire, which are now connected with the continent.

a territory bristling with fortresses which the flow of the tide rendered inaccessible to a land-attack, the ebb to vessels.

“Both these reasons, therefore, concurred,” says Caesar, “to secure their towns from assault; and if at any time, by the greatness of the works carried on against them, and huge artificial mounts that served to prevent the ingress of the sea and were raised to a height nearly equalling their walls, they saw themselves reduced to an extremity, then, by bringing up their ships, of which they had always a great number in readiness, they easily found means to carry off their effects and withdraw into the nearest towns, where they again defended themselves by the same advantages of situation as before. In this manner did they elude all Caesar’s attempts during a great part of the summer, and that with so much the more success, because our fleet was kept back by tempests, and found the navigation extremely dangerous in that vast and boundless ocean, where the tides are great, and the havens both few in number and at a considerable distance one from another.

“The ships of the Veneti were built and equipped in this manner: flatter than our own, they were better adapted to the shallows and low tides; built of oak, they could support the most violent shocks of that tempestuous ocean. Their prows were very high and erect, as likewise their sterns, to bear the hugeness of the billows. The beams, made of timber a foot thick, were secured with iron nails an inch in bigness. Instead of cables, they secured their anchors with iron chains; and they employed a sort of thin pliant leather by way of sails, either because they had not canvas, and were ignorant of the art of making sailecloth, or, which is more probable, because they regarded canvas sails as insufficient to support the rage and fury of the winds, and to govern ships of that bulk and burden. In agility and a ready command of oars, we had the advantage of them; but in other respects, regarding the situation of the coast and the assaults of storms, all things ran very much in their favor; for neither could our ships injure them with their beaks, so great was their strength and firmness, nor could we easily throw in our darts, because of their height above us, which was also the reason that we found it extremely difficult to grapple the enemy, and bring them to close fight. Add to this, that when the sea began to rage, and they were forced to submit to the pleasure of the winds, they

could both weather the storm better, and more securely trust themselves among the shallows, as fearing nothing from the rocks and cliffs on the recess of the tide."

When the Roman fleet appeared, the Veneti advanced to meet them with two hundred and twenty ships furnished by themselves or their allies. At first the Romans were perplexed, and suffered loss. But their military instinct led them to discover a new engine and a new line of tactics against the Veneti, as they had done against the Carthaginians at Mylae. They conceived the idea of fixing very sharp hooks on the ends of long poles, with which they were able to cut the ropes that fastened the yards to the masts. The yards falling, the vessel became unmanageable: two or three galleys then surrounded it, and the legionaries climbed up and boarded it. "The rest," says Caesar, "depended altogether on the valor of the troops, in which the Romans had greatly the advantage; and the rather, because they fought within view of Caesar and the whole army, so that not a single act of bravery could pass unobserved." The Gauls, having lost a great part of their ships in this manner, were about to seek safety in flight with what remained, when suddenly the wind fell, and not a vessel could move out of its place. They were taken one after another; very few of the enemy escaping to the land under cover of night. This engagement, which lasted from ten o'clock in the morning till sunset, is the first known to history as having taken place upon the Atlantic. The Veneti had lost the flower of their nation, and asked for peace: the terms were severe, — all their senate perished by the sword, the remainder of the population, or at least so many as were captured, were sold. This valiant nation deserved that the country they had so well defended should have retained their name.

Caesar made war according to his nature, which was kindly, but also according to ancient customs, which were cruel; so that we find him merciful to some, inexorable towards others. The Veneti, who, like the Aduatuci, had been attacked in defiance of all right, had avenged themselves by perfidy: their chastisement was similar. But these two brave nations perished for having defended their independence against an empire which they had never threatened, and whose name had scarcely reached them.

During these operations, Viridovix, King of the Unelli (Cotentin),

had stirred up the Aulerci-Eburovices (Évreux) and the Lexovii (district of Auge and Lieuvain), who, as a pledge of their good faith, massacred their senate, which belonged to the peace party, and in a short time he had assembled a numerous army against Sabinus. The legate had chosen the site of his camp with the usual ability of the Romans:¹ he there kept himself shut in, and affected fear. One day a deserter came, and told the Gauls that Caesar, hemmed in by the Veneti, had called Sabinus to his aid, and that on the following night the legions were to set forth. On this the Gauls



VIRIDOVIX.²

cried out that they must not let the Romans escape. Viridovix was forced to order the attack; and the whole army rushed towards the Roman camp, bearing fagots and brushwood with which to fill up the trench. The deserter was a Roman agent. Foreseeing this attack, Sabinus kept his legions behind the ramparts, armed and ready. They fell upon the assailants and at the first shock overthrew them. A great number perished: the cavalry slew the fugitives, and all the nations in that territory readily submitted to the legate; "for as the Gauls are very prompt and forward to undertake a war, so are they of a disposition that easily relents, and gives way to the strokes of adversity."

On the south, Crassus had received into the Roman alliance the Pictones and the Santones, who were jealous of the maritime superiority of the Veneti, and he had penetrated as far as the Garonne without meeting any obstacle, crossed that river, and taken the principal town of the Sotiates, Sos (to the north of Eauze). As he penetrated deeper into the country, Crassus found more formidable adversaries. Fifty thousand men, led by Spanish officers trained in the school of Sertorius, opposed him, not with the thoughtless impetuosity of barbarians, but with tactics wholly Roman:



COIN OF ADIETUANUS.³

¹ The emperor places the camp of Sabinus at Petit-Celland, between the Sée and the road from Mortain to Avranches. But Caesar's text is too brief in geographical details to authorize any localization.

² Head with helmet, with the name of Viridovix shortened. On the reverse a lion; above, a star (De Saulcy, *Op. cit.* No. 32).

³ Barbarian head: REX ADIETVANVS. On the reverse SOTIOTA and a she-wolf (De Saulcy, *Op. cit.* No. 33).

cavalry-scouting to discover the enemy's movements, a strongly fortified camp, and behind these intrenchments a large force, which refused to come out in order to oblige the Romans to attack them where they were, meanwhile despatching numerous parties to harass the march of the twelve cohorts of Crassus, and cut off his convoys. Crassus hoped to compel them to fight in the open country; but, being unsuccessful in his attempts, he directed against their camp an attack which would have failed had not four of his cohorts, making a long circuit, in order to come upon the ill-fortified rear of the position, forced their way into the camp. The enemy fled, but, being pursued by the cavalry, were destroyed without mercy; so that, of fifty thousand men, scarcely a fourth part escaped.

By these carefully combined operations, almost the whole of Aquitania had been brought into subjection, and in Belgica no outbreak had occurred. Only the Morini (Pas de Calais) and the Menapii (mouths of the Scheldt and Rhine) had not sent deputies to the proconsul. Caesar went in search of them into the depths of their forests and marshes, but without being able to reach them: he ravaged the country, burned the dwellings, and then returned into winter-quarters between the Seine and the Loire. From the Pyrenees to the North Sea, Gaul had that year been scoured by the victorious legions.

During these three campaigns, Caesar had effected another conquest, that of his army, who, seeing him unsparing of himself on the march and in fight, had become devoted to a leader who was always fortunate, and whose rule was at once firm and kind. Severe in his discipline, very exacting in respect to drill and military works of all kinds, he demanded nothing useless, and shut his eyes to small faults. But traits of bravery never escaped him: they were forthwith rewarded by public praise, rich armor, and gold. He loved magnificence in his soldiers' arms, and in their dress, and he encouraged their pleasures. "What does it matter if they perfume themselves," said he, "provided they fight well?"¹

At their head, beside experienced veterans, he placed many young nobles, who were desirous of serving so near Italy under a general who by every courier sent to Rome tidings of some victory.

¹ Suet., *Julius Cæsar*, 67.

and whose tent — when in winter-quarters, or between two expeditions — resembled some sumptuous villa of the *via Latina* in the luxuriousness of its furniture¹ and its feasts. There they found the whole of Roman life, — the elegance of the host, who required the same in his guests; conversation, by turns witty and serious, now occupied with some literary question,² now called forth by letters that morning arrived from Rome, with verses of Catullus and the adventures of his Lesbia, the famous Clodia. This brilliant youth, to whom Caesar offered all that youth seeks, — fame and pleasure, — related, in their turn, to friends at home, beneath the shades of Tibur, the marvellous marches, the expeditions into unknown countries, the victories by land and sea which put an end to the greatest terror of the Republic.

Cicero was the resounding echo of these Gallic wonders. Against the hatred of Clodius, and Pompey's coldness, and the indifference of the nobles, he had felt the need of relying upon Caesar, and he had hastened to do so with the ardor "of the traveller, who, having risen too late, must redouble his speed in order to arrive before the rest."³ "What marvellous events!" cried he. "It has been the opinion of the wise, since the beginning of our empire, that the Gauls were our most terrible enemies. Instead of challenging them, our generals thought they did enough for our glory in repulsing their attacks. This formidable war Caesar has carried into the heart of Gaul; these nations, whose names had never reached us, he has reduced to submission. We had only a footpath in Gaul: now the boundaries of these tribes are the frontiers of our dominion. It was not without some favor of the gods, that nature had given Italy the Alps for a rampart. These mountains may now sink: from the Alps to the ocean, there is no longer aught for Italy to dread."⁴

¹ . . . *In expeditionibus tessellata et sectilia parimenta circumtulisse* (Suet., *Jul. Cæs.* 46). He always had two tables, — one for his officers, the other for Roman magistrates and distinguished provincials (*Id.*, *Ibid.* 48).

² In Gaul, Caesar composed his "Commentaries," which we still possess, and a treatise on the Latin language, which is lost. [He is said to have first used the term "ablative case" in grammar.—*Ed.*]

³ *Ad Quintum*, ii. 15.

⁴ *De provinciis consularibus*, 13 and 14.

V. — FOURTH CAMPAIGN: EXPEDITIONS INTO GERMANY AND
BRITAIN (55 B.C.).

ALL was not yet so entirely ended as Cicero thought. "The following winter, the Usipetes and Tencteri, German nations, crossed the Rhine in a great body, not far from its mouth. The cause of their taking this step was, that, being much exposed to the hostilities of the Suevi, they had for many years been harassed with continual wars, and hindered from cultivating their lands.

"The Suevi are by far the most warlike and considerable of all the German nations. They are said to be composed of a hundred cantons, each of which sends yearly into the field a thousand armed men. The rest, who continue in their several districts, employ themselves in cultivating their lands, that they may furnish a sufficient supply both for themselves and for the army. These again take up arms the following campaign, and are succeeded in the care of the lands by the troops that served the year before. Thus they live in the continual exercise both of agriculture and war. They allow of no such thing as property or private possession in the distribution of their lands; their residence, for the sake of tillage, being confined to a single year. Corn is not much in use among them, because they prefer a milk or flesh diet, and are greatly addicted to hunting. Thus the quality of their food, their perpetual exercise, and free, unconfined manner of life (because, being from their childhood fettered by no rules of duty or education, they acknowledge no law but will and pleasure), contribute to make them strong and of an extraordinary stature. They have likewise accustomed themselves, though inhabiting a climate naturally very cold, to bathe in their rivers, and to clothe themselves only with skins. Merchants, indeed, resort to them, but rather to purchase their spoils taken in war than to import any goods into the country; for even beasts of carriage, in which the Gauls take so much delight that they are ready to purchase them at any price, are yet very little valued by the Germans when brought among them; and,

though those of their own country are both small and very ill-shaped, yet by daily exercise they make them capable of all kinds of service. Their cavalry often dismount in time of action, to fight on foot; and their horses are so trained, that they stir not from the place where they are left, but await the return of their riders, who betake themselves to them again in case of necessity. Nothing is more dishonorable in their account, or more opposite to their customs, than the use of horse-furniture; and therefore, however few themselves, they scruple not to attack any number of their enemies whom they see so equipped.

“On the west they are bounded by the Ubii, heretofore a flourishing and potent people, and somewhat more civilized than the other German nations; because, inhabiting along the banks of the Rhine, they are much resorted to by merchants, and have, besides, by bordering on the States of Gaul, given in to many of their customs. The Suevi, having tried the strength of this people in many wars, and finding them too numerous and potent to be driven out of their territories, prevailed yet so far as to impose a tribute on them, and very much reduce and weaken their power.

“The Usipetes and Tencteri were likewise engaged in this quarrel, and, after withstanding the power of the Suevi for many years, were nevertheless at length driven from their territory. Having wandered over many regions of Germany during the space of three years, they arrived at last on the banks of the Rhine, towards those parts inhabited by the Menapii, who had houses, lands, and villages on both sides the river. But, alarmed at the approach of so prodigious a multitude, they abandoned all their habitations beyond the Rhine, and, having disposed their troops on this side the river, set themselves to oppose the passage of the Germans. These, having tried every expedient, and finding they could neither force the passage, because of their want of shipping, nor steal over privately, by reason of the guards kept by the Menapii, counterfeited a retreat into their own country, and after three days' march suddenly turned back; when their cavalry, recovering all this ground in the space of one night, easily overpowered the Menapii, little expecting or prepared for such a visit, for, having been apprised by their scouts of the departure of the Germans, they had returned, fearless of danger, to their habitations beyond the Rhine. These

being all put to the sword, and their shipping seized before the Menapii on this side had intelligence of their approach, they crossed the river, and, seizing all their towns and houses, supported themselves the rest of the winter with the provisions there found."

At the report of this invasion, which recalled that of the Helvetii, Caesar hastily recrossed the Alps, in spite of the severity of the season, and called together the principal men of Gaul, some of whom were in communication with the enemy. He won them over, and obtained some cavalry from them; then he marched towards the Rhine with all his forces. The Germans sent deputies to him, who renewed the demands of the Teutones to Marius: "Give us lands, and we will give you our friendship." Caesar, who from the very first had assumed the attitude of the protector of Gaul against German invasions, could not accept these conditions. He granted them a truce of three days; but on the very next day they broke it by surprising the Gallic horse, who lost seventy-four men. In this fight there perished an Aquitanian, whose grandfather had been the chief of his nation, and to whom the Senate had decreed the title of "Friend of the Roman People." Caesar forthwith advanced in order of battle. The intimidated Barbarians sent him their chiefs and old men to justify the attack of the previous day. The proconsul, thinking himself authorized by the recent treachery, had their envoys arrested, and then made his attack. The horde, penned in upon the tongue of land at the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine, perished almost to a man. According to Caesar, who, like Sylla, often exaggerates the number of his enemies, and diminishes that of his own losses, they amounted to a hundred and eighty thousand fighting men, besides women and children. Cato made a proposition to give up the perjured general to the Germans; but the Senate voted fresh thanksgivings to the gods.

The chiefs arrested before the battle were released. But whither were they to go? Their nation no longer existed; and the Gauls would have nothing but contempt for the vanquished. They asked to remain in the Roman camp.

Caesar, however, dreaded the unforeseen aid which was wont to reach the Gauls from neighboring countries. In the preceding year, the Veneti had received soldiers and ships from Britain; and now the invasion of the Usipetes had re-awakened the hopes of all the

lately conquered nations. He saw, that, in order to avoid being disturbed in his conquest, he must isolate Gaul from Britain and Germany, break off the relations between the island and the continent, and carry the terror of the Roman name on to the right bank of the Rhine. In ten days, with that wonderful activity which but one other general ever equalled, — Bonaparte, —



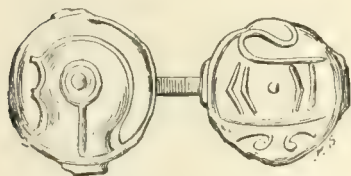
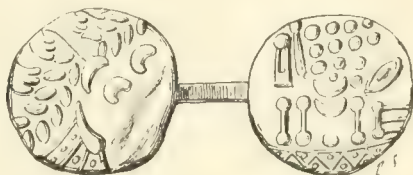
BRIDGE OVER THE RHINE (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

he built a bridge upon piles across the Rhine (near Bonn?);¹ then he crossed the river, and terrified the neighboring tribes, without, however, engaging in any serious battles. The Suevi, at the mere

¹ Caesar has left us a description of it: "Two beams, each a foot and a half thick, sharpened a little towards the lower end, and of a length proportionate to the depth of the river, were bound together with cross-beams at intervals of two feet from each other. These were fixed in the bed of the river by means of machines, and then made secure by blows of a rammer; so that they stood, not perpendicularly, but inclined, according to the direction of the stream. Opposite these, and forty feet lower down the river, another couple of piles were driven, arranged in the same manner, but sloping against the current of the river. In the interval left between the two beams of each couple, a great beam two feet square was lodged, and the two couples were bound together by two wooden ties, so arranged that the violence of the current only served to bind the work firmer together. This being repeated all across the river, planks were laid upon them, which, for greater convenience, were covered with hurdles. Down stream from the bridge, piles were driven against each row, to serve as buttresses; and others were driven a little above the bridge, that, in case trunks of trees or vessels should be sent down by the enemy to destroy the work, the shock might thus be broken, and the bridge secured from damage." (*De Bell. Gall.* iv. 15.)

report of his enterprise, had plunged into their forests. After eighteen days passed in Germany, as the season was advancing, and he was desirous of making a descent upon Britain in that same year, he withdrew his legions across the Rhine, broke down the bridge, and reached the country of the Morini, upon the straits (Boulonais).

This expedition had not added one foot of land to the dominion of the Republic; but Caesar had carried it out less for Rome than for Gaul. His end was gained, for he had led his Gallic auxiliaries to forage, in their turn, in the country of the Suevi. And then, even on the banks of the Tiber, what acclamations at the news that the mysterious and dreaded river had borne a Roman bridge, and seen the standards of the legions pass over it!

TIN COIN OF THE BRITONS.¹

SILVER COIN OF THE BRITONS.

Caesar proposed to give the Romans another subject for astonishment and pride by a campaign carried "to the uttermost parts of the earth."

Britain, inhabited by the same nations as Gaul, kept up frequent relations with the latter. There was the sanctuary of the Druids, — the Island of Mona, — whither pious pilgrimages brought from the continent those who desired to attain the highest degrees in knowledge and religious initiation.

Friendly relations with these tribes would have afforded security for the Roman sway in Gaul. Accordingly, Caesar had long sought to open negotiations with the Britons, who had seemed inclined to enter into them, and had sent proposals of peace to him in Gaul. But as the King of the Atrebates, whom he had commissioned to go to the island to settle the conditions, had been put in irons, it was important for Caesar to avenge the insult, which would have weakened his authority among the Gallic tribes, had it remained unpunished:

¹ On the obverse, what is meant for a head; on the reverse, what is meant for a horse.

and the new campaign was decided upon.¹ He sent Volusenus, one of his officers, in a galley, to reconnoitre the British coast. That officer either dared not or could not effect a landing, and returned at the end of five days. Upon the information he brought, Caesar set forth on the night of the 24th of August with two legions, embarked on eighty transport-vessels and a few galleys which he had assembled at Wissant, or in the Liane.² They had but little baggage: he himself took with him only three servants. The following morning they were in sight of the cliffs of Dover, the summits of which were lined with Britons, who had been warned by their Gallic friends. It was impossible to land at this spot, commanded as it was by the heights that the enemy occupied. He lay at anchor till the turn of the tide, and then went northward with it, till, at the end of the cliffs, he came upon the beach of Deal. The Britons, who from the coast followed every movement of the fleet, had already hastened thither. Accordingly, notwithstanding the protection afforded by the machines which from the higher parts of the vessels sent forth a shower of arrows, the work of landing was difficult. The standard-bearer of the fourth legion leaped into the sea to encourage his comrades. The example was imitated by the legionaries embarked in the nearest ships, and a struggle took place amid the waves. When the legionaries had attained dry land, a furious charge dispersed the Barbarians.

Caesar relates that one of his soldiers, Caesius Scaeva, with four other legionaries, had from their boat reached a rock on a level with the water, and surrounded by the sea; and thence they shot arrows at the enemy, every one of which found its mark. When the ebb rendered the space between this rock and the land fordable, the Barbarians rushed upon them in a crowd. The four legionaries took refuge in their boat; but Scaeva refused to leave the rock. He killed several of the enemy, and continued bravely fighting till his thigh was pierced by an arrow, his face bruised by a stone, and

¹ Britain was not as barbarous as Caesar represents it. The southern tribes, who seemed to have been of Belgic origin, were sufficiently civilized to have high-roads, and to coin money, a hundred and fifty years before Christ (Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 31). A very active commerce existed between Britain and Gaul, as Caesar himself bears witness.

² *Gesoriacum* (Boulogne), at the mouth of the Liane, was the port of the Romans for Britain under the emperors, and it was probably Caesar's too; but there are also reasons for placing the *Itius Portus* at Wissant. The Emperor Napoleon III. was in favor of Boulogne: M. de Sauley still holds to Wissant.

his shield broken. Upon this he threw himself into the sea, and swam back to his vessel. Being congratulated upon his courage, his sole pre-occupation was the thought of having lost his shield; and he excused himself to his general for the loss. Caesar made him a centurion on the spot.

The boldness of the Britons was subdued. They asked to enter into negotiations, gave hostages, and hastened in crowds to the camp, curious to examine the war-machines and arms which had caused them such terror.

It was then the time of the full moon, — the period of the highest tides in the ocean. A violent tempest occurring at the same time dispersed the squadron which was bringing Caesar his cavalry, and destroyed his freight-ships, which lay at anchor, dashing them in pieces against the rocks on the coast. This disaster restored courage to the islanders. They assailed a legion as it was foraging, and soon the camp itself; but they were roughly received, and a sortie dispersed them. Caesar took advantage of their disheartened state to assume the tone of a master, required double the number of hostages he had at first demanded, and hastily regained the continent in his half-repaired ships.¹ “They disappeared,” says an ancient chronicler, “as the snow on the seashore disappears at the touch of the south wind.”

VI. — FIFTH AND SIXTH CAMPAIGNS: SECOND DESCENT UPON BRITAIN: REVOLT OF NORTHERN GAUL (54–53).

THIS retreat was too much like a flight for Caesar (who had just had his command prolonged for five years) not to be eager to repeat the expedition. Preparations for returning into Britain were therefore vigorously pushed on in Gaul during the winter. He had left precise orders for the building of ships upon a new model, — somewhat lower than was usual in the Mediterranean. — for the convenience

¹ Three hundred soldiers, who could not reach the *Itius Portus* with the remainder of the army, landed lower down, and regained the camp by land, though they were attacked by six thousand Morini. Drawn up in square, they repulsed all attacks for four hours, till the cavalry which had been sent to meet them came to the rescue.

of embarking and landing his men; also broader than usual, on account of the baggage and horses they would have to carry. All that was necessary for the naval armament came from Spain. While the soldiers were carrying on these labors, he himself held his assizes in Gallia Cisalpina, and went into the heart of Illyria to quiet the disturbances which threatened to bring on a war in that quarter. In the spring he returned to the shores of the Channel, to review the army,¹ and inspect the magazines and the fleet: the latter was composed of six hundred transports and twenty-eight galleys, with a number of light barks, making in all eight hundred sail. All was ready for embarkation; but disquieting movements took place among the Treviri, who had not sent their deputies to the assembly of the Gauls. A patriot named Indutiomarus, who disputed the power with Cingetorix the partisan of the Romans, was the moving spirit of the projected insurrection.² Caesar hastened to this tribe by forced marches, taking with him four legions without baggage; and Indutiomarus, intimidated, came forth from the impenetrable retreats of the forest of Ardennes, where he had at first taken refuge, and delivered to the proconsul two hundred hostages, among whom were his son and his nearest relatives.

This affair ended, Caesar returned to Itius Portus, where were assembled his eight legions and four thousand Spanish and Gallic horse: he selected five legions and two thousand horse to accompany him to Britain, and left the remainder with Labienus, who was to guard the port, supply provisions, and keep watch over Gaul. Among the Gauls whom he wished to take with him was Dumnorix, a restless and ambitious man, who had played a part in the migration of the Helvetii, and had only then been spared at the entreaties of his brother Divitiacus. He refused to set forth, sometimes urging the pretext that he was unable to bear the passage, and at other times his religion forbade him to cross the sea; but in secret meetings he told the chiefs that they were being led to the island in order to be put to death there. Amid the confusion of embarking, he escaped

¹ According to Strabo (ii. 169), the principal arsenal was at the mouth of the Seine; and as at the time of the Boulogne expedition, under Napoleon I., pinnaces (*péniches*) were built by the dwellers on the banks of the river.

² The very Gallic names of these two chiefs prove that the Treviri were not Germans, or that the Gallic element was predominant among them.

from the camp with the Aeduan cavalry. Caesar had been watching him, and immediately suspended the embarkation. Fearing lest this flight should be the signal for a general revolt, he sent all his cavalry in pursuit of the fugitive, with orders to bring him back dead or alive. Dumnorix attempted to resist: he cried, "I am free, and a citizen of a free State!" but, by Caesar's orders, he was surrounded and cut down.

The army landed in Britain, on the spot which he had before marked out as most convenient, and, establishing his camp by the shore, Caesar marched twelve miles inland in search of the enemy. He encountered them in a difficult position, — behind a small river, and under the shelter of a deep forest, the entrances to which were protected by an abattis formed of great trunks of trees. The soldiers made a *testudo*, and easily carried these rude ramparts: Caesar did not deem it prudent, however, to pursue the Britons into the depths of the woods. The success of this first affair promised a speedy issue to the expedition, when a party of cavalry sent from the camp announced to the proconsul that a part of his fleet had again been destroyed by a storm. He retraced his steps, sent to Labienus for workmen and fresh ships; then, with his fleet repaired, and hauled up high and dry in his camp, he returned in search of the Barbarians. Thanks to this delay of ten days, their numbers had vastly increased. Cassivellaunus, one of their powerful chiefs, was in command. Their manner of fighting — in scattered groups and in swift chariots, whence they sprang down to despatch a wounded enemy — at first fatigued the legions; but they soon grew accustomed to this form of attack, and sought to bring about a general action, which the Britons refused. In hope of bringing them to an engagement, Caesar marched towards the Thames, on which the territories of Cassivellaunus were situated. That chief attempted to dispute the passage of the river, and drew up his troops in good order on the opposite bank. But the Roman infantry forced their way across, probably near Windsor, where the Thames is only a narrow river; and Cassivellaunus again resumed the war of surprises and rapid incursions, which threatened to famish the legions, or destroy them in detail.

Fortunately, these Barbarians, who were often at war with one another, had not banded together in the presence of a common

enemy, and in the Roman camp there were traitors to the national cause. A young chieftain of the tribe of the Trinobantes had come to Gaul to entreat Caesar to avenge him on Cassivellaunus, who had slain his father. He had served as guide to the army, had pointed out the fords over the river, and the spot where, in the midst of woods and marshes (near Saint Albans), stood the *oppidum* which held the wealth of Cassivellaunus; thither Caesar led his



MAP FOR THE EXPEDITIONS INTO BRITAIN.

legions, who seized upon it. These repeated checks, a vain attempt of the confederates upon the camp which held the Roman fleet, and the defection of several tribes, decided Cassivellaunus to enter into negotiations. The Britons gave hostages, and promised an annual tribute; and the proconsul, who wanted nothing more, returned to the continent.

He can only have brought back a meagre amount of spoil from the island;¹ but he had pointed out the road which others were to follow. His sword had opened to the action or influence of Rome three great countries, — France, England, and Germany; and it was his pen which gave the first description of them.

In his first campaign, Caesar had forced back the Helvetii upon the country which they desired to leave, and had driven the Suevi beyond the Rhine, that is to say, he had subdued the east of Gaul; in the second, the north had been conquered; in the third, the west; in the fourth, he had shown the Gauls, by his two expeditions into Britain and Germany, that they could expect nothing from their neighbors; and, in the fifth, he had just renewed the lesson by bearing his victorious eagles into Britain again. The Gallic war was therefore looked upon as over; but it had scarcely begun.

Hitherto a few tribes had fought separately; but all now knew that the pretexts which the Romans had employed to establish themselves in the heart of their country concealed a design for enslaving it. Carrying across the Alps the policy followed by the Senate in all their conquests, the chief of the popular

COIN OF TASGET.²

party at Rome had overthrown the democratic forms of government throughout the whole of Gaul, wherever he had been able to do so. Threatened by their own lower classes, the Gallic aristocracy had sought support from Caesar, who bestowed upon the most influential among them the Roman citizenship and his own name,⁴ rank in the auxiliary troops, and favor in the distribution of booty. He showed them great deference, and flattering attentions of every kind; he invited them to his table and his festivals;⁵ he favored the elevation of the more ambitious, who afterwards delivered into his

COIN OF CAVARIN.³

¹ Pliny mentions, however, a cuirass ornamented with pearls, which he consecrated to Venus.

² Head of Apollo with an unexplained inscription. On the reverse, TASGITIOS; a flying Pegasus (De Sauley, *Numismatique, etc.*, No. 16).

³ Horse galloping. On the reverse, a branch. (De Sauley, *Ibid.* No. 36.)

⁴ Hence the great number of Julian families in Gaul.

⁵ Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 48.

hands the independence of their cities, as did Tasgetius among the Carnutes, Commius among the Atrebates, Cavarinus among the Senones, and Cingetorix among the Treviri. Dumnorix the Aeduan had also boasted that Caesar had promised to make him a king, and for six years the aristocracy of the Arverni restrained their people from taking part in the war of independence. Wherever a popular form of government existed, Caesar had formed a Roman party who overruled the assembly and the Senate, impeded their action, and betrayed their plans.

Another means of influence which he had cleverly used was the holding of the States-General of Gaul, — an annual meeting of deputies from all the tribes.¹ There it was, that, by the charm of his manners and the influence of his military fame, he won over the men who appeared to be freely deliberating with him about the interests of the country, but who in reality were only obeying his injunctions, and legalizing his demands for provisions, subsidies, and auxiliaries.

It was not so with the multitude: each defeat augmented the number of patriots, because each victory of Caesar increased the insolence and exactions of the Roman agents. For the latter, Gaul was a virgin soil upon which they swooped down like birds of prey; and the general himself set the example.² Caesar soon saw, however, the hatred which was slowly gathering in the depths of men's hearts. We have seen how, on his last expedition to Britain, he had taken with him those whom he mistrusted, and that Dumnorix, an Aeduan chief, refusing to follow him, had been slain. This man was one of the rulers of the tribe which had opened Gaul to the legions, and brother to Divitiacus, Caesar's friend. His death showed any who might still be in doubt about it, that the proconsul would crush all who refused to further his designs.

As Caesar returned from Britain victorious, Gaul remained tranquil. This deceptive calm and the apparent resignation of the Gallic deputies at the States-General, which he held at Samarobriua (Amiens), in the territory of the Ambiani, led him to think that

¹ The Galatae of Asia Minor had retained a similar council of three hundred *principes* in conjunction with the tetrarchs (Strabo, xii. 567).

² *Fana templaque deum donis referta expilavit, urbes diruit, saepius ob praedam quam ob delictum* (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 54).

the danger was still distant. To guard against the dearth of provisions, which had been rendered scarce by the great heat, he dispersed his eight legions over a space of more than a hundred leagues, — one among the Essuvii (Séez), between the Carnutes (Chartres) and the Armoricans; four among the Treviri (Trèves), the Eburones (Liège), the Nervii (Hainault), and the Morini (Boulogne); and three in the centre, between the Oise and the Seine.

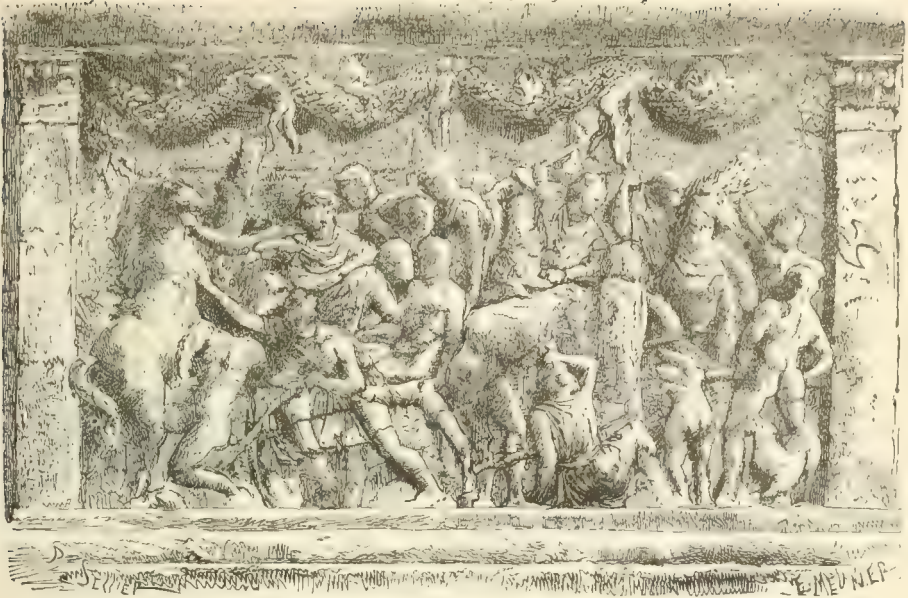
A vast conspiracy was preparing, however, — the rising of all the tribes upon whom the continual presence of the legions made the foreign rule press with its whole weight. A chief of the Eburones, named Ambiorix, and Indutiomarus of the Treviri, were the soul of this movement. They were to take up arms as soon as Caesar was on the way to Italy, drive out his partisans, — for every city had its Roman party, — call in the Germans, attack the legions in their quarters, and rigorously sever communications between them. The secret was well kept; but the insurrection broke out too soon among the Carnutes. They overthrew Tasgetius, whom the Roman had imposed upon them as king, and after a public sentence put him to death. This revealed the danger to Caesar: he remained in Gaul. Ambiorix, who thought he was already beyond the Alps, led his whole tribe to attack the camp of Sabinus and Cotta at Aduatua (Tongres); but he was repulsed. Wily as an Indian chief, he stopped the fight, asked for a conference, and feigned the most friendly sentiments towards the Romans. “I owe Caesar gratitude,” said he: “he freed my nation from the tribute which we paid to the Aduatuci; he restored to me my son and my brother’s son, who were kept in chains at Aduatua as hostages. It is therefore against my wish that we fight. But this very day there breaks out a long premeditated and general plot.” Then he pointed out to Sabinus that the whole of Gaul was in arms, that the Germans were engaged in crossing the Rhine, and that his only means of safety lay in a prompt retreat upon the camp of Q. Cicero, in the country of the Nervii.

Sabinus had a legion of newly raised recruits, and doubtless he had little confidence in them. He allowed himself to be persuaded, and, in spite of Cotta, issued from his intrenchments. The Eburones, in ambush, attacked him upon all sides, and threw his troops into the greatest confusion. A portion of the legion

was already destroyed when Sabinus sent to demand a new conference with the Gallic leader, who granted it. The lieutenant, tribunes, and centurions came thither with their arms. He ordered them to lay them down, and they obeyed. The conditions of the treaty were discussed; but Ambiorix prolonged the conversation for some time: when he saw that his Gauls had surrounded the troop of Sabinus, he gave the signal, and the massacre began. The rest of the Roman army perished fighting, a few soldiers escaping with difficulty.

Caesar thought he had slain or sold every man among the Aduatuci and the Nervii. There were still enough of them to form, in conjunction with their former clients and the Eburones, an army of fifty thousand men. Ambiorix led them up to the intrenchments of Quintus Cicero, the brother of the great orator. They tried to draw him, like Sabinus, out of his camp: they told him that the whole of Gaul had risen; that Caesar and his lieutenants were besieged; that the Germans were already upon the left bank of the Rhine; and that the troops of Sabinus had been exterminated. It would be a dangerous illusion, they said, to expect succor from the other legions, who were themselves in a desperate situation. Moreover, they had no ill-will against Cicero: they only asked that he should quit the winter-quarters which the army had made a custom of occupying; and he should have every security in retiring by whatever road he chose. Cicero replied that it was not the custom of the Roman people to accept conditions from an enemy in arms, but that, if they consented to lay them down, he would serve them as a mediator with Caesar, who would decide. The reply was a proud one. His acts corresponded to his words; and whereas Sabinus had perished with all his men by yielding, Q. Cicero, by his firmness, saved Caesar, his legion, and himself.

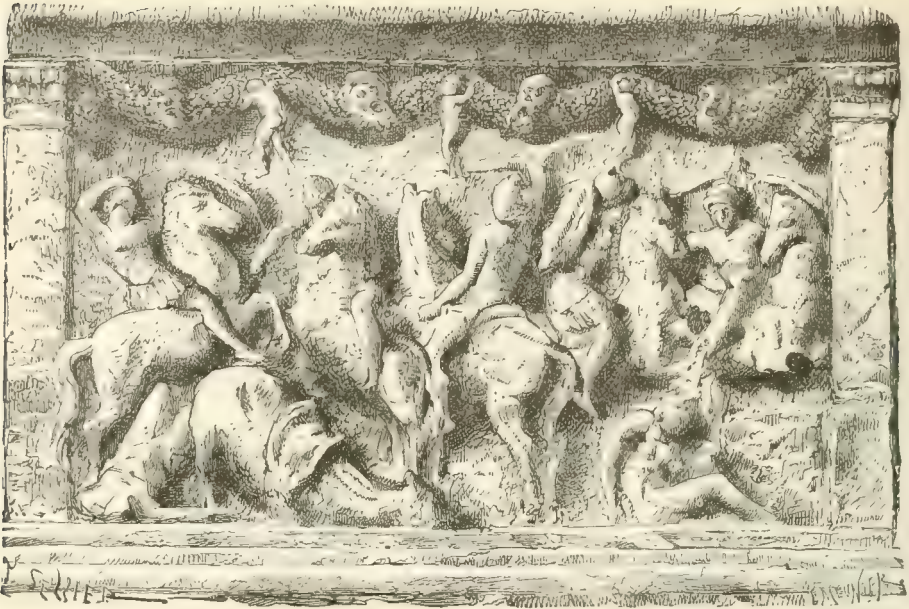
It was necessary that his camp should be taken by force: the Nervii surrounded it with a rampart eleven feet high and a trench fifteen feet deep and fifteen thousand paces in circuit. To dig this they had neither instruments nor tools: they cut the turf with their swords, and carried the earth in their tunics. And Caesar asserts, unless there be some error in the text, that this immense work was executed in three hours. His engineering lessons had indeed been of great profit to the Gauls.



BAS-RELIEFS FROM THE MONUMENT OF THE JULII: EPISODES IN THE GALLIC WAR.¹

On the seventh day, as a violent wind had arisen, they threw over the intrenchments red-hot balls of clay, and flaming javelins.

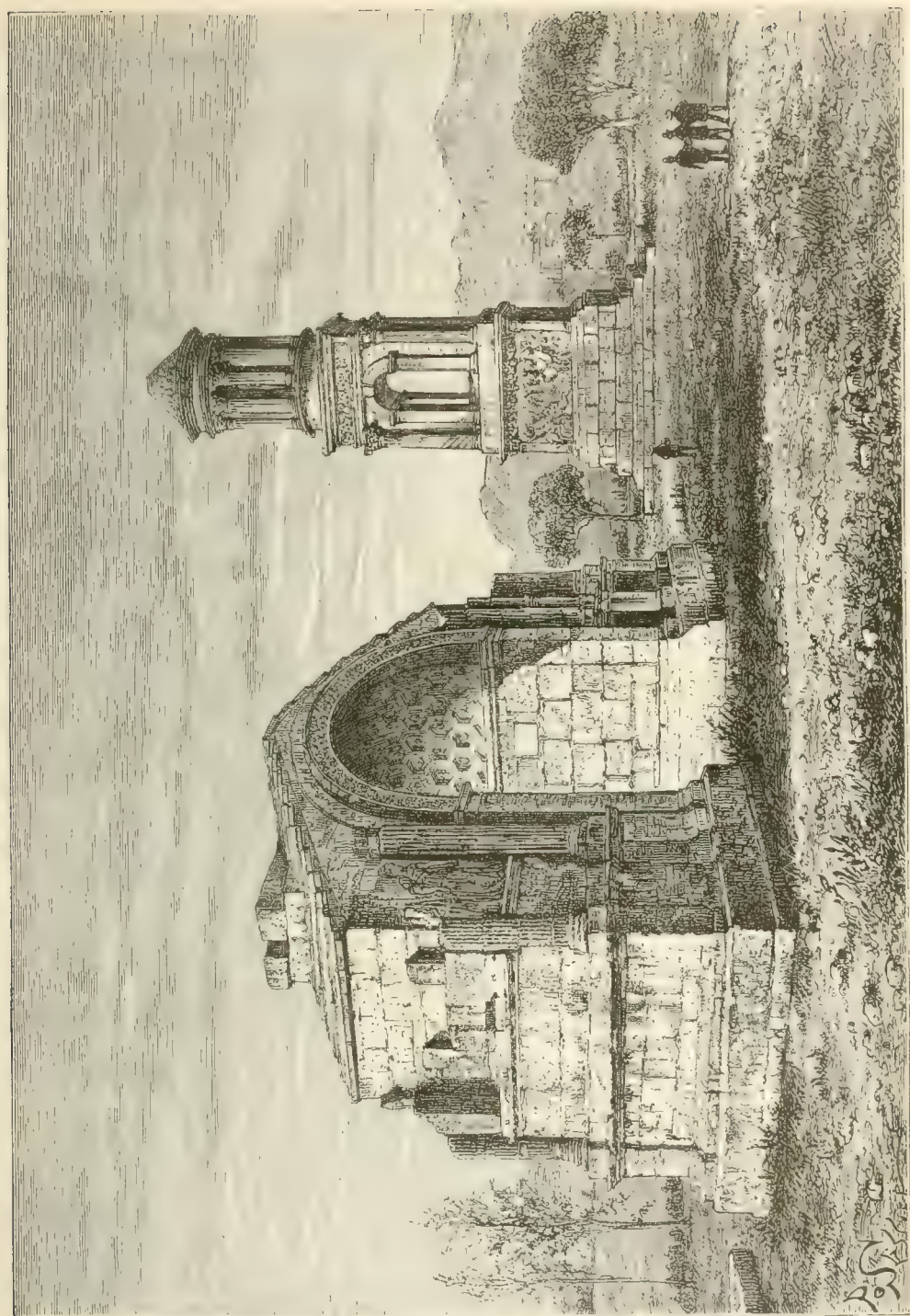
¹ In the full-page engraving facing p. 322, from which these bas-reliefs are copied, is represented a tomb of a Gaul whom Caesar had made a Roman citizen, and of his wife, erected by their three sons. The bas-reliefs represent battles in which this Gaul had probably taken part: unfortunately they are very much mutilated. The Museum of Saint Germain possesses casts



BAS-RELIEFS FROM THE MONUMENT OF THE JULII: EPISODES IN THE GALLIC WAR.

The huts of the soldiers, which were covered with straw, in the Gallic manner, were soon in flames. At the same time, the Nervii,

of them. The archaic orthography of the inscription cannot be later than the early years of the reign of Augustus. Saint Remi possesses another monument, called a triumphal arch, but which was no doubt only one of the town-gates of Glanum.



ARCH AND MAUSOLEUM OF THE JULII AT SAINT REMI (GLANUNG).

with great shouts, rolled their towers to the foot of the rampart, and formed a *testudo* to attempt an escalade. But not a soldier had quitted the parapet to snatch any part of his baggage from the fire: the foe was stopped and driven back. At the same time, Indutiomarus, among the Treviri, overthrew his rival Cingetorix, raised the tribe in revolt, and threatened the camp of Labienus. The thirteenth legion, among the Essuvii, also saw that the Armorican cities were becoming restless; and, among the Senones, Acco drove out Cavarinus, the friend of the Romans. On the north and east of the Loire, the movement was general.

The Aedui and the Remi alone remained faithful, or, as the Gauls said, were the only traitors to the national cause.

In spite of his vigilance, Caesar knew nothing. One of his legions had been destroyed twelve days before; Q. Cicero had been besieged for a week: and yet the concerted action had been so well arranged, that although news of the disaster had already spread throughout Gaul, not a word had reached him, not a messenger had succeeded in arriving at head-quarters at Samarobriua. A Gallic slave at last passed through, and apprised the proconsul of the extremity to which his lieutenant was reduced. Caesar had within reach only two incomplete legions, scarcely seven thousand men, and the besiegers numbered sixty thousand; nevertheless he at once hastened forward. He had induced a Gallic horseman to take charge of a despatch written to Cicero in Greek, that the besiegers might not understand it if it fell into their hands. He had enjoined him, in case he could not penetrate to the lieutenant, to fasten the letter to his javelin and throw it into the camp. The shaft remained fixed in a tower for two days without being noticed; when it was at length brought to Cicero, who read to his troops Caesar's words, that he was on the way and would soon arrive, and exhorting the lieutenant to show his wonted bravery.

The burning of their dwellings announced to the Nervii the general's approach: they advanced to meet him, and he, feigning terror, hid himself in a camp, the boundary of which he purposely made smaller than usual, and walled up the gates with clods of turf. Emboldened by these signs of fear, the Barbarians advanced without order and on disadvantageous ground: a vigorous sortie

dispersed them, and the victors easily reached the camp of Cicero, where not one soldier in ten was without some wound.¹

Caesar had reached Cicero's camp after three o'clock in the afternoon: before midnight, the acclamations of the Remi announced to Labienus, who was sixty miles away (fifty-five English miles), the proconsul's victory and the end of the danger. The report of this double success put a stop in fact to all movements then on foot.

¹ Napoleon says, in his "*Précis des Guerres de César*," "The arms of our soldiers have as much strength and vigor as those of the ancient Romans; our pioneers' tools are the same; we have one agent more, gunpowder. We can therefore raise ramparts, dig ditches, cut down woods, and build towers in as short a time and as well as they could; but the weapons of offence of the moderns have a totally different power, and act in an entirely different manner from those of the ancients.

"The Romans owe their constant success to the method, from which they never departed, of encamping every night in a fortified camp, of never giving battle without an intrenched camp in their rear to serve as a retreat and to hold their stores, their baggage, and their wounded. The nature of weapons in that age was such, that in these camps they were not only sheltered from the assaults of an army equal in strength, but even from those of one superior. They were in a position to fight, or to wait for a favorable opportunity. . . .

"Why has so wise a rule been abandoned by modern generals? Because weapons of offence have undergone a change in their nature. Hand-weapons were the chief arms of the ancients: with his short sword the legionary conquered the world; with the Macedonian spear, Alexander subdued Asia. The principal arm of modern armies is the projectile, the gun, that weapon superior to any other that man has ever invented: no defensive arm can ward it off. . . .

"The principal weapon of the ancients being the sword or the spear, they formed in deep order. The legion and the phalanx, in whatsoever situation they might be attacked, — whether in front, or on the right or left flank, — faced about in any direction without disadvantage: The legions were able to encamp on spaces of small extent, in order to have less trouble in fortifying the entire circumference. . . . The soldiers, each working thirty minutes at most, fortified the camp, and placed it beyond reach of assault.

"The principal weapon of the moderns being the projectile, their usual order is necessarily the open one.

"That the Romans were almost constantly defeated by the Parthians was due to the fact that the Parthians were all armed with a projectile superior to that of the Roman army, which the shields of the legions could not ward off. The legions, armed with their short swords, fell beneath a shower of arrows, to which they could oppose nothing, since they were only armed with javelins (*pila*). . . .

"A consular army shut up in its camp, and attacked by a modern army of equal strength, would be driven out of it without an assault, and without coming to a hand-to-hand fight, for its camp would be the receptacle of every shot, every bullet, every cannon-ball; fire, destruction, and death would open the gates, and overthrow the intrenchments. . . . Fire from a centre to a circumference is nothing; but fire from a circumference to a centre is irresistible.

"These considerations have decided modern generals to renounce the system of intrenched camps, and to supply their place by natural positions carefully chosen.

"A Roman camp was independent of localities: all were equally good for armies whose strength lay in hand-weapons. Neither experienced eye nor military genius was needed to encamp well; whereas the choice of positions, the manner of occupying them, and of disposing the various arms, taking advantage of the circumstances of the ground, gives scope for the exercise of the military genius of the modern general."

But the whole of Gaul was agitated: the tribes exchanged secret embassies; the Carnutes had slain their king, a friend of the Romans; the Senones had condemned to death Cavarinus, whom Caesar had set over them; and the Treviri were pressing the Germans to hasten their coming. The proconsul deemed it prudent to pass that winter in Gaul. He took up his quarters at Samarobriva, within reach of those tribes of Belgium and Armorica whom the death of Sabinus had rendered so hopeful. Only the Remi and the Aedui never wavered in their fidelity, for which they would have paid dearly had Caesar been conquered. Even before the spring had arrived, Indutiomarus, with the Treviri, made an attack upon the camp of Labienus. The latter, imitating his leader's tactics, allowed himself for several days to be insulted by the Gauls, who came up to the very foot of the rampart and challenged him. But one evening, as Indutiomarus was retiring in careless order with some of his men, Labienus ordered a sudden sally of his cavalry, promising great reward to the man who should bring him back the head of the hostile leader. Indutiomarus fell, covered with wounds. His death dispersed his army, and stopped the Eburones, the Nervii, the Aduatuci, and the Menapii, who were already on the march to join him.

To the general assembly which the proconsul held at Samarobriva early in the spring, the Senones, the Carnutes, and the Treviri refused to send their deputies: this was a declaration of war. Caesar accepted it with joy; for he needed to raise the reputation of his arms by brilliant successes, and had prepared himself during the winter by calling up three new legions from Italy.¹ He prorogued the assembly, the next meeting of which he fixed to take place at Lutetia, in the country of the Parisii, nearer the insurgent tribes. This is the first appearance in history of the great city; and the founder of the Roman Empire is the first to pronounce its name.

From Samarobriva, Caesar quickly reached the country of the Senones. They had not completed their preparations: they asked for peace. The proconsul had determined to make a severe example of this tribe; but the intervention of the Aedui, their former allies, saved them. The Carnutes also owed their safety to the mediation of the Remi. But the two tribes delivered up all their cavalry

¹ That is to say, thirty cohorts, to replace the fifteen lost with Sabinus. He had now ten legions in Gaul.

and numerous hostages. The wrath of the proconsul fell upon the Treviri and upon Ambiorix and the Eburones. To make his vengeance complete, he surrounded them. The Menapii—their neighbors on the north, who alone of all the Gauls had never sent deputies to Caesar—were assailed by five legions. Being surprised and driven into their woods, they sued for peace. The Treviri bordered on the territory of the Menapii: led on by a ruse of Labienus to engage in battle before the arrival of their expected German auxiliaries, they lost a great number of men, and were compelled to accept as king Cingetorix, whom they had expelled. Then turning eastward, in order to close Germany against the nation whom he wished to proscribe, Caesar threw a bridge over the Rhine, scoured the other bank for some distance, forbade the tribes who dwelt there to have any relations with Gaul, after which, certain that the Eburones could not escape him, he returned to them. His cavalry

went forward in advance of the legions, and fell like a thunderbolt into the midst of this people, doomed to extermination, whilst the ten legions surrounded the country, and, drawing closer and closer together, burnt and slew all they came across. Caesar, who called this valiant tribe “an impious race,” invited the neighboring nations to help him in the work of destruc-



PACK-HORSE CARRYING SHIELDS (TRAJAN'S COLUMN).

tion. The villages were burnt, the grain was cut, and for several months man-hunting was carried on in the immense forest of Arduenna, into which the Eburones had plunged. Ambiorix escaped across the Rhine, there to await better days.

Returning to the territory of the Remi, Caesar called together



ACCO, CHIEF OF THE SENONES.¹

¹ Youthful head. On the reverse, [ECCE] VIOS, and a horseman brandishing a sword (De Saulley, *Nouvumaliqui*, etc., No. 41).

the general assembly, and, with an empty semblance of justice, made it judge the Senonian Acco, leader of the revolt. The sentence was dictated beforehand. Acco was beaten with rods, and beheaded. Civil and religious excommunications were issued against his accomplices and the authors of the rising among the Carnutes who had not been seized.

VII. — SEVENTH CAMPAIGN: GENERAL RISING (52 B.C.).

THESE executions increased the hatred of the Roman name. During the winter, which Caesar passed in Italy, a second rising was arranged in numerous secret meetings: the Gauls were at length uniting. It was very late; but yet they were on the verge of succeeding.

It was known that at Rome an increasing misunderstanding existed between Caesar and Pompey, and that the proconsul of the Gauls would perhaps be detained in Italy by a civil war. The legions were not dispersed as in the preceding year: two were encamped among the Treviri; two, among the Lingones; the remaining six, in the territory of the Senones; and, as the winter closed the passes of the Alps and the Cevennes, it was hoped, that, if the movement were general, they would be surprised and crushed before Caesar could join them.

The rising went forth from the Druidic centre of Gaul, in the country of the Carnutes, who had lately been overwhelmed with requisitions. On the day appointed, this tribe fell upon Genabum (Orleans), a trading-town on the banks of the Loire, and massacred the Italian merchants, who had flocked thither in great numbers. The same evening the news, carried from village to village by criers stationed along the roads, reached Gergovia, a hundred and forty-seven miles distant.

This was the home of a young and noble Arvernian: tall in stature, martial in air, his very name was of good augury: he was called "the great chief of the brave,"¹ — Vercingetorix. His father had perished in the attempt to usurp the royalty, and yet

¹ Such is the meaning given to this name by M. de Belloguet.

the son was filled with a like ambition. Being a personal friend of Caesar, he had no doubt contributed to keep the Arverni at peace during the first campaigns; but seeing the agitation of the popular party throughout Gaul, and the success which Ambiorix had been on the verge of obtaining, he perceived that there was



MAP OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 52 B.C.¹

a great part to play. In public assemblies and religious meetings he allowed his idea to be inferred rather than expressed. But it was revealed in secret councils, where, as the prize of their valor, he held up before the eyes of his party Arvernica raised from her low estate, and placed at the head of the Gallic nations whom she had rescued from slavery to a foreign power.

¹ Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, vol. i. p. 113.

As soon as he heard of the massacre at Genabum, he armed his clients, and proclaimed insurrection in Gergovia. The chief men of the tribe, and even his uncle, refuse to associate themselves with his designs, and are sufficiently powerful to drive him from the town. He raises the country; and Caesar, who on this occasion is unjust to his greatest adversary, speaks of him as forming an army of outlaws and fugitives. They were certainly a concourse of poor men; but they were those, too, who refused to submit to the foreigner's rule, and they must have formed the great majority of the nation, since they overcame the opposition of the nobles without recourse to arms. Vercingetorix, re-entering Gergovia with them, is then proclaimed king, and becomes the leading spirit of the war of independence. He sends urgent messages to all the tribes; he reminds them of the oaths they had sworn; points out the favorableness of the occasion and the necessity for throwing off the yoke which has been so long concealed by a show of friendliness, and now weighs so heavily upon all. From the Garonne to the Seine all the States responded to his appeal, and the conduct of the war was intrusted to him.

VERCINGETORIX.¹

Thus the Arverni and the people of Central Gaul, who had hitherto remained outside the struggle, were about to take the chief part in it. These defections gave the Gauls of the north fresh courage. In spite of the presence of ten legions, the chiefs of the Bellovaci and Treviri, led on by the example of Commius, king of the Atrebatæ, who had long been the faithful ally of Caesar, prepared their people for insurrection. Labienus thought to avert it by having Commius assassinated; but the Gaul survived his wounds to exact vengeance for them.

Caesar had at length found a worthy foe. Vercingetorix imitated the wonderful activity of the proconsul: he collected provisions and arms; he fixed the numbers of contingents, took hostages, devoted himself to raising a formidable cavalry corps, and gave the whole league an organization which had been lacking in the earlier attempts of the Gauls. But, granting excuse to no man who sought

¹ We have nearly twenty coins of Vercingetorix, and the resemblance between the faces upon them suggests that they represent his features (*De Sauley, Numismatique, etc., No. 62*).

to desert the country's cause, he showed himself severe even to the point of cruelty. Traitors perished by fire or tortures; for a slight fault he caused a man's ears to be cut off, or his eyes put out, and then sent him home, that the sight of his punishment might be a warning.

Vercingetorix had so suddenly acquired this great authority, only because he represented the national feeling. Priests and nobles had abandoned Gaul: the people rose up to save her, and gathered round the young hero, who exhibited at once his hatred for the invader, and superior talents for organization. His plan of attack was skilful: one of his lieutenants, Lucterius, went southwards towards



LUCTERIUS, CHIEF OF THE
CADURCI.¹

the Province, which he was to invade, while Vercingetorix himself marched northward against the legions. On his way he halted to incite to revolt the Bituriges (Berry), who were clients of the Aedui: in this he succeeded, and the great town of Avari-

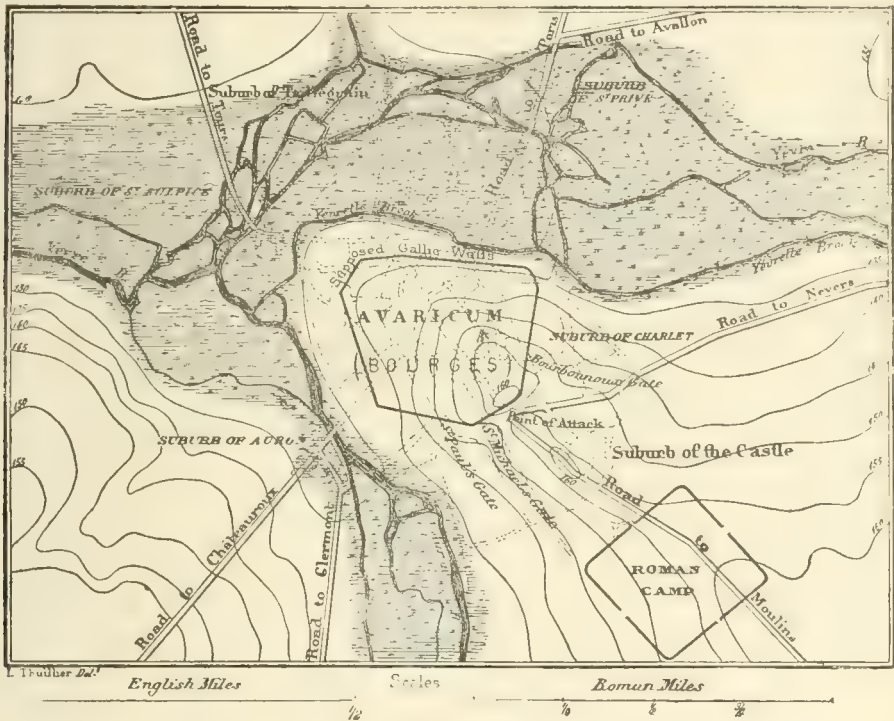
cum opened its gates to him. But this delay allowed Caesar to arrive from Italy. The proconsul had no fear this time that his legions, massed as they were at three points not far distant from one another and kept on the alert by the gravity of the circumstances, would let themselves be taken by surprise, and he took time to organize the defence of Narbonensis. A few days, indeed, sufficed him to see and to do everything,—to drive away the enemy, cross the Cevennes, notwithstanding the six feet of snow, and carry devastation into the territory of the Arverni (winter of 53–52 B.C.).

Vercingetorix was still among the Bituriges when this news reached him. Constrained by the murmurs of his soldiers, he hastened to protect their homes. Caesar was gone: he had crossed the mountains for the second time, obtained a corps of cavalry at Vienne, and, making forced marches along the Rhone and Saône, had, without declaring his presence, traversed the whole country of the Aedui, whose intentions he began to suspect. Already he was in the midst of his legions; and the Belgae suspended their preparations for war.

¹ LVTXTERIOS. On the reverse a horse; above, an ornament (De Sauley, *Ibid.* No. 44).

The boldness and activity of the proconsul had foiled the Gallic general's double project. The latter, less eager now to advance northwards, laid siege to the city of the Boii. — Gorgobina.

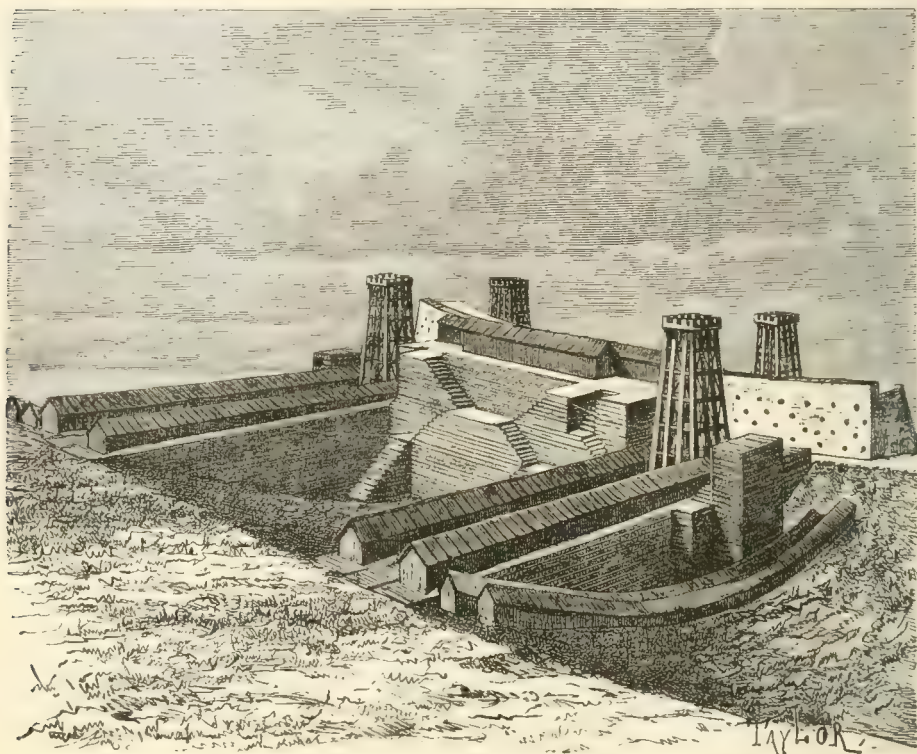
Caesar had concentrated his forces at Agedincum (Sens). He warned the Boii of his impending arrival, and hastened forward with eight legions. By the bridge of Genabum, Caesar crossed the Loire and took Noviodunum (Sancerre?), the first town of the Bituriges which he came upon. Vercingetorix, hastening up to save it, witnessed its fall, and saw that with such a foeman



another kind of warfare was required. In one day twenty of their towns were given up to the flames by the Bituriges themselves, and it was decided that, upon the approach of the Romans, each tribe should imitate this heroic devotion. It was their plan to starve the enemy, and compel him to send out distant expeditions in search of provisions, which would allow them to destroy the army in detail. But this resolution, which would have ruined Caesar.

¹ Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, pl. 18.

was not fully carried out: Avaricum, the capital of the country, was spared. "Do not compel us to destroy with our own hands the most beautiful town in Gaul," said the inhabitants to the council of the army: "we swear to you that we will defend and save it." The council yielded; Caesar immediately hastened thither. Although situated in a plain, this town (Bourges), protected as it

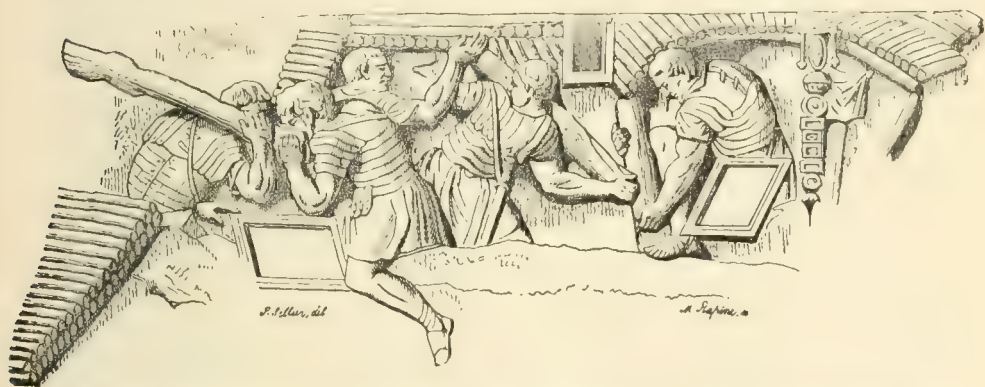


WORKS OF APPROACH OF THE ROMANS¹ (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

was by two rivers and a morass, was difficult of access: the bravest warriors of the Bituriges had shut themselves up in it, and the great Gallic army was encamped a few leagues away, behind the legions, and ceaselessly threw men and provisions into the place. At the end of a few days, Caesar found himself so much at a loss for provisions, that he proposed to his soldiers to

¹ The drawing represents [hypothetically] a portion of Gallic wall in which the stones are intermixed with beams (see p. 277): upon this wall the besieged have raised two towers to counteract those of the besiegers which overtop the ramparts, in order to drive back the defenders with arrows and stones. The *rimae*, or covered galleries, are carried up to the foot of the ramparts, that the soldiers they shelter may make a breach in it.

raise the siege if they felt their privations too severe: they refused with one voice, as if he had required some cowardly act. Satisfied with this proof of their endurance, the proconsul vigorously pushed on the gigantic works which the Roman soldiers knew how to carry out. In twenty-five days they built towers for attack and a terrace three hundred and thirty feet long and eighty feet in height. It was almost close enough to touch the walls, when one night the besieged set fire to it by means of a mine, and then made a sally by two gates, and attacked the works on both sides. But the Romans were on the alert, and after a terrible fight they remained in possession of the ground. Caesar relates that a Gaul, placed before one of the gates, threw balls of tallow and pitch into a fire built opposite one of the towers, to make it burn more fiercely.

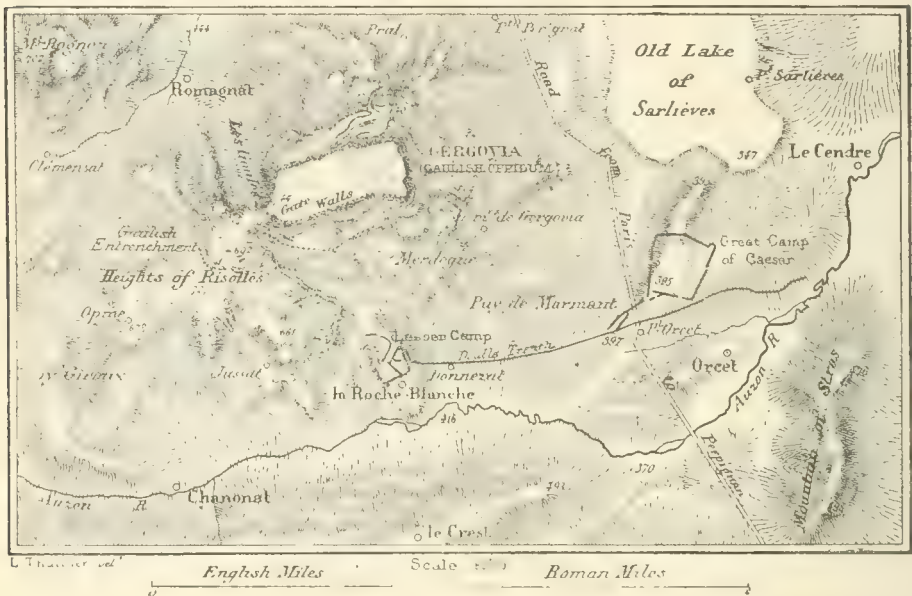


SOLDIERS WORKING AT THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN AGGER (FROM THE COLUMN OF
TRAJAN).

Struck by a shaft from a scorio, he fell; another immediately took his place; a third succeeded; then a fourth, and, as long as the action lasted, this fatal post never remained empty.

Caesar was less dismayed at their courage than at their aptness in imitating every art of the Romans for rendering the siege useless. "They turned aside our hooks with nooses," says he, "and, when they had entangled them, they drew them within their walls with machines. They came under our earthworks by mining,—a kind of work which is familiar to them on account of the iron mines in which their country abounds. They had lined their walls with towers covered with leather. Night and day they made sorties, set fire to our works, or attacked outworks. As our

towers rose upon the earthwork, they built up on their walls scaffoldings made of beams, which they bound together with skill. If we opened a mine, they discovered it, and, counterworking with the utmost diligence, either filled the mines up with great stones, or poured melted pitch into them, or repulsed the miners with long stakes burnt and sharpened at the end; all which very much retarded the approaches, and kept us at a distance from the place." The garrison, however, grew tired: they sent word to Vercingetorix that they could hold out no longer, and received orders to quit the town. But, before they could withdraw, Caesar took advantage



PLAN OF GERGOVIA ¹

of a cold and rainy day to order a general assault. The place was taken; of the forty thousand soldiers and inhabitants which it contained, scarcely eight hundred reached the Gallic camp.

The provisions which Caesar found at Avaricum supplied him for the rest of the winter (early months of 52 B.C.). When the spring came on, he was about to recommence offensive operations, when troubles broke out among the Aedui. An election to the magistracy of that State threatened to bring about a civil war which might paralyze Rome's oldest allies in Gaul. Being chosen

¹ Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, pl. 19.

arbiter, he repaired to Decetia (Decize), on the territory of the Aedui, because their law forbade the chief magistrate to cross the frontier, and decided in favor of the candidate who had manifestly the greatest number of adherents: this was Convictolitanis, whom the magistrates and priests had chosen. In return, Caesar took from the Aedui all their cavalry and ten thousand foot-soldiers to form a chain of posts for the security of his provision-trains, and promised them that great favors should reward their services after the war.

These services were great, for, by not wavering throughout the whole war, the Aedui and Sequani had insured Caesar free communications with the Province. As long as the broad road of the valley of the Saône remained open to him, he could plunge without fear into the north or centre of the country. He even considered himself strong enough, after the capture of Avaricum, to divide his forces. Labienus with four legions marched from the country of the Senones against the Parisii, whom Vercingetorix had stirred up to revolt, whilst he himself led the remaining six against the Arverni through the valley of the Allier. The Gallic leader had broken down all the bridges, and now followed along the left bank the movements of the legions on the opposite side. Caesar by stealth repaired one of the bridges, and crossed the river: he could not, however, induce Vercingetorix to accept battle in the plain, and when the proconsul appeared before the capital of the league, — Gergovia of the Arverni, a league and a half to the south of Clermont-Ferrand, — the Gallic army covered it.

The plateau on which Gergovia lay was about a mile long and a quarter of a mile in breadth. It was situated at a height of over a thousand feet above the plain, and twice as much above the level of the sea. On the north and east, the ascent to this plateau was so steep as to be impracticable; on the south there was a long slope; and on the west a narrow defile (*les Goules*) connected it with the heights of Risolles, also a plateau, lying somewhat lower than Gergovia. Opposite the southern slope rose a very steep hill, now called the Roche-Blanche. Two brooks, the Auzon and the Artières, flow, one north, the other south, of Gergovia. Caesar established his camps near the Auzon, that is to say, in the plain to the east of the town. Vercingetorix encamped on the Risolles; and an outpost stationed at the Roche-Blanche allowed him to obtain supplies of

forage and water from the valley of the Auzon. From their lines, the Romans could see the army of Vercingetorix ranged along the slopes, and every morning at sunrise they could recognize the officers who came to the general's tent to receive his instructions.¹ Caesar had taught the Gauls how to intrrench themselves. "Vercingetorix was encamped," he says, "near the town on the hill, where he had disposed the forces of the several States around him in different divisions separated from one another by moderate intervals. As his army possessed all the summits of the mountain whence there was any prospect into the plains below, they made a formidable appearance."

His first care was to capture by night the post of Roche-Blanche, leave a strong contingent there, and dig between that hill and his principal camp a double trench twelve feet deep, which allowed him to go from one position to the other under cover. Numerous machines arranged along the ramparts were held in readiness to sweep the plain: they were destined shortly to save the army.

Litavicus, the leader of the Aeduan auxiliaries sent to Caesar's camp, had fomented an insurrection among his troops, and was desirous of leading them over to Vercingetorix. The proconsul, being warned of this dangerous plot, hastened with four legions without baggage to meet the insurgents, and brought them back to his own side. But not-

LITAVICUS.²

withstanding the precautions which had been taken to conceal the departure of the principal forces of the Romans, it had not escaped Vercingetorix. He, on his part, had seen what was going on in Caesar's lines, and had taken advantage of his absence to attack them. Fabius the lieutenant had made a skilful use of the two legions which remained to him: he had repulsed all assaults, — thanks to the machines, the artillery of the Romans, — but he had been reduced to blocking up the gates, which was only resorted to

¹ The Gauls had adopted Roman customs. It was usual for a tribune to come each morning by order to the proconsul or praetor in command of the army, and deliver into his hands the muster-rolls. (*App. Bell. civ. v. 45.*)

² Coin of Litavicus, chief of the Aedui. Head of Venus on the right; a sceptre in front of the face. On the reverse LITAVICOS galloping, and carrying the national standard the wild boar ensign (*De Sauley, Numismatique, etc., No. 11*).

in cases of great danger, and he called Caesar back in all haste. On the following day the proconsul re-appeared: he had marched forty-six miles, going and returning, in twenty-four hours.

He had thus escaped two dangers; but the Aeduan sedition led him to foresee another and greater one, — an insurrection, a general one this time, of Gaul. He was preparing, therefore, to abandon the siege and concentrating his army, when, during a visit to the works of the smaller camp, he perceived that by seizing a hill (above Merdogne), whence the Gauls had retired to strengthen the defence of the plateau of Risolles, he could reach an outer wall built around the town, which was easy to surmount, and attack one of the gates of the *oppidum* itself. The attempt, however, which was not successful, cost the proconsul seven hundred men, of whom forty-six were centurions.



TEUTOMATUS, KING OF THE NITIOBRIGES.¹

It was a check. He imputed it to his legionaries, which was an injustice: he reproached them for not having ceased the fight as soon as he had sounded the retreat. But all could not hear the signal; and the arrangements he had made showed his intention of carrying the place by a rapid *coup de main*.

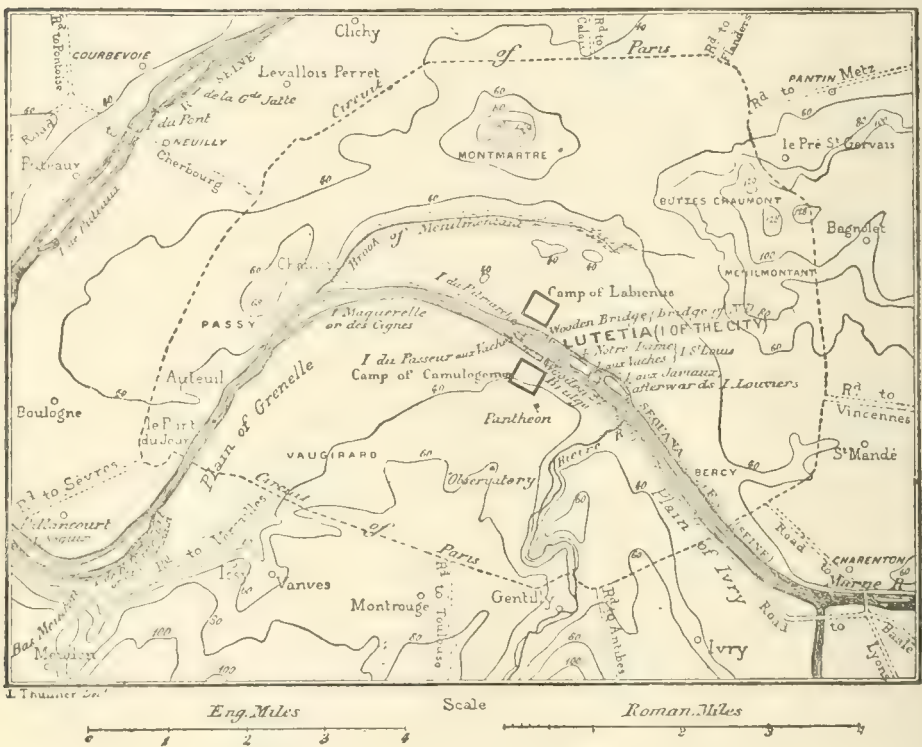
Two days after, Caesar offered battle to Vercingetorix in the plain; but the latter carefully avoided accepting it, and contented himself with skirmishing with his cavalry. "Judging from this," says the proconsul, "that the pride of the Gauls was humbled and the courage of his own men confirmed," he marched away in the direction of the country of the Aedui in order to join Labienus, who was eighty leagues distant, and, again rebuilding a bridge, hastened to place the Allier between himself and the great Gallic army.

This backward march looked like a defeat; and the emissaries of Vercingetorix proclaimed it everywhere as such. The Aedui thought Caesar's fortune would not recover from the blow, and, fearing lest the Gallic cause should triumph without them, they decided upon going over to the national party, bearing with them as

¹ Votomapatris, King of the Nitiobriges, called by Caesar Teutomatus. Bust of the chief. On the reverse . . . OMAPATIS; free horse galloping; underneath, a bird (De Saulley, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 45). The legend on the left, C. AIV IVLI, shows that this chief, who was made a citizen by Caesar, took his name (*De Bell. Gall.* vii. 31, 46).

a pledge of alliance the news of the massacre in all Aeduan towns of Caesar's recruits, the Italian merchants, and the hostages of the Remi who had remained faithful to their Roman friends.

This defection placed the army in serious peril, shut in as it was upon the delta formed by the Loire and the Allier (then swollen with the rains) at their junction, and by the Cevennes, whence they both descend. Beyond the Allier was the victorious army of Vercingetorix; beyond the Loire, the country of the Aedui in revolt. There were no provisions and no passage; for the town of



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF LUTETIA.

Noviodunum of the Aedui (Nevers) — where were his stores, baggage, the treasure-chest of the army, and a bridge by which he had expected to cross the river — had just been destroyed. Many advised him, therefore, to return into the Province. He thought that if he could effect a junction with the army of Labienus, he should then be strong enough, with a body of ten legions, to re-open the road to Gallia Narbonensis: moreover, he had embarked his whole

political fortune in this war; if he were conquered in Gaul, he would be proscribed at Rome. He rejected, therefore, every project of retreat, and advanced boldly into the north, leaving a hundred thousand Gauls between him and the Province. By careful search he found a ford across the Loire: the water rose to the men's shoulders; but the cavalry, stationed higher up stream, broke the force of the current. Then he reached by forced marches the country of the Senones, the capital of which, Agedincum (Sens), contained the depots of the legions of Labienus. That able lieutenant was returning thither, receding, like Caesar, before the revolt of all the tribes of the north.

The northern league had for its leader the Aulercian Camulogenus, an old warrior, active and skilful, who had made his headquarters at Lutetia. That town was then limited to the island in the Seine. Labienus at first tried to reach it by following the left bank of the river. Being stopped by the Gauls before the marshes of Essonne, or l'Orge, he retreated as far as Melodunum (Melun), seized all the boats that he could find, captured that town, which like Lutetia was situated on an island in the river, and crossed over to the other side to attack the city of the Parisii from the north. The position was easy of access on that side, and the boats he brought with him from Melun served for crossing the Marne, the only obstacle on the right bank of the Seine which could have stopped him. Camulogenus, fearing lest he should be stormed in his stronghold, burnt the town and the two bridges, and then retired to the heights of the left bank, the highest point of which is now marked by the Pantheon and the Observatory. He knew the Bellovaci were arming in the rear of Labienus, and he was desirous of forcing that general to accept battle with a great river behind him, and hemmed in by two armies.



COIN OF CAMULOGENUS, CHIEF
OF THE AULERCI.¹

But Labienus eluded his vigilance. While five cohorts, the baggage and some of the boats went up the Seine with a great noise, others slipped silently down towards Point-du-Jour in the first watch, about ten o'clock at night. Boats carried them across

¹ Head of Apollo. On the reverse CAMBIL and a lion. Attributed, but not with certainty, to Camulogenus. (De Saulcy, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 43).

the great arm of the river, into the islands of Billancourt and Séguin, which served as a curtain to screen their passage. Three legions massed in this shelter rapidly crossed the small arm, and suddenly descended upon the left bank. A violent storm had made the darkness deeper, and drowned the noise. At first they found only sentinels, who were captured. When the sun appeared, the Roman army was drawn up in battle-array in the plain of Grenelle, whence by a gentle ascent it could reach the plateau, turning the position of Camulogenus by the plain of Montrouge.

The old general, deceived by the movements farther up the Seine, had sent part of his forces in that direction: with the remainder he tried to drive the Romans back into the river. The action was a bloody one. Camulogenus and almost all his warriors perished in it. By this success Labienus only secured his retreat: he hastened to reach the territory of the Senones where Caesar had already arrived.¹

A new assembly of all the deputies of Gaul confirmed Vercingetorix in his command. Three tribes alone avoided appearing thereat: the Lingones, the Remi, and the Treviri. Finding the enemy superior in cavalry, Caesar obtained from the German nations, subjugated the previous year, several bands; and on their arrival, observing them to be poorly mounted, he distributed among them the horses of the tribunes, and even of the knights and volunteers. He now directed his march towards the Province, which Vercingetorix was threatening. The Gallie leader had commissioned the Aedui and the Segusiavi, their clients, to stir up the Allobroges, who remained faithful to Rome; the Gabales (Gévaudan) and some Arvernian troops had been ordered to ravage the territory of the Helvii (Vivaraïs); and the Ruteni and Cadurei (Rouergue and Quercy), to invade the country of the Volcae Arecomici (Bas-Languedoc). He himself, with fifteen thousand horse and a large number of infantry, proposed to follow Caesar, and, avoiding an engagement, to cut off his provisions, capture his forage-parties, burn villages and crops on his approach: in a word, to lay waste the country around him, and reduce him by famine. This was the plan that Vercingetorix had proposed at the commencement of the great war, and it

¹ Napoleon III. places their uniting point at Joigny; the Duc d'Anmale, at Vitry-la-Ville.

was an excellent one, provided it were strictly carried out. Caesar had taken the road along the frontier of the Lingones in order to cross the Saône and reach Sequania, avoiding the great centre of the insurrection, which was now in the Aeduan country. This line of march also led him towards the enemy, and it might, perhaps, furnish him with the opportunity for a battle.

He was not deceived in this expectation. When Vercingetorix saw the Romans approaching the Saône, he feared that Caesar, escaping from him, would return with larger forces, and he decided to risk at least a cavalry engagement.¹ Calling together his officers, he addressed them in an encouraging harangue. "His words," says Caesar, "were followed by the acclamations of all the cavalry, who proposed taking an oath never to return to their homes, nor visit their parents, wives, and children, if they did not twice pierce through the Roman army from one end to the other."

The Romans were not aware of the neighborhood of the Gauls until the latter suddenly attacked their marching column. Caesar at once opposed his cavalry to the Gallic horse, while the legions, brought into line, stood ready to furnish support when the cavalry seemed too closely pressed. By this method he rendered the attack of the enemy less vigorous, and increased the courage of his own troops, thus secure of support. The German auxiliaries gaining an advantage, it became evident that the Gauls were panic-struck: the battle changed to a rout. Vercingetorix retreated towards Alesia,² followed closely by Caesar, who arrived before the town two days afterwards.

¹ The place of the battle is uncertain.

² Alise-Sainte-Reine, a village in the department of the Côte-d'Or, six miles and a quarter north-east of Semur. Not less than a library of books have been written for and against Alise-Sainte-Reine. Alaise in Franche-Comté still has partisans, and search has been made in Bresse, near Izmorné, and even in Savoy, near Novalaise, to discover the spot where the great drama related in the "Commentaries" was enacted. The excavations made at Alise-Sainte-Reine have brought to light part of the works described by Caesar; and the coins found in these excavations — a hundred and thirty-four Roman denarii and five hundred Gallic pieces — are all anterior to Caesar's expedition, or contemporary with the siege, not one among them being later than the year 51 B.C. The latest Roman denarius is of the year 54 B.C.; and the Gallic coins are just such as an allied army would leave. They belong to the Sequani, the Pictones, Carnutes, Bituriges, Volcae, Santones, and especially to the Arverni; a few from Marseilles had been brought into the revolted countries by commerce. Upon them may be read the names of several leaders of the insurrection, — Vercingetorix, Tasgetius, Litavicus, Epasactus. All the Roman denarii were found in one of the trenches of Caesar's camp, the one which faced

Alesia, the chief city of the Mandubii, situated upon the top of a steep hill (Mount Auxois),¹ was considered one of the strongest places in Gaul. Upon the eastern slopes of the hill, Vercingetorix marked out a camp for his still numerous army, which could scarcely, however, have amounted to the eighty thousand foot and ten thousand horse which Caesar allows him.² He protected it with a trench and a wall six feet in height of unhewn stones: it was the position at Gergovia repeated, and the Gallic leader counted upon the same success. When Caesar had examined the place and the Gallic camp, he conceived the bold idea of ending the war at one blow by besieging town and army at the same time. He established his infantry on the hills surrounding Mount Auxois, and his cavalry in the lower ground. These camps, with twenty-three redoubts (*castella*), formed a line of investment ten miles in length. The redoubts were occupied in the day by sentinels to guard against surprise; and by night strong bodies of troops bivouacked there. While these works were in process of construction, a cavalry engagement took place in the plain of Laumes, on the west of Alesia, where again the Germans and the assistance of the legions routed the Gallic horse with great confusion and slaughter.

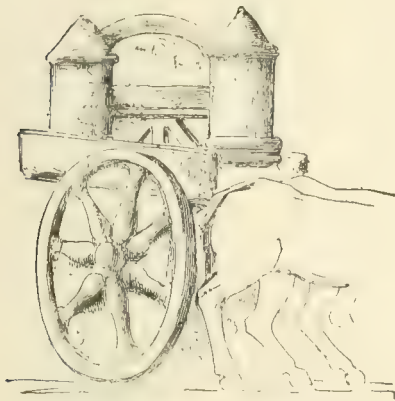
Shortly after this, Vercingetorix decided to send away his cavalry, and concentrate his remaining forces within the town. At parting, he enjoined them to repair to their respective states,

Mount Réa, where the legions lost heavily; all the Gallic pieces, upon Mount Réa, on the left bank of the former bed of the Rabutin and on the same bank of the Ozerain, that is to say, in the places where the army of relief made the most furious attacks.

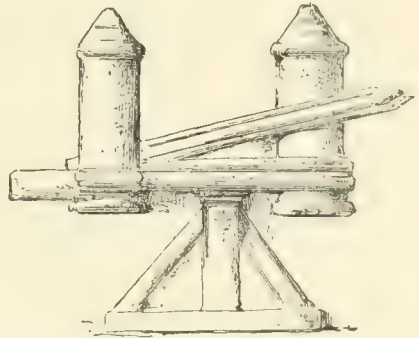
¹ It rises from five hundred and twenty-five to six hundred feet above the surrounding ground, and the plateau in which it ends is six hundred and fifty feet long by twenty-six hundred broad: two streams wash its base. The plain of Laumes on the west has a stretch of nearly three miles; everywhere else a ridge of high hills surrounds Mount Auxois, at a distance of about a mile.

² There can scarcely be found on Mount Auxois the space necessary for so many men and horses, the baggage, the camp-followers, and the Mandubii who had taken refuge in the *oppidum*: and although Caesar confirms these figures by saying that he sent away twenty thousand Arverni and Aedui free, and that each of his sixty thousand soldiers had a Gallic slave, I believe the numbers are greatly exaggerated. The first battle and the rout must have much diminished the Gallic army, but it did not suit Caesar to say so: and Roman generals never failed to exaggerate the number of their foes. Otherwise it would be astonishing that this numerous army should not have foiled the work of investment. When the best soldiers of Vercingetorix, his cavalry, were gone, he had only a mob left rather than an army, and, when once the plain of Laumes was cut by a trench, sorties became impossible, on account of the twenty-three *castella* raised on the hills, whence the machines swept all the passages. According to M. de Rochas (*Balistique de l'Antiquité*), the maximum range of ancient machines was four hundred and eighty yards.

and assemble all the men capable of bearing arms, that they might hasten to the relief of Alesia. Vercingetorix dwelt upon the many services he had done the Gallic nations, and conjured them not to abandon him and the eighty thousand men who were with him to the vengeance of the enemy. He explained to them that there was in the town a supply of provisions for thirty days, which perhaps by great care could be made to last a few days longer, and he bade them remember, that, unless relief arrived before the expiration of that time, he and all who were with him must perish. After giving them these instructions, he sent them quietly away at nine o'clock in the evening. He then ordered the people of the town to bring to him all their corn, threatening them with death in case of disobedience; and all the cattle in the place, which



MACHINE DRAWN BY HORSES.



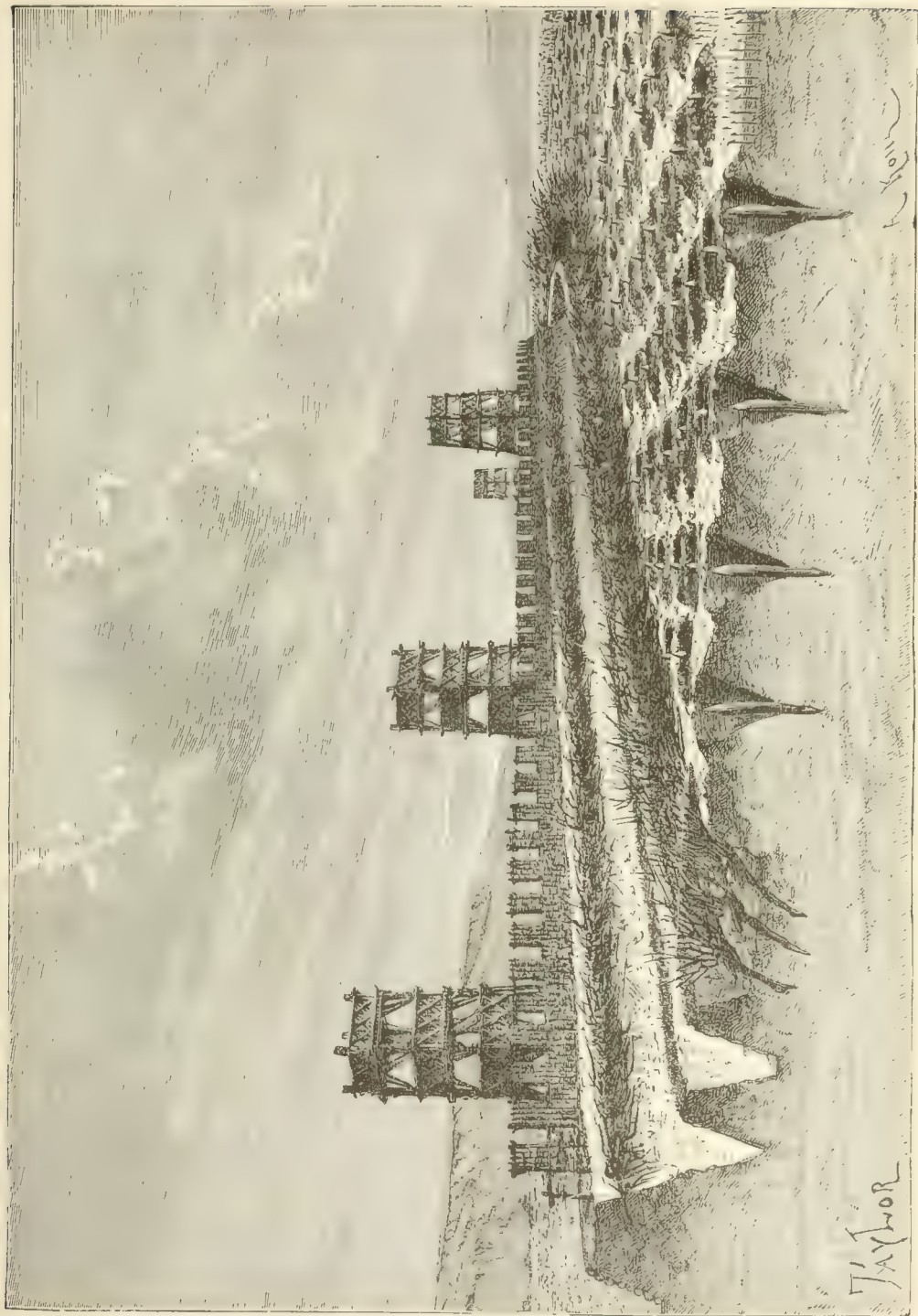
THE SAME MACHINE ON THE GROUND.

had been driven in by the Mandubii, he distributed among his soldiers in preparation for the siege.

Caesar meanwhile was commencing those enormous works which are minutely described in his "Commentaries," and have excited the admiration of the great Condé. He commenced by intersecting the plain which lay westward of the town with a trench, from the Oze to the Ozerain, twenty feet in width, and having perpendicular sides. Having thus barred the principal way of escape, he proceeded with his main line, which began at a distance of four hundred feet from this trench, and surrounded the entire hill, with a length of ten miles. There were first two ditches, each fifteen feet wide and of the same depth; the one nearest the town

being filled with water: behind these was a rampart and a palisade, having together a height of twelve feet. Against this was placed a fence of hurdles with battlements; and strong forked branches were fixed horizontally at the junction of the fence and the rampart, to prevent the enemy from getting over. The whole work was flanked with redoubts eighty feet apart.

“But as the soldiers were employed at the same time,” continues Caesar’s narrative, “to fetch wood and provisions, and to work at the fortifications, which considerably lessened the number of troops left to defend the camp, many of them being at a distance on these services; and as the Gauls besides often sallied at several gates with design to interrupt the works, — for all these reasons Caesar judged it necessary to make some addition to his lines, that they might not require so many men to guard them. He therefore took trees of no great height, or large branches, which he caused to be made sharp at the ends, and, running a trench of five feet deep before the lines, he ordered them to be put into it, and made fast at bottom, so that they could not be pulled up. This trench was again filled up in such a manner that nothing but the branches of the head appeared, of which the points must have run into those who should endeavor to pass them. As there were five rows of them interwoven in a manner with each other, they could not be avoided. In front of these he caused pits three feet deep to be dug, something narrower at bottom than at top, and fixed in them strong stakes, sharpened at the top, rising only four inches above the level of the ground, into which they were set three feet deeper than the pits, for the sake of firmness. The pits were covered over with bushes to deceive the enemy. There were eight rows of them at the distance of three feet from each other. In front of these defences were fixed, at the level of the ground, stakes a foot long to which were attached iron hooks. These caltrops, to which the soldiers gave the name of *stimuli*, were placed everywhere and very near each other.” Moreover, since the besieging army might be attacked from without, — for Caesar knew through deserters that Vercingetorix had appealed to all the Gallic nations to send him aid, — he repeated the same defences on the outside of his camp where it was not protected by the nature of the ground: the outer line of circumvallation being not less than fifteen miles



CAESAR'S WORKS ROUND ALESIA (RECONSTRUCTED FROM HIS DESCRIPTION)

in length. Five weeks, he tells us, and about sixty thousand men, sufficed for all this labor.¹

Meantime the message sent out by Vercingetorix had not failed of its effect. The Remi, it is true, persisted in their treason; and the Bellovaci declined to join the main army, saying they should wage war independently against the Romans, and were willing to subject themselves to no orders; but at the request of Commius, the king of the Atrabates, who had great influence with them, they finally furnished two thousand men. But a general levy had been made, the whole force numbering two hundred and forty thousand foot-soldiers and eight thousand cavalry.²

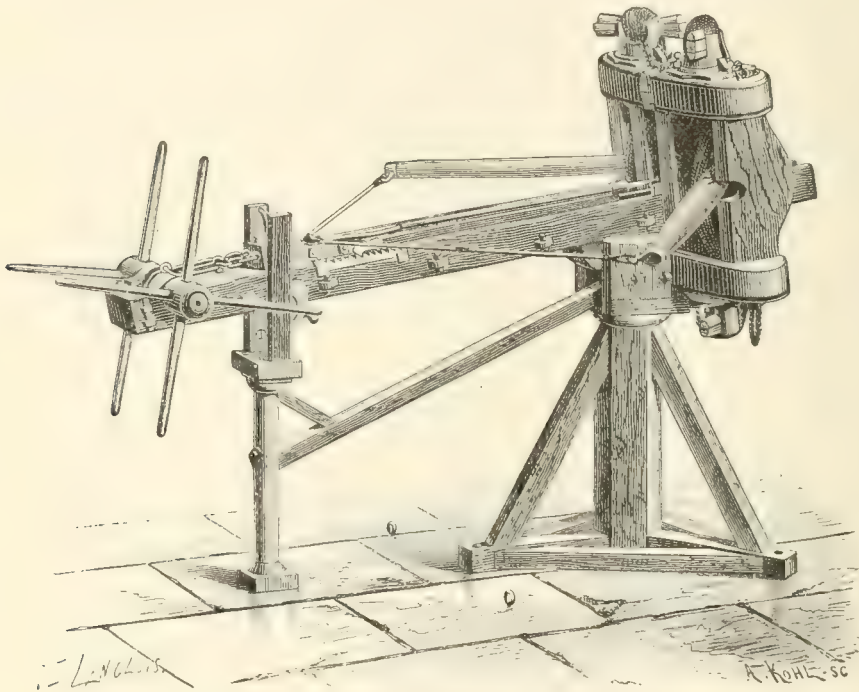
This enormous army began their march towards Alesia "full of courage and confidence, satisfied," says Caesar, "that the Romans would not be able to support the sight of so prodigious a multitude, especially in an encounter attended with so much hazard, where they must be exposed to a vigorous sally from the town at the same time that they saw themselves surrounded with such numbers of horse and foot. Meanwhile the troops shut up in Alesia, having consumed all their provisions, finding the day appointed for the arrival of succors expired, and knowing nothing of what was going on among their brethren, summoned a council of war to debate on what should be done." Various opinions were expressed: some advised a sally; others, a surrender; one of the chief men proposed that all persons incapable of bearing arms should be killed, and the soldiers be fed upon their dead bodies; finally it was determined to expel from the town all who were unfit for war, and to await for a little longer the coming of succor, before resorting to any more desperate measures. As a result of this decision, the Mandubii, to whom the city belonged, were driven

¹ For the details of these works and the results of the excavations made at Alesia, see the "*Histoire de César*," by Napoleon III., vol. ii. p. 271 *sqq.*, with the woodcuts which accompany the text. The works of circumvallation were only constructed where no natural defences existed, and the Romans found many such upon the hills which surrounded Mount Auxois. As for the trench of twenty feet (the Roman foot is 11.649 inches), that depth was no doubt only reached at certain points; and by its perpendicular sides (*directis lateribus*) must be understood that they were made to slope as little as possible. An eye-witness of the excavations assures me indeed, that the very firm soil admitted of an almost vertical cut.

² Another very large number. On this subject, see the discussion of M. Ern. Desjardins (vol. ii. pp. 703-705).

out with their wives and children, and were to be seen a miserable crowd wandering between the camp and the town, vainly begging to be received by the Romans as slaves, until at last they perished by famine.

The relieving army, on arriving, encamped on a hill outside the town, not five hundred paces from the Roman lines, and the next day deployed their cavalry in the plain. The arrival of their brethren raised the courage of the besieged army, and they came out in force, and posted themselves ready for action. Caesar was thus threatened on both sides at once, and he carefully dis-



CATAPULT RESTORED (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

posed his army accordingly, "that in case of need," he says, "every soldier might know his post;" and he then ordered the cavalry to attack the Gallic horse. The engagement lasted, with varying fortunes, from noon till nearly sunset; and for the third time the German cavalry at last secured victory to the Roman side. Meanwhile from the Roman camps and from the town, both armies witnessed the combat, and, when the Romans proved successful, the troops who had quitted Alesia "returned disconsolate into the town."

The day following was spent by the Gauls in the preparation of fascines, ladders, and hooks; these being made ready, towards the middle of the next night they emerged from their camp silently, and approached the Roman works from the outside. Suddenly, with loud outcries, they rushed to the attack, filling up the ditches with their fascines, and attempting to storm upon the rampart. Vercingetorix from within, notified by the shouting, led out his troops, who occupied themselves with filling up the first ditch, hoping to be able to reach the Roman lines. But the Gallic attack on the outside was repulsed and foiled by the obstacles Caesar had prepared; and Vercingetorix again returned with his army back into Alesia without having accomplished anything.



COIN OF VERGASILLAUNUS,
CHIEF OF THE ARVERNI.¹

The Gauls, twice repulsed with great loss, now adopted a new plan. North of the town, a hill (Mount Réa) had not been included in the lines on account of its extent, and the Romans had been obliged to post themselves disadvantageously on its slope. It was decided that fifty-five thousand of the best troops of the relieving army should attack from the top of this hill the two legions encamped upon its side, while



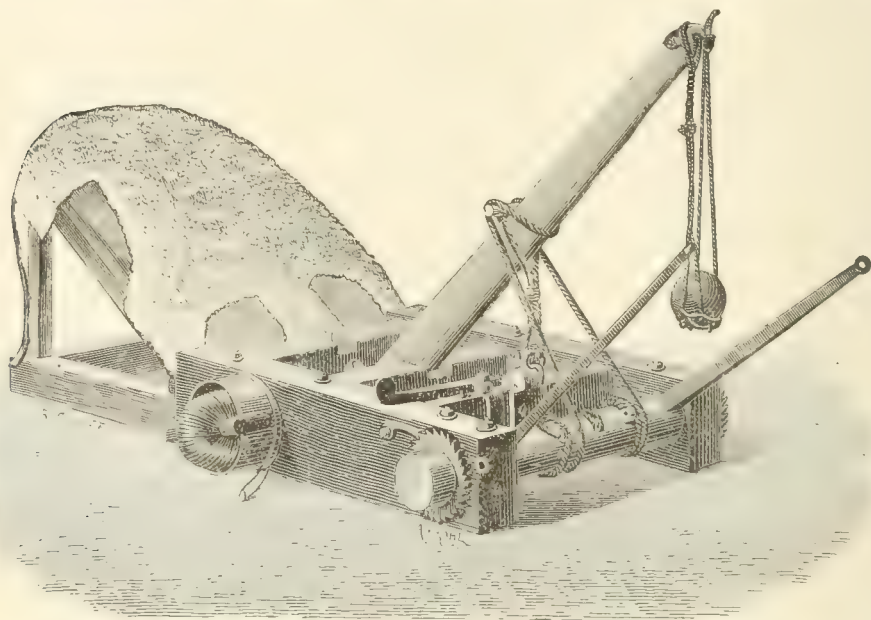
COIN OF SEDULLIS.²

the cavalry and the other troops should advance upon the line of circumvallation. About noon the attack began; and Vercingetorix, observing these motions, again came forth from the town, carrying the materials he had prepared for the assault. "Thus," says Caesar, "the fight was maintained on all sides at once. The Roman forces, having so many works to guard, were dispersed in different places, and scarce sufficed for the defence of them all. What mostly contributed to disturb them were the cries of the combatants behind, which informed them that their safety depended on the valor of others; for such is the constitution of the human mind, that it always aggrandizes what is absent, and magnifies the danger that is out of sight."

¹ Youthful bust: VERGA. On the reverse, a horse. (De Sauley, *Numismatique, etc.*, No. 56.) The traitor Epasnactus afterwards gave Vergasillaunus up to the Romans.

² Bare head with fillet and collar. On the reverse, a horseman blowing a trumpet, and bearing a wild boar standard, a wild boar above his head, two behind him, and between the legs of his horse a man knocked down; underneath, the word SEDVLLIS. Coin of the Lemovices. (De Sauley, *Ibid.* No. 47.)

From a hill-top Caesar commanded the entire scene, and sent re-enforcements as they became necessary. The fiercest struggle was upon the hill where the camps were attacked; and both the strength and the weapons of the Romans were nearly exhausted. Hither Caesar sent Labienus with six cohorts; but, the attack made by Vercingetorix now becoming successful against the towers of the Roman line, the proconsul was obliged to despatch for their protection Brutus with six cohorts, and then C. Fabius with seven more, and lastly to go himself with all the troops at hand. So large a force compelled the enemy to fall back, upon which Caesar made all



BALISTA RESTORED (MUSEUM OF SAINT GERMAIN).

haste to come to the help of Labienus and the two legions on the hill. He took with him four cohorts and part of the cavalry, and ordered the rest to make a long circuit, and fall upon the enemy's rear. Labienus, having drawn together thirty-nine cohorts from the neighboring redoubts, was about to sally from the camps, and sent to inform Caesar of his intention. The proconsul, just then arriving, was recognized by his purple mantle; and "a mighty shout," he says, "was raised on both sides, and carried quite around the lines. Then the Romans fell upon the Gauls, sword in hand; the cavalry appeared in the rear; fresh cohorts flocked to the spot; and

the enemy took flight. The slaughter was very great, and, being witnessed from the town, struck terror into the besieged, who drew off their troops from the attack. The relieving army abandoned their camp; "and, had not our troops been wearied out by the continual fatigue of the day," Caesar concludes, "and the frequent re-enforcements they were obliged to furnish, the enemy's whole army might have been exterminated." At midnight the cavalry was ordered in pursuit. The Gallic army had fled so fast that only the rear were overtaken. Of these, some were slain, and a great number taken prisoners. Thus ended the decisive battle of the war.

This time Gaul was finally conquered. Vercingetorix knew it; but his great spirit was not broken. He re-entered Alesia without displaying any fury or clamorous grief, in order to fulfil his last duty. He had not been able to save Gaul by his genius: he hoped at least to save those who had followed him by offering himself to the Romans as an expiatory victim. He called together the

assembly. "I did not undertake this war," said he, "for my own advantage, but to save the common liberty. The fortune of war is against us. I have been your leader: satisfy the Romans by my death, or give me up alive—it matters not which to me." The throng was so downcast that this sacrifice was accepted. They sent deputies to Caesar: he demanded that their arms should be surrendered and all their chiefs should be given up to him. "Vercingetorix," says Dion Cassius, "who had neither been taken nor



VERCINGETORIX (RESTORATION BY MILLET).

wounded, might have fled; but, hoping that the friendship which had formerly bound him to Caesar would procure his pardon, he repaired to the proconsul, without having sent a herald to ask for peace, and appeared suddenly in his presence as Caesar was seated upon his tribunal. His appearance inspired fear; for he was of tall stature, and had a very imposing aspect under arms. There was a deep silence. The Gaulish chieftain fell at Caesar's feet, and implored him by pressing his hands without uttering a word. Caesar, on the contrary, upbraided him with the recollections upon which he hoped for his safety. He compared his recent struggle with the friendship of which he reminded him, and by that means pointed out more vividly the odiousness of his conduct. And thus, far from being touched with his misfortunes at that moment, he threw him at once in fetters, and afterwards ordered him to be put to death, after having exhibited him in his triumph" (six years later).

On the news of this great success, the Roman Senate decreed that thanks should be rendered to the gods of Rome by twenty days of solemn festivals. Caesar dared not, however, winter on the Italian side of the Alps: he took up his quarters at Bibracte, in the midst of his legions. He had given up to his soldiers the captives taken at Alesia; so that every legionary had a Gallic slave to sell or keep.¹ For himself he reserved twenty thousand Aedui and Arverni, whom he set at liberty in the hope of winning over those two nations, who did, in fact, give in their submission.

VIII. — EIGHTH CAMPAIGN: SUBJECTION OF THE BELLOVACI AND CADURCI (51 B.C.).

THE war was not yet ended, however. The Gauls of the north and west, with the exception of the Nervii, Veneti, and Eburones, had not yet experienced any bloody defeats. In the preceding campaign their contingents had been small, and the

¹ The sale of slaves was very profitable. After the capture of Pindenissum, a small town in Cilicia, Cicero sold them to the amount of twelve million sesterces in the space of three days, and the sale was not then ended (*Ad Att.* v. 20).

losses had fallen principally upon the Arverni and Aedui. Their strength, therefore, as well as their courage, was still unbroken; and experience had taught them what kind of warfare they must wage against the legions, — surprises, partial attacks, but no more



ROMAN SOLDIER.¹

of those battles in which Roman tactics destroyed vast armies in a day. The activity of Caesar disconcerted this new plan.² In the middle of the winter he fell upon the Bituriges before they had completed their preparations, and made many thousand prisoners.

¹ Combatant, without either helmet or cuirass, who appears to be opposing his enemy's spear, or rather is preparing to hurl the stones which he carries in his cloak. Statue in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.

² For the winter he had divided his eleven legions in the following manner: two among the Sequani, the same number among the Remi, one among each of the following tribes, — the Boii, Bituriges, and Ruteni, — one again at Mâcon and Chalon; and he kept two with him at Bibracte. Each legion was commanded by a legate.

He did not, however, lay waste the country at all, and held out liberal conditions of peace, which were gladly accepted. Having rewarded the two legions which had just made this expedition in intensely cold weather, by giving every soldier two hundred sesterces, and every centurion two thousand, he sent them back to their winter-quarters, and himself returned to Bibracte, after an absence of forty days.



GALLIC SOLDIER (?).¹

The centre of Gaul seemed to be definitely pacified, as the Romans said. But at this moment the north broke out, and first of all the Carnutes, who invaded the territory of the Bituriges, laying it waste with fire and sword. Caesar had not rested more than eighteen days at Bibracte, when news was brought him of the movement among the Carnutes: he at once set out again, took up his position with two legions among the ruins of Cenabum, and thence sent out his cavalry and auxiliaries to scour the country.

¹ This statue, and the one on p. 353, seated on scrolls, must have been ornaments to some villa, and probably represent Gauls (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 854A, Nos. 2155A and 2155B).

It was a war of devastation and pillage; and the soldiers threw themselves into it with an eager desire for gain and a love of murder. A considerable portion of the Carnutian population perished of cold and want in the depths of the woods.

This execution was not yet ended, when a general rising of the nations of the north-east obliged him to hasten with four legions to the help of the Remi, who were seriously menaced.



GALLIC SOLDIER (?).

Ambiorix, at length hearing the rumor of war in Belgica, had issued from the forests of Germany, where he lay hidden; and this time the Bellovaci had risen in mass, supported by the nations of the valleys of the Somme and the Scheldt and by those of the Lower Seine. The proconsul marched towards their country: he found it a desert; and when he met them upon Mount Saint Marc(?), in the forest of Compiègne, their position, protected by marshes, was so strong that he dared not attack them. He was himself obliged to think of providing against surprises by constructing in the enemy's neighborhood a veritable fortress for his four legions,—a camp with a rampart twelve feet high, and sur-

mounted by towers of three stories, connected by galleries, in which the soldiers could fight under cover; two trenches, each fifteen feet wide, were made in front of it. Several days passed in skirmishes between the foragers. Caesar dared not attempt a direct attack, which would oblige him to cross a marshy ground, and then climb heights bristling with defences. He resolved to resort to his great resource,—investment. Three more legions were called up, and the works began. At the sight of the lines so rapidly pushed on by vigorous workers, the Bellovaci remembered Alesia with terror; and one night they sent out of the camp the women, children, and old men, and the numerous carts conveying their baggage. Daylight having overtaken them in that operation, Caesar took advantage of the disorder to approach nearer, in order to find an opportunity of striking some decisive blow. He threw wicker-work bridges over the marshes, and reached a hill adjoining that occupied by the Gauls. The latter lighted great fires along the front of their camp; and behind this curtain of smoke and flames, which the Romans dared not cross for fear of falling into some ambuscade, they escaped. Being overtaken in the neighborhood of the Aisne, they lost the best of their infantry, all their horse, and their chief, Correus, who refused to yield.¹ This reverse



COIN OF DURATIUS.²

discouraged them; they implored mercy of the victor; all the cities of the north-east likewise gave hostages. Caesar scoured Belgica, drove Ambiorix, who had entered the territory of his tribe with a few hundred fugitives, back across the Rhine once more, and

then returned towards the Loire; for all the cities south of that river had also revolted.

Duratius, a friend of the Romans, had put down the insurrection among the Pictones by seizing their capital. The war in

¹ These encounters are placed by M. de Sauley (*Campagnes de Jules César en Gaule*, p. 394 *sqq.*) and by Napoleon III. in the forest of Compiègne, on the north of that town. Caesar's first camp must have been at Mount Saint Pierre in Chartres, the second at Mount Collet, the Gauls upon Mount Saint Marc. M. Peigne-Delacourt, who discovered a Roman wooden bridge beneath half a yard of peat in the marsh of Breuille-Sec, below Clermont (Oise), places the Roman camp on the hill which commands that town.

² Head of Diana: DVRAT. On the reverse, free horse galloping; above, an aedicular or monogram; in the exergue, IVLIOS. Cf. p. 337, the explanation of this name on the coin of Votomapatius; De Sauley, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 46.

the west was concentrated round that place, which the Gauls besieged, and the Romans advanced to relieve. The lieutenant Caninius had hastened thither from the frontiers of the Province with two legions: Caesar sent him twenty-five cohorts more, under the command of Fabius. The allies, fearing lest they should be shut in between the stronghold and two Roman armies, tried to regain the Loire. Just as they were crossing it, the cavalry of Fabius appeared and threw them back to the left bank; there the cohorts reached them, and this army, too, was destroyed. The Andes, the remnant of the Carnutes, and the Armorican cities gave hostages.

There were brave men who did honor to these last days of Gaul. Let us piously recall their names; for history, like "Old Mortality," should seek through woods and over mountains the spots where martyrs have fallen, should clear away the moss and brambles from the stone of their sepulchres, and bring back to life their forgotten names. Correus, chief of the Bellovaci, who fell in an ambuscade, fought gallantly. The river and the forests were near: he might have fled; he would not, but struck down every



COIN OF CORREUS, CHIEF
OF THE BELLOVACI.¹



COIN OF GUTRUATUS, OR
COTUATUS, CHIEF OF THE
CARNUTES.²

legionary who dared approach him, holding his ground until the enemy overwhelmed him from a distance with a shower of arrows. Gutruatus was the chief of the Carnutes, and, like Correus and Vercingetorix, was the instigator of the desperate

war which his tribe waged against the Romans. Caesar required that he should be given up, and ordered his lictors to beat with rods and then behead the man who had defended his country against him. Drapethis, a Senonian chieftain, had armed his very slaves for the war of liberty. Even after the last disasters, he continued to attack the Romans; being taken prisoner by them, he starved himself to death. Dummacus, chief of the Andes, plunged into the

¹ Correus, named Cricirus upon coins. Head with helmet and winged horse. (De Saulcy, *Numismatique*, etc., No. 73.)

² Cotuatus, or Gutruatus, war-chief of the Carnutes in the seventh and eighth campaigns. Head of Venus and a monogram. On the reverse, a winged lion. (De Saulcy, *Ibid.* No. 22.)

woods, when there was no longer any hope, and left no trace behind him: like Ambiorix, he died unknown, but free. Commius, king of the Atrebatas, had expiated by brilliant services to the Gallic cause his error in having at first been Caesar's friend. Labienus, dreading his influence, had enticed him to an interview. It was agreed that at the moment when the Roman officer Volusenus took the Gaul's hand, the centurions who accompanied him should fall



COIN OF COMMIUS, CHIEF
OF THE ATREBATES AND
MORINI.¹

upon Commius, and despatch him with their swords. But his friends averted the blow; and Commius, though grievously wounded, escaped. When his people were treating for peace, and wished, in order to save him, to include him among the hostages, he refused.

"I have sworn," said he, "never to meet a Roman face to face again;" and he disappeared into the depths of the woods. Some fugitives joined him there. He continued the war with them, infesting the neighborhood of the camps, and cutting off convoys on their way to the quarters of the legions. One day he met the prefect Volusenus at the head of a detachment of cavalry. The sight of his enemy aroused his anger. The Gauls were fewer in number; but Commius entreated them to help him in his vengeance. By feigning flight, he drew Volusenus far ahead of his men, then wheeled round, fell furiously upon him, and wounded him with a javelin. The Romans hastened up. Commius could not despatch his enemy; but his vengeance was satisfied. He sent deputies to Antony, and offered to lay down his arms on condition of being allowed to live where he would be sure of never meeting a Roman.

The last resistance was offered by an obscure town. The invasion of Caninius in the west had obliged Lucretius, the former lieutenant of Vercingetorix, to give up the idea of another invasion of Gallia Narbonensis, and he had thrown some troops into the little stronghold of Uxellodunum² (probably Puy d'Issolu), in the territory of the Cadurci (Quercy).

¹ Head with helmet. On the reverse, a horse running free. Coin of Commius, chief of the Atrebatas and Morini. (De Sauley, *Numismatique, etc.*, No. 34.)

² At Uxellodunum, Caesar was on the frontier of Aquitania, where he had not yet made his appearance: he went and passed the summer there with two legions, visited Gallia

Caninius immediately laid siege to it. The fortress, built amid steep rocks, was so strong that Caesar had time to arrive from Belgica, and it was only by cutting off the supply of water from the besieged that they were forced to surrender. The proconsul, whom such a war would have ruined in the end, was desirous of making a terrible example of these last defenders of Gallic liberty. All who had borne arms in Uxellodunum had their hands cut off; then, scattered throughout Gaul, they proclaimed to all men the fate reserved by the Romans for rebels. Lucterius, who had escaped, was later given up to Caesar by an Arvernian (51 B.C.).¹

This atrocity was the last act of the Gallic war. No struggle left greater memories in the ancient world. "During these eight years," says Plutarch, "Caesar stormed more than eight hundred towns, subdued three hundred nations, and conquered three millions of men, of whom a third perished on the battlefield, and another third were sold." It matters little if the figures are exaggerated: they show how the minds of the ancients were impressed by these gigantic combats. Gaul had an end worthy of the renown that so many victories and conquests had given her; and her sons may be permitted to honor that heroic resistance.

But, after this homage paid to the courage of our forefathers, it is to be acknowledged, that, in view of the general interests of the world, Caesar had brought to a glorious close the list of conquests of the Roman Republic. A great war was ended and a great work commenced. The Roman frontier advanced from the Alps to the Rhine, German barbarism driven back and restrained, Graeco-Latin civilization spread along the banks of the Saône, the Loire, and the Seine, and thus gaining a sufficiently wide base to prevent its ever, in days of misfortune, being crushed out by invaders—such was the service rendered by Caesar, not only to Rome, but to humanity. In this work he had employed eight years, eleven legions, the inexhaustible resources of Roman discipline, his own genius, and his incomparable activity. Till then

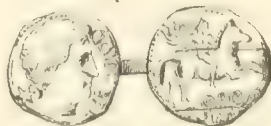
Narbonensis, again traversed the whole of Gaul, and stopped at Nemetocena, among the Atrebates, in the heart of Belgica. Before the end of the winter, 51-50 B.C., he returned into Gallia Cisalpina.

¹ Napoleon III., *Histoire de César*, pl. 30.

Gaul had been like the untamed horse we see stamped on Nervian coins,—free and fiery in its movements: he had curbed it. But, as soon as the new condition was accepted, Caesar set himself to obliterate the memory of the great defeat and to heal the wounds of that terrible war. He spent a whole year in visiting the principal cities in order to win over men's minds and tranquillize their hearts. There were no confiscations giving the land over to his soldiers, for he had not bought them with ten years of victories and booty to make them, on the eve of Pharsalia, peaceful husbandmen in the Gallic plains. No heavy tribute was imposed, only that which the new province had consented to pay during the war (forty million sesterces); and even then there were numerous exemptions in favor of allies and towns who had secured that privilege, especially of the Gallic nobles who were to form in each city a devoted faction, and remain clients of Caesar. To these favors he added what Rome's subjects had hardly ever known,—respect for the conquered, for their glory, for their trophies, even those raised at his own expense. He had lost his sword in battle: one day his soldiers found it hung up in a Gallic temple, and proposed to snatch it down. "Let them keep it," said he: "it is sacred." He left them much more than this,—their priests, their religion, their laws, and, after the victory, he seemed to remain among them only to impose public peace upon them, and to associate them with Roman greatness.

In truth it was for his interest now to attach to himself this valiant race. The conquest of Gaul had provided him with an army well inured to war and at the same time devoted to himself, with vast wealth, and immense influence in the Republic. He could no longer re-enter Rome as a mere citizen, for he had risen too high not to rise higher still.

¹ Bust of a man, with an unexplained inscription. On the reverse, a horseman holding a lance in rest. (*De Bell. Gall.* viii. 44; *De Sauley, Campagnes de Jules César en Gaule*, No. 51.)



COIN OF EPASNACTUS, CHIEF OF THE ARVERNI.¹

CHAPTER LV.

HOME POLICY DURING THE PROCONSULSHIP OF CAESAR (58-49 B.C.).

I. — CLODIUS, CICERO, AND MILO.

NINE years ago Rome had witnessed the departure along the Flaminian Way of the elegant, dissolute Caesar. — a man who had ever been wont to mingle pleasure with the gravest affairs,¹ and was as much the arbiter of fashion as the political leader. It had been thought that his constitution was too much impaired by excesses and by labors to withstand the fatigues of a long war. But one day came news that he had defeated four hundred thousand Helvetii and a hundred and twenty thousand Suevi, and then the Belgae and Armoricans; another time, that he had crossed the Rhine, and that he had carried the Roman eagles into Britain, the very western extremity of the world. And letters of officers and soldiers described those terrible struggles in the midst of wild countries, their rapid marches, their immense works, and above all the untiring activity of the man of delicate complexion, of slender figure, and uncertain health, who thought he had done nothing so long as aught remained to be done, — who swam great rivers and crossed mountains in winter-time, — who in rain, in snow, in deep forests, or swampy plains, spared himself no more than he did the humblest legionary, save when, borne in a litter, he dictated to his secretaries four letters at a time.²

¹ This brings to mind Servilia's note, received in the midst of a discussion among Catiline's accomplices. Caesar wrote a good deal. "He was the first to introduce at Rome the custom of communicating with his friends by letter when business or the extent of the city did not allow him time to meet them (Plut., *Caesar*, 18). All his letters are lost, save those which have been preserved among Cicero's correspondence. His "*Libri auspiorum*," "*De Astris*," "*De Analogia*," his "*Apophthegmata*," and the "*Anti-Cato*" are also lost: there only remain his "*Commentaries*."

² Respecting these details, see Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 45, 51, 57; Dion., xliii. 43; Plut., *Julius Caesar*, 18; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 25; and Cic., *Ad Att.* viii. 9: *hoc répas horribili vigilantia*,

He was no longer the man whom Roman idlers had called the minion of Nicomedes and the accomplice of Catiline, but the great general, who, without having for a moment distracted her attention from her pleasures, brought to the feet of Rome that Gallic race whose turbulent courage had so long troubled the ancient world. Thirty battles, in which three million men had been engaged, were well worth Pompey's equivocal victories and his laurels, gleaned in the track of so many less fortunate rivals.

While Caesar, to the means of influence which he already possessed, was thus adding the most powerful of all, the prestige of military fame, what was happening to the Republic? Rightly to understand these deplorable times, and to judge the actors justly, we must look into the evil chaos of boundless ambitions, paltry vices, and aimless crimes, in which the people is represented by gladiators and drunken mendicants, the Senate by trembling old men,¹ the laws by bargains, liberty by riots, — a hateful time, which spoils Cicero and even Cato for us, — one in which the leaders of the Senate, as well as those of the people, degrade and abase themselves as if to bring into greater prominence the inevitable master whose image, notwithstanding distance, is present, and seems daily to grow upon the horizon.

We left Clodius master of the Forum with the approbation of the triumvirs. But he was too ambitious a man to be long content with serving as the instrument of the ambition of others. By putting up at auction his favor and the influence which his office gave him, by selling impunity to Menula of Anagnia, the rich priesthood of Cybele of Pessinus to Brogitarus, to a hundred others everything they could buy, he collected sufficient money to satisfy the ruffians with whom he had surrounded himself. At the head of an armed band, he pulled down Cicero's house on the Palatine, and, in order that it might not be rebuilt there, he consecrated the site to the Goddess of Liberty. A statue of a courtesan which his brother

celeritate, diligentia est. He sometimes went a hundred miles a day, and often outstripped his couriers (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 54). Like Alexander, he rode a horse which no man but himself could control (Plut., *Julius Caesar*, 18; Suet., *Ibid.* 57). On ordinary marches he went on foot amid his soldiers, his head bare to the sun and rain (Suet., *Ibid.* 54). He shared their food: one day he caused a slave to be beaten who had served him with a better loaf (Suet., *Ibid.* 47). It was thus, that, as Montesquieu says, he conquered his soldiers.

¹ *Desipientem senatum.*

Appius had brought from Tanagra was placed in the shrine, and represented the goddess: it was a true representation of the Liberty which he loved, whose name is License. The consuls Gabinus and Piso, whom he had won over by securing to them the two rich governments of Macedon and Syria, aided him in pillaging the orator's villas, whence they carried off the most costly furniture and the curiosities of all kinds, which Cicero had taken pleasure in collecting. Thanks to the abasement of the Senate, and the popular indifference, and Pompey's inertia, Rome saw established in power a man whose only policy was audacity. Vatinius, Caesar's principal agent during the latter's consulship, was cited before the praetor: Clodius overthrew the tribunal, and drove away the judges. Pompey had given into the charge of one of his friends the young Tigranes his prisoner: the prince bribed the tribune, who permitted him to escape, and, to cover his flight, attacked and slew his pursuers. This was a direct offence against the triumvir, and others followed; for such was the self-confidence of this man, sprung from the proudest of the patrician houses, that the conqueror of Asia seemed to him a meddlesome rival, who must be crushed. Pompey's friends were threatened with accusations: he himself was the butt of unanswerable raillery, which ruined his popularity. At length he came to desire the return of the exiled Cicero. It was proposed by certain of the tribunes, and the entire Senate supported the proposition, even Gabinus, on whom his patron Pompey imposed this recantation. But Clodius sent out his retainers; the consul was wounded, the assembly dissolved, and the matter adjourned. Dazzled by this success, he thought he could with impunity attack the other triumvir, and he asked the Senate to rescind the Julian laws as having been made contrary to the auspices.¹

It was too much, however, to struggle with Caesar and Pompey at the same time. The latter wrote to his ally among the Gauls to know what he thought of the recall of Cicero;² and Sextius, a tribune-elect, was the bearer of the letter,³ — a proof of the accord

¹ Cic., *Pro Domo*, 15.

² "He is only waiting," says Cicero (*Ad Att.* iii. 18), "for a letter from Caesar to have the proposition brought forward by one of his partisans."

³ *Pro Sextio*, 33.

which still existed between these two powerful men, and also of the high authority Caesar still retained at Rome, where Pompey, the Senate, and the college of tribunes, dared do nothing of importance without making sure of his consent. Caesar now no longer opposed the return of the orator, believing that, after this bitter experience, Cicero would give up the idea that he was an indispensable man; and the triumvirs allowed none but opponents of Clodius to attain office for the following year.

On the 1st of January, B.C. 57, the new consuls¹ having asked for the recall of Cicero, the Senate passed a decree most honorable to the exile; but, when the projected measure was brought before the public assembly, Clodius and his retainers prevented the voting. Cicero advised that he should be fought with his own weapons. There was then upon the tribunes' bench Milo, an individual devoid of talent, but also devoid of scruples, a desperate man, overwhelmed with debt, who could escape his creditors only by obtaining a province to plunder. For this, it was necessary to belong to a party: he gave himself up to Pompey, and Cicero's friends furnished him with the means of enrolling, as Clodius had done, a band of gladiators and assassins.

Such was the powerlessness of the laws and the magistrates, that nothing was now done but under the protection of one or other of these two bands of brigands. Oftentimes they came to blows. In one of these encounters, Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was seriously wounded, and only escaped by hiding beneath some of the slain; a tribune was nearly killed. In order to cast the odium of this attempt upon their foes, the friends of Clodius formed the design of killing another tribune, one of their own party, and then accusing Milo of the murder. So great was the number of deaths "that the corpses obstructed the Tiber, and filled the sewers, and the Forum was inundated with blood."² The senators summoned many Italians to Rome; they forbade observa-

¹ They were Lentulus Spinther, one of the judges who had condemned Clodius in his first trial, and Metellus Nepos, Cicero's old enemy, who was a relative of Clodius, but who had been compelled by his relations with Pompey to follow the policy of the latter. Appius, a brother of Clodius, who was afterwards Cicero's predecessor in the government of Cilicia, had succeeded in obtaining the office of praetor.

² Cic., *Pro Sextio*, 35; *Ad Att.* iii. 10; *Ibid.* iv. 2, 5. [Probably a gross exaggeration.—*Ed.*]

tions of the heavens, which each party made in accordance with its own requirements, and, while Milo kept Clodius in check with his gladiators, the law of recall was passed. After an absence of seventeen months, Cicero entered Rome again, borne aloft, he says, by the arms of all Italy (Aug. 16, 57 B.C.). For a whole year the Senate and Pompey had been solely occupied in bringing about this return of Cicero, while Caesar had employed the time in victoriously concluding three wars.

What were the feelings and the intentions of this man in whose behalf the Senate had suspended all business for six months? The confidence which he formerly felt in himself and in the institutions of his country had been weakened by the triumvirate; and his exile had completely destroyed it. In misfortune all his philosophy had broken down, and he had fallen into a state of deep dejection. "Can I forget," he repeated to his friends, "what I was, and what I have lost?" Far different had been the example set by Rutilius. From this time forth Cicero's conduct ceased to correspond with the greatness of the part he had played six years previously, — a part which he resumed for a few days only on the morrow after Caesar's death. After all, what could he do — he, a *novus homo*, having no family-ties with the aristocracy, — a man whom the nobles taunted with his origin? His scheme of universal conciliation had failed, like that of Drusus. The men of wealth who had rallied round him at a time when all fortunes seemed to be threatened now went where their interest called them, — to those who controlled public works and the tributes of provinces at their pleasure. The orders, the comitia, the Senate, were all but idle words, empty forms, faint memories of a republic which no longer existed. Might was right,¹ and the might lay with him who had most daring. Cicero, who was admirably qualified for the peaceful contests of quiet times, had not sufficient boldness to make a direct attack on the powerful men of the day. Against Catiline he had been energetic and resolute, because a great party supported him, and the cause was won beforehand. Now, when the standard he had at that time raised no longer attracted any man to it, he perceived that, in a republic which is drawing near its end, eloquence may

¹ *Mensuraque juris vis erat* (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 175).

give power for a moment, but arms alone can make that power lasting. He found that the nobles did not entertain a sufficiently vigorous hatred for his enemy Clodius, and that they grudged him



RUINS OF CICERO'S HOUSE AT ARPINUM.

the indemnity for his wrecked and plundered houses. "I see clearly," he sadly wrote,¹ "that I have been a complete fool."²

¹ *Ad Att.* iv. 5.

² *Scio me asinum germanum fuisse.* Cicero at first possessed no fortune. In spite of the *lex Cincia*, the clients whom he protected made him rich presents: one of them, P. Sylla, lent him two million sesterces (seventy-six thousand eight hundred dollars). Citizens put him down, according to the Roman custom, in their wills, and these legacies amounted to twenty million sesterces (*Philipp.* ii. 16): his government of Cilicia brought him in two million two hundred thousand. His wife Terentia had had a dowry of a hundred and twenty thousand drachmae (twenty-one thousand dollars), and she possessed a forest near Tusculum, etc. We know he had four houses at Rome, and at least eight important villas. For the rebuilding of his house at Rome, the Senate allowed him two million sesterces; for the damage done to his villa at Tusculum, five hundred thousand; for the one at Formiae, two hundred and fifty thousand (*Ad Att.* iv. 2), and this he considered far too little (*valde illiberaliter*). He must have put his money to some use, too. Brutus did so, and we know at what a usurious rate, — forty-eight per cent. Victor Leclerc, the enthusiastic editor of Cicero, assigns him eighteen villas, and

Accordingly, in his discouraged mind care for his own interests took the place of political solicitudes, and he whom the Senate and the people had proclaimed "Father of his Country" became Pompey's lieutenant and Caesar's agent.

A short time after his return, a temporary scarcity led to a riot. Shouts of "Death to the Senate!" were uttered; and the rioters threatened to burn the senators in the curia. Cicero hastened to discharge his debt of gratitude to Pompey by supporting a motion conferring upon him the superintendence of provisions for five years, with the inspection of all ports and markets throughout the empire.¹ Pompey liked these extraordinary functions, which placed him beyond the common law; but he would have liked to join to this charge a military command, an army, a fleet, the right of drawing at will upon the treasury, and, finally, authority over all governors of provinces; in his mind he even added to these the conquest of Egypt in order to make that country the granary of Rome. The Senate, who retained all their spite against him, and were secretly encouraged by Crassus and by Caesar's friends, refused to confer the royalty demanded of them, and granted only the superintendence of provisions. It was still a very great office, for it made him "absolute master of the navigation and agriculture of the whole world."² He solemnly appointed fifteen lieutenants as if for a difficult business, and Cicero consented to be the first on the list. The orator would have accepted even less, for in the effusion of his gratitude he forgot the position which his talents had won for him. His chief anxiety for the moment was to obtain from the pontiffs the annulment of the consecration, made by Clodius, of the ground on which his dwelling had stood. Acting on the favorable decision of the college, the senators ordered the rebuilding of his house at Rome and of his villa at Tusculum. Clodius dispersed the workmen, and nearly killed Cicero; and on another occasion he attempted to set fire to the houses of Quintus and Milo. Being accused by the latter of these breaches of the peace, he continued them, even while he was canvassing the aedileship; which Milo prevented him from obtaining, only by

thinks that, counting the houses of call, the number may be raised to twenty-three. But it must be said, that, like all great artists, Cicero was a very bad manager.

¹ Cic., *Ad Att.* iv. 1; Livy, *Epit.* civ.

² Plut., *Pompeius*, 49.

declaring that he himself was observing the heavens, and thus postponing the election.

On the expiration of Milo's tribuneship, Clodius obtained the office of aedile, which put a stop to all prosecution directed against him, and in his turn he accused Milo. Pompey defended him; but Clodius instigated a riot in the crowd round the tribunal, and pursued with the most cutting ridicule the awkward advocate. This scene must be read in Cicero's letters to gain a clear idea of the state at which the Republic and liberty had arrived. "Pompey spoke, or rather tried to do so, for as soon as he rose the band of Clodius began its clamoring, and throughout the speech there was nothing but vociferations and insults. When he had finished, Clodius, in his turn, desired to speak; but our men did the same in his case, and with such a noise that he lost ideas and voice. For two hours, insults and infamous verses were showered upon him. On his side he cried out to his partisans amid the tumult, 'Who wants to starve the people?' And the populace replied, 'Pompey!' — 'Who wants to be sent to Alexandria?' — 'Pompey!' At length they came to blows. Picture to yourself our grave friend, with his solemn vanity and his triumphal airs, receiving these biting epigrams full in his face amid such tumults. He suffered cruelly."

Another matter increased his mortification. Ptolemy Auletes, being expelled by the Alexandrians, had come to Rome, counting for the recovery of his crown on the support of Caesar, whom he had already paid, and on that of Pompey, who lodged him in his house. Feeling himself daily sinking in public opinion, Pompey, in order to escape from this unpleasant situation by some brilliant expedition, sought to obtain the mission of re-establishing the prince. The Egyptians, crushed by the taxes imposed by Auletes, sent a hundred ambassadors to Rome to plead their cause. Some of them were slain on the way; others were bribed. One of them, who would have revealed everything, was assassinated. Pompey, nevertheless, continued his protection of his worthless guest, but did not succeed in having himself appointed to reinstate him in his kingdom. A *senatus-consultum* conferred that mission upon the governor of Cilicia; and, in order that Pompey might find no pretext for reversing the decision, threatening prodigies appeared, and the Sibylline books were made to speak, forbidding the employ-

ment of soldiers to restore Egypt to the king. Later we shall see how this affair terminated, which was disgraceful from its beginning to its end.

Clodius endeavored to make these presages serve two purposes by directing them also against Cicero. The gods were offended, said he, at the profanation of a piece of ground which he had consecrated to a goddess. The orator replied. But both sides grew weary of this hypocritical contest carried on at the expense of heaven: they returned to blows and violence; and Cicero, supported by Milo, broke the brazen tablets in the Capitol, upon which were engraved the acts of the tribuneship of Clodius. The ex-consul himself became the leader of a band in the city, and he incurred the severe reproaches of Cato, who had just returned from Cyprus. In one of these frays the great orator Hortensius was nearly slain.¹

This mission to Cyprus, honorable to Cato, who had accepted

it against his own inclination, and had displayed in it his wonted integrity, was not so honorable to Rome. Under pretext that the King of Cyprus, a brother of Auletes, had connived at the proceed-



HORTENSIVS.²

¹ Cic., *Pro Milone*, 14.

² Visconti, *Iconographie romaine*, and Clarac, *Iconographie*, pl. 1049, No. 3213. This bust was found at Hadrian's villa at the same time with that of the philosopher Isocrates.

ings of the pirates, he was ordered, although he had received the title of "Friend of the Roman People," to abdicate his throne. Cato offered him as compensation the rich priesthood of the Venus of Paphos. He preferred to poison himself, and his kingdom was annexed to the province of Cilicia as domain of the Republic. Cato brought back seven thousand talents (about eight million dollars), rich furniture, and all the royal properties. We know that, when Rome plundered palaces and temples, she left nothing behind. It is unfortunate that the name of Cato should be connected with an expedition which looked as if it had been made by highwaymen.

But he was too much of a Roman not to be anxious, when the annoyance of having to commit an injustice was over, for the ratification of his mission, which had added a province to the Empire and a treasure to the *aerarium*. But Cicero sought to annul all the acts of the tribuneship of Clodius as having been accomplished in opposition to the auspices; and the sending of Cato to Cyprus was one of these acts. Hence arose a coolness between Cicero and Cato. Each man regarding only his personal interests, and acting according to his personal likes and dislikes, it seemed as though there was no longer any political party left. The true master of Rome in the year 56 was the aedile Clodius, and who could say what Clodius wished? Pompey, threatened by him, and attacked by Cato, knew not what to do or say. He was afraid of being assassinated: he dared not venture out into the streets of Rome, and only went to the Senate when the assembly was held near his abode. "They have a design against my life," said he to Cicero. "Crassus supports Cato, who instigates suits against my friends. They furnish Clodius with money; they stir up Bibulus, Curio, and many others against me. It is time, unless I want to perish, that I provide for my safety, abandoned as I am by this people who have ears only for babblers, by a hostile nobility, by an unjust Senate, and a depraved youth. I therefore propose to call to my aid the country-people." And Cicero adds, "Clodius is preparing his band; but hitherto we have the advantage in numbers, and we are expecting recruits from Picenum and Gallia Cisalpina. When the bills against Milo and Lentulus come on, we shall be in force."¹

¹ *Ad Quint.* ii. 3.

Thus real battles replaced legislative discussions, and the orator who had so often been successful on the platform promised himself wonders, not from his eloquence, but from the vigor of his recruits; the vote would be his who had in his service the most stalwart ruffians; whereby we clearly see what violence effected, but can no longer see what has become of liberty. How beautiful are Cicero's words!—*Legum omnes servi sumus, ut liberi esse possimus*. But every man now wished to be the law's master, and none was its slave.

LUCCA.¹

Another thing stands out clearly from the mass of facts just given,—the growing unpopularity of Pompey with the Senate as well as among the people, and consequently the necessity for him to enter into closer relations with the all-powerful conqueror of the Gauls, and the obligation to accept the latter's conditions in exchange for his co-operation.

This is the secret of the conference at Lucca and the explanation of the events of the year 55 B.C., in which the fate of Rome was decided.

¹ Remains of ancient baths in the foreground (from a print in the *Bibliothèque nationale*).

II. — CONFERENCE AT LUCCA (56 B.C.); EXTENSION OF CAESAR'S POWERS.

WHILE the capital of the Roman world was thus given over to miserable intrigues, Caesar was pursuing his brilliant career. He seemed to be wholly occupied in his struggle with the Belgae, the Suevi, or the Britons, but, without quitting the provinces, he was present at Rome. Gold, silver, and the spoils of conquest, went thither, to be divided among the aediles, the praetors, and even the consuls and their wives.

But Caesar's fame and this conquest of Rome, effected at the same time as that of Gaul, were to the nobles a fresh source of irritation; and their opposition redoubled against this victor, whom they would willingly have seen vanquished or slain. "Society" took part in the matter. Women at that time held a great place in the Roman world. Every beauty gathered round her a court anxious to win her favor. Fêtes were given, at which all Rome was entertained; and along the enchanted shores of Baiae and Puteoli they turned night into day, or floated indolently over the sleeping waves, amid music, singing, and flowers.¹ Gallant adventures were frequent and much talked of, and the license in speech was as great as in manners. Caesar had risen too high by his victories for men of pleasure not to find, over their cups at the close of a gay repast, some biting piece of scandal against the former sybarite, whose labors were a reproach to their frivolity. Catullus, the most famous poet of the time, who has been called a republican in spite of himself, brought savage epigrams to these suppers. The insults that are fit to quote were the least among them. And the women applauded these invectives against the man who deprived them for war of those whom they would fain have retained for their pleasure. Nor was Pompey spared more than he.

Suetonius has preserved the memory of the *famosa epigrammata*

¹ Cic., *Pro Caelio*, 15: *Libidines, amores, adulteria, Baias, concivia, comissationes, cantus, symphonias, naviqnia*. This oration belongs to the same year as the conference of Lucca (56 B.C.).

of another poet, Licinius Calvus, against the two triumvirs;¹ and these pieces, copied by some, recited by others, with insulting commentaries, passed from hand to hand among the nobility. Wits often judge by the lesser traits of a man's character: the people, who simply feel, receive the vivid impression of great things unresistingly; they were proud of these Gallic victories which wiped out Rome's greatest humiliation, and bore her name so far and so high.² Caesar took care to let them be known in the city. A perfectly organized service of couriers quickly brought to Rome the news of his battles;³ and the bulletins from the great army were a brilliant reply to the malicious verses with which the feigned republicans sought to destroy the proconsul's popularity while awaiting the time when they might destroy himself.

For the time being, they occupied themselves in attempts to deprive him of his army and his provinces. The Senate designated the proconsular provinces eighteen months in advance; and Caesar's *quinquennium*, which had begun in 58, ended in 54: there was ground, therefore, for asking who should replace him.⁴ Domitius Ahenobarbus, his old enemy, who was canvassing the consulship for the year 55, loudly declared that he would go at the expiration of his term of office (in 54, that is to say), and put himself at the head of the army in Gaul. A tribune had attacked the Julian law relating to lands, and the debate in the curia had been very stormy. Cicero had been engaged in the matter. The nobility and himself thought the moment had come for putting an end to Caesar's pretensions and to those of Pompey as well. The one was threatened in his command by the sending of a successor, and in his popularity

¹ Calvus was afterwards desirous of being reconciled with Caesar; and the general, who heard of it, wrote to him first; and, when Catullus apologized for his verses, Caesar admitted him to his table the same day (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 73).

² "Since Caesar's brilliant successes, all opposition offered to him goes against the popular feeling, and is unanimously condemned," *vehementer recusare* (*Ad Fam.* i. 9).

³ Two letters from Caesar to Cicero arrived from Britain in twenty-six and twenty-eight days respectively.

⁴ Since the Sempronian law, the consular provinces had been selected by the Senate, before the election of the consuls, which took place in July; and the new consuls entered office in the January following. The appointment would therefore take place more than eighteen months before the proconsul in charge ceased his functions. Cicero, in the *De Prov. cons.* (end of May, 56), combats the proposal to dispose of Caesar's provinces; and Domitius declares, that, after his consulship in 55, he would assume the governorship of the Gauls, for the reason that Caesar's powers only expired in 54 B.C.

by the repeal of his laws. The other, scoffed at by the people and repelled as a turncoat by the nobles, found himself exactly where the jealousy of the Senate had placed him five years before, on his return from Asia, when Caesar had saved his honor by obtaining the ratification of the acts of his generalship. Finally, if the Conscript Fathers had no army, they had Milo's band of gladiators, which increased in numbers daily,¹ and this was enough to carry through some disastrous measure unexpectedly. It was high time,

BESTIARIUS.²

then, to take counsel. Caesar made ready for a striking display of his influence and a secret convention, which should insure its duration.

He was ending the winter at Lucca when the news was spread in Rome, that Crassus and Pompey had repaired thither to meet him, that two hundred senators were paying their court to him, with so large a number of important men that as many as a hundred and twenty fasces of praetors and proconsuls had been seen at his door. Jupiter thundering in a clear sky would have

caused far less alarm than did this terrible news. Forthwith de-

¹ See (*Ad Quint.* ii. 6) how Milo, under an assumed name, bought the gladiators whom C. Cato could no longer support.

² Marble group which formed part of the Giustiniani Collection. The rarity of the subject renders it peculiarly interesting. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 871, No. 2220.)

fections began to take place among the senators left in Rome, and of these the most important was Cicero's.

In the month of April, 56 B.C., he was still speaking against the triumvirs with as much passion as Domitius, and placed the grotesque Bibulus above all the conquerors in the world. Terrified by this unexpected triumph, which attested Caesar's power at Rome and even in the Senate, he went over to the proconsul's side, blushing at his own want of courage, but openly avowing it. "Yes, it is a recantation," writes he to Atticus. "Farewell to integrity, to truth, and fine maxims; but who could imagine what perfidy there is in our so-called leaders? They have put me forward, and then abandoned me and pushed me over the precipice." And, even while he quoted Plato, he said to himself that he had done enough for the Republic, that it was time to think of repose and security.¹ "I must make an end of it: since those who can do nothing refuse me their friendship, I will seek friends among those who can do much," and he became "more supple than the ear-lap." C. Cato, one of the tribunes, made, it seems, the most violent propositions against Caesar. Cicero styled them detestable and monstrous laws; and he never again let slip an opportunity of praising the proconsul of Gaul, declaring, that, instead of recalling him, he ought to be compelled to remain in his government, if he should wish to leave it before the completion of his illustrious task. It is true that, in his correspondence, Cicero displayed totally different sentiments. This contradiction may be of service in estimating his character and courage; but it concerns his biographers only: his public adhesion, which must have induced that of many others, is all that is of importance to the historian, for it explains the powerlessness of the republicans.

When Pompey, however, returned from Lucca to Rome, there were violent altercations in the Senate. Whilst some persisted in the proposal for Caesar's recall, others demanded for him the right of choosing ten lieutenants, and of drawing upon the treasury for the pay of the six legions which he had added to the four originally comprised in his government. Cicero opposed the former motion,

¹ *Ad Att.* iv. 5: *Ita et esse et fore auricula infima scito molliorem* (*Ad Quint.* ii. 13 [15A]); Letter to Lentulus (*Ad Familiares*, i. 7).

and supported the second: the Senate dared not maintain a contrary opinion.¹ Did they think, in their present ignorance about the agreements made at Lucca, that by this concession they might win over Caesar's friends, whose support would enable them to refuse the demand for a new consulship for Crassus and Pompey? This may be so: at least the senatorial majority immediately turned against the two triumvirs, and decreed a national mourning, which was only assumed in public calamities. Preceded by the consul Marcellinus, and clothed as on funeral days,² the senators went down to the Forum in the hope of impressing the popular mind by this display, and obtaining some favorable action from them. It was not for the Republic and for liberty that they wore mourning, but for an oligarchy which felt its end drawing near. Accordingly, when the funeral train advanced, with downcast looks and tearful eyes, and when men saw those once violent hands now stretched suppliantly towards the crowd, the latter replied to this theatrical display of selfish grief by angry jeering. In spite of the order of the Senate, Pompey had retained his ordinary dress, and he sharply censured this seditious proceeding. To his words Clodius added sarcasms and invectives. The discomfited senators hastily returned to the place where they had held their sitting, and, as Clodius was nearly killed in the scuffle, the people were eager to burn the curia and all who were in it.

As the pathetic spectacle had not succeeded, the Senate tried authority, and drew up a decree, whose tenor is not known, which was doubtless, however, intended to restore them the advantage in their struggle with Pompey. A large number of senators favorable to the triumvirs, or bribed by them, prevented its passing. Then Marcellinus, addressing himself directly to Caesar's associates, asked them, "Do you both wish for the consulship, then?" — "Perhaps so," they replied. Every one understood what was meant; and the Senate, recognizing its own inability to prolong the struggle, ceased its functions. "It was impossible," says an old historian, "to assemble the number of members required by

¹ *Ad Familiares*, i. 7.

² Dion says further on (xl. 16) that this mourning consisted in laying aside the senatorial toga, and assuming the dress of knights, that is to say, in appearing degraded to a lower class.

the law ¹ to pass a decree on the election of the magistrates, and the year ended without the Senate going out of mourning: they were present neither at the public games, nor at the banquet held in the Capitol in honor of Jupiter, nor at the Latin *feriae* at the Alban Mount. As though they had been reduced to slavery, they took no part in any public affair.” ² Even the courts were suspended.

The consular elections had not been made at the usual time; so that every five days it was necessary to appoint an interrex, whose principal duty was to hold the comitia when it was possible to assemble them. The president of these assemblies had a great influence over the election, because, it being his duty to present the list of candidates to the people, he could refuse to put down names which did not suit him. Crassus and Pompey waited till it came to the turn of a senator on whom they could depend, and then put themselves down on the lists. Only one other candidate dared to present himself, — Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cato's brother-in-law. On the day of the voting, as he was on his way to the Forum in the early morning, with many of his clients, a band of men fell upon him; the slave who preceded him was killed, and he had only time to escape, wounded, with Cato: the triumvirs were elected. They filled all offices with their creatures, and prevented the election of Cato as praetor. For the aedileship an actual fight took place in the Campus Martius, in which many were killed or wounded. Pompey's toga was covered with blood. At the sight of this blood-stained robe, Julia believed her husband was slain, and fainted. The accident brought on a premature confinement, and from that time she began to droop. A year later she died in giving birth to a child which did not live; and Caesar, who would have been bound to Pompey by twofold bonds, — as his wife's father and the grandfather of his child, — became estranged from him: in a few years he was his opponent, then his enemy. This family misfortune was to cause many disasters.⁴



SPAIN
PERSONIFIED.³

¹ Probably a hundred at least: that is the number required by the *senatus-consultum de Bacchanalibus*. See vol. ii. p. 305.

² Dion, xxxix. 29, 30. *Curiae taciturnitatem annum, . . . silentium perpetuum judiciorum ac fori* (Cic., *In Pison*, 14).

³ On a denarius of the Postumian family.

⁴ [If I read rightly Caesar's character, historians have laid far too much stress on this

The triumvirs had assumed the consulship in order to get something more. The tribune Trebonius brought forward a measure giving Spain and Africa¹ to Pompey, and Syria with the neighboring countries² to Crassus for five years, with the right to enroll as many soldiers as they required. The plebiscitum did not pass without violence. Cato was once more dragged from the rostra, and carried to prison.

AFRICA PERSONIFIED.³

The senatorial party had succeeded in putting into the tribuneship two of their own men. One of these, Gallus, in order to appear unexpectedly and oppose his veto at the right moment, came by night, and hid himself in the Curia Hostilia, near the Forum. Trebonius, who knew of this, shut him up in it and kept him there all day: the other, Ateius, being unable to reach the rostra, was lifted upon his clients' shoulders, and cried that Jupiter was thundering: he was answered by blows, was wounded, and several citizens perished, after which Trebonius declared that the people accepted the law (55 B.C.).

Caesar had faithfully carried out the arrangements agreed upon at Lucca.⁴ A number of soldiers of the Gallic legions, despatched to Rome under the young Crassus, whose brilliant reputation preceded them thither, had by their vote insured the success of the consular elections; and the author of the Trebonian plebiscitum was one of his agents. Crassus and Pompey had now to fulfil their share of the agreement. On the day after that on which the measure of Trebonius had been voted, the two consuls obtained the passage of a law, called *Licinia-Pompeia*, prolonging Caesar's proconsulship. For how many years? For five years, according to Cicero, Livy, Velleius Patereulus, Suetonius, Appian, Plutarch, and Caesar; for three, according to Dion. Common sense, agreeing

family event. I cannot think that Julia's being alive would have made the smallest difference in the policy of either Caesar or Pompey. Whether she would have returned to her father, or staid with her husband, seems uncertain, but of no political importance. — *Ed.*

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 18, and Plut., *Pomp.* 52. Africa continued to have special governors; but they were placed under the superior authority of Pompey, who, for his superintendence of provisions, needed to hold command in the province, which was looked upon as Rome's granary.

² Καὶ τὰ πλησιώχονα αὐτῆς (Dion, xxxix. 33).

³ AFRICA S. C. Africa, with an elephant's head as head-dress, holds a scorpion in her right hand; her left arm leans upon a horn of plenty; in front of her are some ears of wheat.

⁴ Ὡς περ ὑπέστησαν (App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 18).

with the oldest texts, indicates that this prolongation must have been equal in duration to the proconsular powers which Crassus and Pompey had just obtained, and that Caesar could not consent to leave his rivals, as would have happened on Dion's hypothesis, in possession of armies, provinces, and treasures, when he himself became simply a private individual.

Pompey, who owed to Caesar his extrication from a position of hopeless difficulty, could not so soon break his word to him. Caesar was therefore, as the writers of most authority say, continued in his proconsulship for five years. He had the right to choose ten lieutenants, and to draw, like Pompey, upon the public treasury for the pay of his legions, instead of furnishing it out of the spoils of war, thus leaving vast resources in his hands. Finally a second consulship was promised him for the year 48,¹ and a later law authorized him to canvass for it while absent.² The *triarchy*, or government by three, was re-established.

This time Crassus and Pompey thought they had established equality between themselves and their colleague: they had as many provinces, and they could have as many legions, as the proconsul of the Gauls. They even had the advantage over him, of being in possession of the consulship; and Pompey still retained his superintendence of provisions, which permitted his remaining at the centre of government. But in meditating a struggle with the Parthians, which should procure him the same renown and wealth that Caesar had obtained in Gaul, Crassus overestimated his strength. By taking Spain and Africa, which were peaceable provinces save for a few local revolts, Pompey found neither fame nor spoils for his legions; and the right which he retained of remaining at Rome was the cause of his ruin. At the decisive moment, Gaul and the Caesarians separated the Pompeian legions from their leader; that is to say, when the inevitable rupture took place, Pompey was defeated even before hostilities had commenced.

The year 55 passed away without any important events; and the

¹ Our texts do not mention it; but neither do they speak of the agreements concluded at Lucca, because these things are not openly declared: subsequent facts prove that the engagement must have been entered into.

² See pp. 399, 400.

triumvirs, confident of the future, allowed Domitius to obtain the consulship, and Cato the praetorship, for the following year: the hatred of either no longer seemed dangerous.¹

III. — EXPEDITION OF CRASSUS AGAINST THE PARTHIANS (54 B.C.).

CRASSUS was sixty years old; he had a large fortune,² but he was a man of no intelligence. Loaded with honors, twice consul, his mind untroubled by high and patriotic ideas, he could have quietly enjoyed his wealth and a sufficient amount of public esteem: he would even have found in this voluntary repose what the sage seeks when he reached the wane of life, the *otium cum dignitate*. But his ambition was the ambition of small minds, who desire power, and either know not what to do with it, or else use it ill. He wished to raise himself to the stature of Pompey and Caesar. For sixteen years he had not been in camp, and during these years Pompey had pacified Asia, Caesar had conquered Gaul. Crassus was anxious to revive by fresh exploits the fading memory of his former successes and to equal the renown of his two rivals. The proconsul of the Gauls had penetrated into the extreme West: he, a new Alexander, would fain cross the Indus, and seek beyond the Ganges the utmost limits of the East. Caesar and Pompey encouraged him in his rash enterprise in order to accustom the Romans to those great commands which the true Republic had never known. Crassus did not even wait till the expiration of his consular magistracy: by the 28th of October he had completed his final preparations. But an unexpected opposition broke out against this war. There were eight legions in Gaul, and others in Spain, Africa, and Italy; and now the Syrian expedition called for seven more to proceed into unknown dangers, in contempt of

¹ In the preceding year Cato would have been appointed praetor, had not Pompey, seeing that the prerogative century was giving him its vote, stopped the election by declaring that he had heard thunder (Plut., *Pomp.* 52). In the elections for the year 54 the canvassing had been shameful; but the aristocracy had made this great effort too late: the triumvirs were secure.

² Though he had during his first consulship consecrated the tenth of his goods to Hercules, given a banquet of ten thousand tables to the people, and distributed to each citizen corn for three months, he still possessed, before the Parthian expedition, seventy-one hundred talents (about eight million five hundred thousand dollars) (Plut., *Crassus*, 2 and 12).

treaties and of the Sibylline oracles. The Senate had refused the necessary decree; and the people, incited by the two tribunes of the party of the nobles, had opposed the departure of Crassus: Pompey had to open a way for him through the crowd by walking before him. At the city-gates he found the fierce Ateius, who poured libations and incense on a burning brazier, while he pronounced against him, against his army, and even against Rome, the most terrible imprecations.

Since Pompey's administration, the face of things had undergone no change in the East. Aemilius Scaurus, his quaestor, whom he had left in Syria with two legions, to keep the Arabs in check, had sold peace and war there for three years. His two successors (59-58) had done nothing remarkable, either good or bad, during their brief administration. Yet Syria, placed between Egypt and the Parthians, offered many resources to an enterprising mind: towards the Euphrates there was military fame to be won; towards Pelusium, riches to be extorted; and besides only three governors had passed over this recent conquest; it was still a good mine to work. Gabinius, Pompey's former agent and the friend of Clodius, had, after his consulship, caused this province to be assigned him by the tribune, in order to there repair his shattered fortune. A few successful expeditions against the Arabs and Jews, the abolition of royalty in Palestine (which he divided into five provinces, each ruled by a sovereign council), won for him the title of Imperator. But the Senate, urged on by Cicero, his personal enemy, and by the publicans, whose rapines he had arrested that he himself might have the more to take, had refused to decree *supplicationes* for him. A second revolt of the Jews had shown the indomitable character of that little nation. Gabinius had left to his quaestor, Mark Antony,—a rude, coarse soldier of distinguished bravery,—the task of chastising them, in order to leave himself free for a more lucrative expedition against the Parthians. Their king had just been assassinated by two of his sons, who had afterwards disputed for the crown; and the weaker of the two implored the aid of Gabinius, promising to guide the legions. Already the Roman general had passed the Euphrates, when, won over by an offer of ten thousand talents, he retraced his steps to go, in spite of the Senate and the Sibylline books, to Alexandria, to re-establish

Ptolemy Auletes; and he afterwards sold this prince the half of his army. This shameful expedition was ended, and he was preparing to resume his march to the Euphrates, when Crassus arrived. At Rome an accusation of treason was brought against Gabinius. He bought his acquittal; but in a second trial, in which Cicero had the baseness to defend him in order to gratify Pompey, Gabinius was niggardly towards his judges, and so was condemned to exile.¹

Crassus embarked his army at Brundisium, and, as it was the bad season, he dared not trust his fleet to sail round Greece, and reach the coasts of Syria through the sea of the Cyclades. These Romans were poor sailors, but excellent roadsters. Crassus, disembarking at Dyrrachium, followed the via Egnatia through Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace; he crossed the Hellespont, no doubt about Lampsacus, and reached Galatia, where he found King Dejotarus engaged, notwithstanding his great age, in building a new town. "Your Majesty begins to build at the twelfth hour," said Crassus. To which the Galatian replied, "Neither do you, O general! undertake your Parthian expedition very early."

Crassus traversed the whole of Asia Minor, and entered Syria from the north. The Parthians originally inhabited a great country bounded on the south, west, and north by the mountains of Persis,



ARSACES VI.²

of Media, and Hyrcania, and extending on the east in barren plains towards Aria and Margiana. They resembled their neighbors, the Scythians, being, like them, excellent horsemen and incomparable archers. In the middle of the third century before our era, they had one of those able chiefs who in a few years prepare a new fortune for a nation. Arsaces

shook off the yoke of Alexander's indolent successors, and founded the Parthian monarchy, all the kings of which took his name, and were called Arsacides. The sixth was a great prince, a legislator and conqueror, who overcame the Greek king of Bactriana, Eucratidas,³ ruled from the Indus to the Euphrates, and in 138 B.C. took Demetrius Nicator, King of Syria, prisoner.

¹ Concerning Gabinius, see Cic., *De Proc. cons.*; App., *Sup.* 51; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 4 sqq.; and *De Bell. Jud.* i. 8. This proconsul, who has almost been ranked beside Verres, had yet done good in Judaea, where he rebuilt twenty towns. Josephus speaks of him with esteem.

² From a silver coin of Arsaces VI., also called Mithridates I.

³ There remains a unique gold coin of this prince. It weighs twenty staters (221½

Having become masters of Asia, the Parthians quickly exchanged their camel-hair tents for sumptuous palaces, their skin tunics for flowing robes,¹ their coarse manners for habits of refined effeminacy. They retained, however, some remnant of their original vigor; a valiant nobility surrounded the prince. In case of war he could summon to his standard eighteen kings, whom he had made satraps in his empire; and his mail-clad horsemen, the *cataphracti*, were held, after the defeat of Crassus, to be irresistible.²

The Arsacides, who were enemies of the Armenians, sought the alliance of Rome at the time when the contests of Tigranes began with the great Republic. In 92 B.C. Arsaces IX. sent deputies to Sylla;³ and Arsaces XII. renewed this alliance during the war of Lucullus with the kings of Pontus and Armenia. But, when he proposed to Pompey to fix the frontier between the two empires at the Euphrates, the proconsul returned no answer, and refused to recognize the prince's title of "King of kings." This was a means of reserving for Roman ambition all future contingencies. The civil war which a few years later shook the Parthian Empire seemed likely to reduce it to that state of semi-subjection, which, for States bordering on Rome, was the forerunner of approaching absorption. Gabinius had been on the point of re-establishing in Seleucia, Mithridates, one of the parricidal sons of Arsaces XII. Had he made this expedition, he would no doubt have left a garrison in the royal city, as he did in Alexandria; and the Tigris, instead of the Euphrates, would have become the eastern frontier of Rome. But the promises of Ptolemy Auletes

grains); the thickness is .12342 inches, and the diameter 3.2677 inches. I bought it in 1867, on the information of M. Chabouillet, for thirty thousand francs, half of which was furnished by the budget of the *Bibliothèque nationale*, and the remainder given by the Emperor. Our cabinet could now easily dispose of it for a hundred thousand francs.

¹ *Illic et laras vestes et plura virorum edamanta cades* (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, viii. 331).

² Among the troops of the King of Armenia there were also *cataphracti*, and Lucullus easily overcame them: but he was a different kind of general from Crassus, and had chosen his own battlefield. The Romans at length formed squadrons of *cataphracti*: no other horsemen were known in the middle ages, and we still have them under the name of cuirassiers. The Parthian troopers had no shield, that they might draw the bow more easily, and in the plains of Mesopotamia that projectile was far superior to the hand-weapons of the legionaries. (Dion, xl. 15.)

³ Vol. ii. p. 668.

overcame those of Mithridates; and the Parthian prince, having attempted alone to overthrow his brother Orodes, was besieged, taken, and slain by him in Babylon.

Notwithstanding his death, there remained disturbances enough in the kingdom for an able man to have profited by them. Crassus gave himself time neither to become acquainted with the country, nor to enter into useful intrigues with the malcontents and the neighboring nations, who would have furnished him with a numerous cavalry: he hastened to cross the Euphrates, took a few towns, dispersed some troops, and caused himself to be proclaimed Imperator for these slight successes. But instead of advancing

ARTAVASDES.¹

boldly upon Babylon and Seleucia, since the enemy did not seem ready to defend themselves, and rapidly securing those two cities which held the Parthian rule in detestation, he returned to winter in Syria, where he allowed his army to relax its discipline (54 B.C.). He himself, notwithstanding his sixty-one years, busied himself only in visiting the temples, and despoiling them of their treasures: those at Hierapolis and Jerusalem were plundered; from the latter he carried off two thousand talents.² An embassy from Orodes having asked an explanation

of this violation of the territory of the Empire, Crassus boastfully replied, that he would give an answer at Seleucia. Upon which the eldest of the envoys laughed, and, showing the palm of his hand, said, "Hair will grow here, before you will see Seleucia." Artavasdes, King of Armenia, joined him with six thousand mail-clad horsemen, and offered a passage through his kingdom, where the Roman army would find provisions, secure roads, ground favorable to Roman tactics, and the assistance of thirty thousand Armenians. Crassus refused.

COIN OF ARTAVASDES.³

¹ Clarac, *Iconographie*, pl. 1035, No. 3053.

² Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 7.

³ Head of Artavasdes. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ; Victory marching. Bronze coin of Artavasdes.

Having decided to cross the plains of Mesopotamia in order to reach Ctesiphon, the new capital of the Parthian Empire, more quickly, he crossed the Euphrates again at Zeugma with seven legions and four thousand horse. A violent storm destroyed the bridges behind him. The legate Cassius proposed to follow the Euphrates, and have a flotilla loaded with provisions descend the stream. But an Arab chief, sent by the Parthians to draw Crassus into their arid plains, persuaded him that he had only to show himself to conquer, and that he had need to hasten, if he wished to seize their treasures, which they were preparing to send away into the country of the Hyrcanians and Scythians. The proconsul followed this treacherous advice, and entered upon that sea of sand, where his soldiers soon lacked everything, even confidence in their leader (53 B.C.).

COIN OF ZEUGMA.¹

The Parthians had divided their forces. Orodes was operating in the North with his infantry, with a view of arresting the King of Armenia as he came out of the mountains; and the *sarena*, or commander-in-chief, collected an innumerable body of cavalry in the West to surround the heavy Roman infantry in the midst of these immense plains. The two armies met not far from the little river Balissus (Belik). The younger Crassus, who, after a brilliant career in Gaul, had joined his father in the east, was in command of the cavalry, and was eager for the encounter. Suddenly the hostile army, apparently small in number, spread itself out; the plain resounded with shouts and outcries; and a formidable body of horsemen, mail-clad, and yet rapid in their movements, dashed upon the legions formed in a square. The close ranks of the Romans resisted the shock; but their arms of short range were useless. If they advanced, the Parthians fled; if they halted, the squadrons wheeled round the motionless mass, and from a distance riddled it with arrows.² The light infantry which Crassus sent out against

¹ ZEFMATEΩN, instead of ZEYFMATEΩN, the name of the inhabitants of Zeugma. Reverse of a great bronze of the Emperor Philip, struck at Zeugma.

² The weapon used by the Romans was the *pilum*, which did not go very far, and especially the sword:

*Ensis habet vires, et gens quaecumque virorum est
Bella gerit gladiis* (Lucan, *Phars.* viii.).

them, soon, in disorder, took refuge in the midst of the square. He hoped that at length these terrible arrows would be exhausted; but, as soon as the soldiers of the first line had emptied their quivers, they retired into the rear-guard, where camels carried immense supplies. The proconsul ordered his son to break up this circle of men, horses, and arrows, which incessantly surrounded the legions. Young Crassus charged at the head of thirteen hundred horse, of whom a thousand were Gauls. The enemy yielded, drew him far from the field of battle, with a part of the infantry, which followed him at the sight of a flying enemy; then they wheeled, and surrounded him. What could their javelins do against these men all covered with iron? For a few moments there was an heroic struggle, a hand-to-hand fight, the Gauls doing valiant service; and when their intrepid young leader, covered with wounds, was no longer able to fight, they carried him to a hillock, and formed a wall around him with their shields. But throughout the extent of the plain there were only hostile squadrons to be seen: flight and resistance were alike impossible. Two Greeks urged young Crassus to escape with them; but he rejoined that he would in no case be parted from his friends, who were dying upon his account, and upon this ordered his armor-bearer to run him through with his sword.

The consul had taken advantage of the lull in the principal attack to reach a hill. He believed the victory secure, when the enemy's cavalry came back, and, with shouts of joy and insulting words, exhibited his son's head in the face of the legions. The battle recommenced and lasted till night, with the same vicissitudes. At length the Parthians departed, shouting to the unhappy father that they left him a night to bewail his son. Lying on the ground in gloomy dejection, Crassus felt the full depth of the abyss into which his ambition had plunged him. In vain did Cassius try to restore his courage: he himself was obliged to give the order for retreat, abandoning four thousand wounded. They reached the town of Carrhae; but it was impossible to make a stand there: in the evening the army noiselessly departed. Being led astray by their guides, they were again met by the Parthians; and the terrified soldiers forced the triumvir to accept an interview with the *saræna*. It was a snare. Crassus and his escort were massacred (June 8, 53 B.C.).

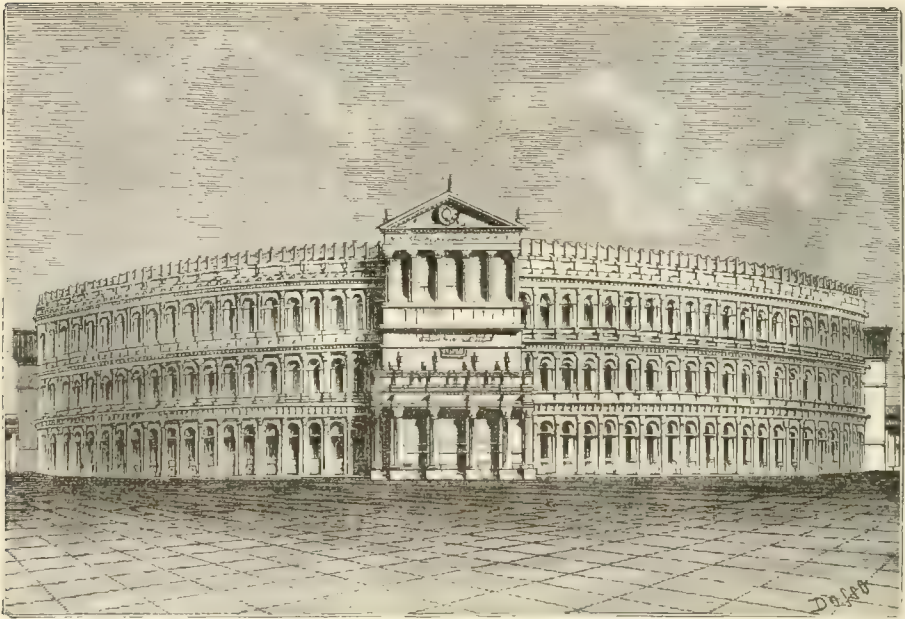
When they brought the triumvir's head to Orodes, the barbarian king was witnessing a performance of the *Bacchae* of Euripides. The actor seized the hideous trophy, and sang as Agave, who held the head of Pentheus: "We bring from the mountains this stag, which has just been slain; we go to the palace. Applaud ye our hunting."

Some feeble remnants of the seven legions succeeded in recrossing the Euphrates. Cassius, who had quitted Carrhae before his general, and reached Syria in safety, had time to organize a defence, and, when the Parthians appeared in the following year, he repulsed them (52). A second and more formidable attempt, which they made under the leadership of Pacorus, the son of their king, succeeded no better (51). Cassius, shut up in Antioch, allowed them to plunder the province, and, when he saw them confident and in disorder, he marched rapidly upon them, and inflicted a defeat which freed Syria. It was a doubly fortunate success; for the Senate had just made the mistake of sending into the provinces threatened by the Parthians two of its members most incapable of leading an army, — Bibulus into Syria, and Cicero into Cilicia. It was the drawing of lots, that, in virtue of a recent law of Pompey's, had assigned to them these two governments. The decisions of the blind god had very frequently been rectified or forestalled; but this time nothing was done. Fortunately, Bibulus reached his province after the victory of Cassius; and Cicero never even saw the enemy who had just been driven back across the Euphrates. Emboldened by this retreat, and eager to add the soldier's fame to that of the orator, Cicero ordered his brother Quintus, who had learned the art of war under Caesar, to make Rome's hand felt by certain mountaineers in Cilicia. Quintus burnt several towns, took the stronghold of Pindenissus, and caused his brother to be proclaimed Imperator by the troops. From that time, Cicero never ceased to claim a triumph; and until the middle of the civil war, when the world was held in suspense by the great struggle between Caesar and Pompey, he was to be seen wandering about in Italy and Epirus with his lictors, bearing laurel-wreathed fasces, — a miserable vanity, which lowers our esteem for the foe of Catiline and Antonius, the author of the "De Officiis" and the "Verrine Orations."

The disaster of Crassus long restrained the rule of Rome from spreading beyond the Euphrates. Later we shall see why it was difficult to cross the river, and why, under valiant rulers, Rome only did so through the north of Mesopotamia.

IV.—NEW DISORDERS IN ROME; POMPEY SOLE CONSUL (52 B.C.).

DURING the disastrous expedition of Crassus, Pompey had remained at Rome. He had sought to consolidate his influence by the magnificence of the games which he gave as the inauguration



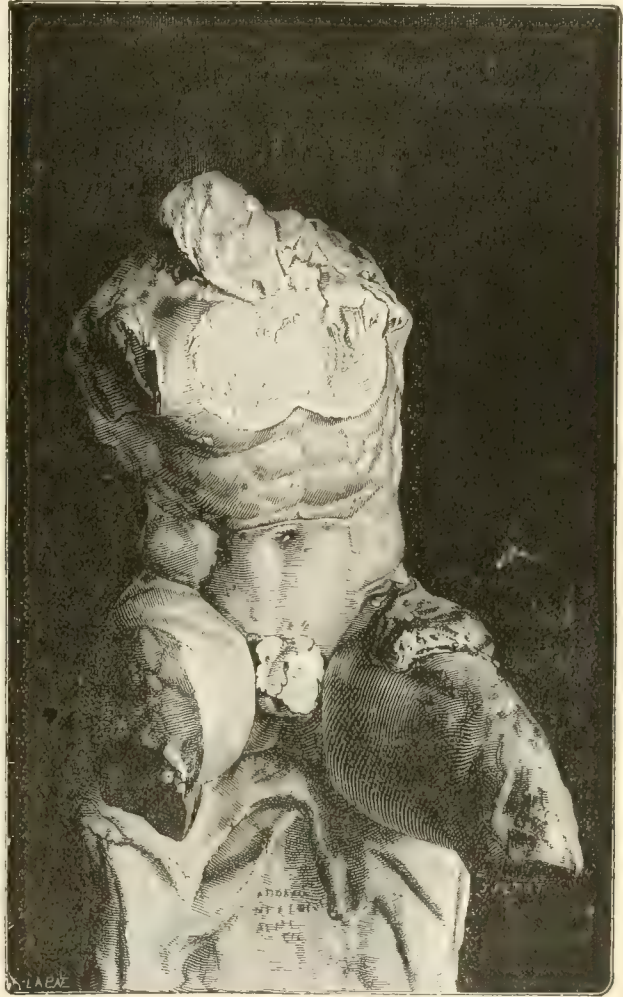
POMPEY'S THEATRE.¹

of his theatre: forty thousand spectators were accommodated, and five hundred lions were slain. At the expiration of his consular year, he had sent lieutenants to Spain, and, under the pretext of

¹ As restored by M. Victor Baltard (*École des beaux-arts*). It was the first theatre at Rome built of stone. Hitherto the censors had only authorized temporary wooden theatres; but Pompey placed a temple on the summit of his, and the marble benches upon which the spectators sat, having now become the steps of a sanctuary, were respected. The law was thus violated, as the Romans were wont to violate their laws, without disrespect.

fulfilling the duties of his office concerning provisions, he had remained near Rome. This consulship, for which the city had so long been troubled, had produced no results,¹ none at least, in useful reforms, but many for the ambitious general who had appropriated so great personal advantages. When we compare this sterility with the fruitful activity of Caesar in 59,² we have the measure of the two men.

On laying down the fasces, Pompey left the Republic in the most deplorable condition. All was literally estimated in gold, — the merit of candidates as well as the innocence of accused persons; and the Forum was merely a market, where men bought votes, offices, and provinces. Gabinius had sold Egypt for ten thousand



TORSO FOUND NEAR POMPEY'S THEATRE.³

¹ The legislative activity of Pompey and Crassus during their second consulship was only marked by a useless proposal of a sumptuary law, which was not accepted (Dion, xxxix. 37), and by a law to raise the census requisite for being a judge, which had no effect except to increase the price for which judges sold themselves.

² See p. 204 *sqq.*

³ It is thought that this admirable torso, which was discovered in the fifteenth century, near the spot where Pompey's Theatre stood (now *Campo de Fiori*), formed part of a statue of Hercules seated, at the moment when the hero became a god upon Mount Oeta. The inscrip-

talents to Ptolemy Auletes, and robbed the Syrians of a hundred million drachmae: he had even revolted against Rome, despising the *senatus-consultum* and the Sibylline books, leaving his province, notwithstanding the express prohibitions of the law, and refusing to deliver up his government to the successor sent out to replace him. The displeasure against him in the Senate was very great, less on account of the illegalities he had committed than of this immense wealth, which seemed as if it would leave nothing for his successors. In spite of Pompey's protection, he was condemned. A single fact will show how far the general depravity extended. C. Memmius, writes Cicero, had just read in open Senate an election bargain made between him and his fellow-candidate Domitius on the one side, and the two consuls in office on the other. By this treaty, Memmius and Domitius engaged, on condition of being appointed consuls for the following year, either to pay to the consuls in office four hundred thousand sesterces, or to procure (1) three augurs to affirm that they had been present at the promulgation of a *lex curiata* which did not exist, and (2) two ex-consuls to declare they had attended a session for the distribution of consular provinces, — a session which had never taken place.¹ "How many dishonest folk in a single contract!" says Montesquieu. Let us add that four hundred thousand sesterces for such an audacious double lie was valuing the consciences of consuls and augurs at a very low price. But the people did not hold themselves at a very high one: Verres had bought his praetorship for only eighty thousand sesterces.

Hand in hand with venality went violence. Every moment there were arrows, stones, helter-skelter flight; not a day passed without some murder;² even a consul was wounded. A certain Pomptinus had waited seven years outside the Pomoerium for a triumph which

tion cut upon the rock, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ (Apollonios, son of Nestor the Athenian, made it), gives us the name of the author of the masterpiece and the time when he lived: for the form Ω belongs to the last days of the Republic. Pompey may have employed the Athenian artist, then, upon the decoration of his theatre. This masterpiece is in the Vatican. (*Mus. Pio-Clement.*)

¹ *Ad. Att.* iv. 18. When Cicero canvassed the aedileship, all the people had been for him; yet the *divisores* undertook, for five hundred thousand sesterces, to cause his failure (*In Verr.* I. 8). During the elections of the year 54, the interest on money rose in the city from four to eight per cent (*Ad. Att.* iv. 15).

² Σφαγαὶ καὶ ἐκείσθη ἡμέραν (Dion. xl. 48). Cicero had said (*In Pison.* 12): . . . *fracti fasces, ictus consul, quotidie tela, lapides, fugae.*

the Senate refused to accord him over the Allobroges. At length one of the praetors, who was his friend, gathered together a few citizens at daybreak; and in defiance of the law, which forbade all assemblies before the first hour (from six to seven o'clock in the morning), he caused them to vote what Pomptinus wished. This persevering candidate celebrated his triumph, but amidst very great disorder. Fighting went on at several points, and some were slain. For the most paltry ambitions, for the smallest things, the laws were violated, and blood flowed.¹

Imagine, in such a state of society, Cato, then praetor, going without tunic or shoes to sit on his judgment-seat, and distributing among the populace, instead of the ostentatious profusions to which they were accustomed, radishes, lettuce, and figs, or proposing, after the extermination of the Teneteri and Usipii, that Caesar should be given up to the Germans as a violator of the public peace, and it will be easily understood that this opposition did not go beyond a protest, which did no good, and excited the contempt of all—except Favonius, “Cato’s ape.”

These two men, who thought themselves Romans of the ancient time, did not change; but many others had changed. We have seen the rapid change of front effected by Cicero at the time of the conference of Lucca. This excellent man, who in a peaceful state would have honorably kept the foremost place, was in this stormy republic drawn in opposite directions by his ideas and by his interests: now one side carried him away, now the other, for he was as poor in strength of character as he was rich in talents. For the moment, his interests attached him to Caesar, whom he wearied with praises. He had commenced a poem in honor of the proconsul, and took care to let him know of it: the poem being finished, he sent it to him, and then began another.² Caesar, who always treated the great orator with consideration, through respect for his talents, took his brother Quintus as lieutenant, and intrusted Cicero with the expenditure of a portion of the funds transmitted by him to Rome for his buildings. When Quintus reproached his brother for having obliged him to accept this lieutenancy, with its fatigues and dangers, in a country which

¹ Dion, xxxix. 65; in the year 54 B.C.

² *Institutum ad illum poema . . . cognovit Caesar (Ad Quint. iii. 8).*

seemed to Cicero himself to be at the world's end:¹ "The reward of this sacrifice," he answered, "will be the consolidation of our political position by the friendship of a powerful and good man." We see what the limit of his desires was. He did not even fear the imminent dictatorship of Pompey: he speaks of it without indignation, as of any other event. "Does Pompey wish for it? Does he not wish for it? Who knows? But all men are talking about it." "And all," adds Appian, "wish it." It was said



RUINS OF THE CIRCUS OF BOVILLAE.²

openly, "For the present ills there is only one remedy,—the authority of a single individual."³ Pompey protested against it; but all the while he secretly encouraged the disorders which rendered this dictatorship necessary. At least, many among the conservatives believed that they could trace his hand in the disturbances.

For the second time within three years, the consular elections could not be held (in 53): the interregnum lasted seven months. For the sake of peace, the nobles drew nearer the threatening

¹ *Ehi isti sint Nervi et quam longe absint, nescio* (*Ad Quint.* iii. 8).

² According to Canina, *La Prima parte della via Appia*, pl. 49.

³ *Bell. civ.* ii. 19-20. The picture this historian draws of the Republic is that of a society in a state of decomposition.

Sphinx, whose wishes could be guessed, but who still continued to conceal them. While appearing to believe in his disinterestedness, they forced him, by well calculated flatteries, to allow two consuls to be elected in the seventh month. Either because this government was really incapable of enduring any longer, or else through Pompey's intrigues, or perhaps by reason of these two causes combined, the interregnum began again in the following year (52 B.C.). Milo and Scipio and Hypsæus demanded the consulship with arms in their hands; Clodius canvassed the praetorship in the same manner; and every day some sedition broke out.¹

Amid many obscure murders, there was one which brought the disorder to its highest pitch. Milo, on his road to Lanuvium, his native town, of which he was chief magistrate (dictator), met Clodius on the Appian Way, near Bovillae. Like the Roman barons of the middle ages, neither travelled without his escort of fighting-men. The two bands had passed each other, when a couple of Milo's gladiators, remaining behind, picked a quarrel with some of the followers of Clodius. The latter, turning back to the help of his men, was wounded, and took refuge in a hostelry. Milo thought it would cost no more trouble to despatch him, and, as his band was numerous, the other party fled, leaving eleven dead on the spot. The door of the inn was then broken in, the innkeeper slain, Clodius stabbed through and through, and his body thrown out into the road, where it remained till evening. A senator, returning from his villa, took it back to Rome² (December 13, 53 B.C.). Fulvia, the wife of Clodius, his family, the powerful Claudian *gens*, and the people, whose favorite he had long been, cried for vengeance. The body was exposed on the rostra, and the excited mob gave him for a funeral-pyre the edifice wherein the Senate was wont to meet. When they had burnt the curia, they proposed to set fire to Milo's house, then to that of the interrex; but knights and senators hastened up in arms, and fighting and slaughter went on for several days. Robbers and thieves took advantage of these murders to ply their trade. Under pretext of searching for Milo's accomplices, they penetrated into the houses and stole: in

¹ . . . *Armis et vi contendebant* (Livy, *Epit.* cvii.).

² The murder took place on the 13th of the kalends of February, 52 B.C., according to the Roman Calendar: in reality it was on the 13th of December, 53 B.C.

the streets they murdered those whose rich costume or gold rings promised to make it profitable work to strip their bodies.¹ Politics, or what was so called, screened all excesses.

We can easily understand that these abominations at last had the effect of opening the eyes of those who had persistently kept them shut, in order to escape seeing that the only way to save perishing social life was the concentration of power in the hands of an energetic leader. A *senatus-consultum* decided that the burnt curia should be rebuilt, at the expense of the treasury, by Faustus Sylla, and that it should bear his father's name. By this unexpected homage to the memory of the executioner of the Marians, the senatorial majority showed at the same time its sentiments regarding the nephew of Marius, and its grateful remembrance of the man, who, thirty years before, had restored order by his dictatorship. Cato had recently again attacked Pompey in the Senate. "He disposes of everything," said he: "lately he lent Caesar six thousand men, without the one asking you for them, or the other informing you about it. Arms and horses, a whole legion, are the presents which individuals now exchange. With his title of 'Imperator' Pompey distributes armies and provinces, while he remains in the city, and plans troubles and seditions in order to open by anarchy a road to regal power."² But, in face of the imminent dissolution of the State, Cato, too, came to despair of the Republic. He saw it threatened by two dangers,—within, by anarchy, which was only too certain; without, by Caesar, who had not yet, however, either by acts or words, justified his suspicions; and when he looked for some one who would defend the aristocracy, he found, even in those whom Cicero had called the party of honest men, so much indifference, that at length he decided to demand for it from a man the protection which the laws could no longer afford. "It is better," said he, "to choose a master than to await the tyrant who must certainly rise from this huge disorder;" and he supported the proposal made by Bibulus to appoint Pompey sole consul. He thought, that, satisfied with this title,

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 22.

² Plut., *Cato*, 45. In the preceding year 53 an attempt had been made to bring forward in the Senate the question of the recall of Crassus (*Cic.*, *Ad Fam.* v. 8): this was an indirect attack upon Caesar.

Pompey would use his power with moderation, that he would re-establish order in the city, and would be able to compel Caesar to leave his army. This task being accomplished, Cato promised himself later to bring Caesar to a reckoning with the Senate. If he failed, this dictatorship would at least have only been a passing and beneficent tyranny. Pompey confirmed him in this hope by pretending to act henceforth only according to his advice; and the latter was elected sole consul on the 27th of February, 52 B.C.

This event was a grave one; for it completed Pompey's reconciliation with the Senate and his rupture with the proconsul of the Gauls. For two years this result had been foreseen. The death of Julia—the devoted wife of Pompey, and Caesar's idolized daughter—had broken a bond which both of them would have respected (54); and after the death of Crassus (53) they found themselves face to face, without any one standing between to avert or break the shock. A rivalry of three may last, because one of the three preserves the balance by inclining to either side: a rivalry of two soon leads to war. Pompey had long seen the falseness of the position which his own fickleness and his adversary's skill had made for him: he was only waiting for the support of the Senate to break with his great rival; and now the nobles and even Cato were offering him, by a violation of all constitutional provisions, an unshared dominion.

Being proconsul of Spain, he was legally considered as absent, that is to say, incapable of being elected to an urban office; and yet the consulship was bestowed upon him. This supreme magistracy of the city ought always to be shared; and he was sole consul. If he wished for a colleague, it was he himself, and not the comitia, who should make the selection, and, still further, he was protected from his own possible disinterestedness by a prohibition against supplying himself with this once necessary colleague until after the expiration of two months.¹ The consul had not in Rome military authority, the *jus necis*; Pompey, remaining governor of a province, kept the *imperium*, and, that none might dispute his right to exercise it in the city, the Senate had also invested him with dictatorial authority by the formula of days of public peril: *Caveat*

¹ At the end of five months he associated his father-in-law, Metellus Scipio, with himself.

consul. Finally, to power was added the means of action: a decree laid the treasury open to him, and directed him to raise troops in Italy. He was then master, and in the way that he wished, still keeping up appearances, since he had taken nothing by force and held all from the Senate. But who does not see that the aristocracy founded the Empire? It is sufficient to compare Pompey's powers with those of Augustus to see that they are almost identical; for the imperial revolution was but the concentration in the hands of one man, for his lifetime, of the rights which the Republic yearly divided among several.

While the nobles, through hatred of Caesar and powerlessness to govern,¹ were sacrificing what they called Roman liberty to an incapable leader, the proconsul, whom they would fain have proscribed, disdaining their senile threats, was carrying on for Rome that wonderful campaign of the year 52 B.C., which placed him on a level with Hannibal, and held Gaul captive in Alesia.

In order to explain the violence of this hatred, we must remember that the nobles had very serious reasons for detesting Caesar: but history is bound to inquire whether these motives were legitimate. The real question between them was the upholding or the overthrow of the Cornelian legislation, which had taken everything from the people, and given it to the Senate. Although many breaches had been made in the aristocratic fortress, some even by the hand of Pompey, it still held out and remained standing. The nephew of Marius wished to force its gates. Without the commission of any illegal act, simply by his raising the popular party which had been crushed by Sylla, the nobles had been made to tremble for their power, and they trembled still more for their possessions. Caesar's consular laws, had they been carried into execution, would have dried up the source whence they drew their wealth: with a word he could even ruin them, by instigating a plebiscitum which should authorize the indemnification of the fami-

¹ See (*Ad Fam.* i. 7, 5) Cicero's letter to Lentulus, the governor of Cilicia. He is free to undertake, or not undertake, for the re-instatement of Anletes, the expedition into Egypt, which the Senate allows, and the Sibylline books forbid; but he will be judged by the issue: *Si crederesset . . . omnis te et sapienter et fortiter, si aliquid esset offensum, eosdem illos et cupide et temere fuisse dicturos.* Scipio restored to the censors their ancient rights (see p. 397, note 2): they dared not make use of them for fear of the enmity they would arouse, and, adds Dion (xl. 57): "No sensible man any longer requires the censorship."

lies despoiled by Sylla, or should require former generals to restore to the treasury the spoils of war which they had appropriated. The greater part of the fortunes of the oligarchy had been made with gold stolen from the provinces, as in the case of Lucullus, or with land taken from the proscribed, as in the case of Caesar's most violent opponent, that Domitius who possessed so much that he could promise each of his soldiers during the civil war a farm out of his estates. Hitherto the spoilers had kept their robberies out of reach of attack by means of the law, which forbade the sons of Sylla's victims access to public offices. They had hoped to keep the proscription forever in force by thus rendering it impossible that any son of a proscribed man, attaining the tribuneship, should bring forward the dangerous measure calling for restitution. Let Caesar re-

MARIUS.¹

store their civic rights to those whom a law, odious in its injustice, had attainted, and the oligarchy would lose the immense domains acquired by murder.² These were the fears concealed under the accusation of coming tyranny; and history, especially in our days, is not obliged to share this angry feeling. This too,

¹ Campana Museum. A statue, undoubtedly contemporaneous with the inscription (Wilman, 632) made for Marius when Augustus ordered that all Rome's distinguished men should be commemorated in his Forum.

² This was the first act of Caesar's dictatorship.

is the reason why the senatorial majority would have preferred to unchain a civil war rather than see Caesar consul a second time: this is the secret of the Senate's advances towards Pompey.

The latter owed much to his former colleague, who in 59 B.C. had defended him against the nobles, and in 55 B.C. had loyally contributed to make his present fortune. But when Pompey felt secure of the great position made for him by the Trebonian plebiscitum; when to his superintendence of provisions, which gave him Rome and Italy, he had joined the proconsulship of Spain and Africa, which supplied him with provinces and armies,—he no longer retained for the proconsul of the Gauls more than a polite consideration, which ceased with Julia's life. In vain did Caesar propose to consolidate their political alliance by a double family tie; Caesar marrying one of Pompey's daughters, and he marrying a grand-niece of Caesar. Pompey refused, and brought into his house the daughter of a mortal enemy of his former father-in-law.¹ Caesar's friendship, which he had endured for ten years, weighed upon his pride; and the renown which had become so great was an annoyance to him. Henceforward he intended to share with no man, and we shall see how he made use of his consular authority to annul the advantages which in 55 B.C. he had been compelled to obtain for the proconsul of the Gauls.

First he wished to show that all men must come to an understanding with him. He proposed new laws against corruption, violence, and bribery,² giving them a retrospective effect of twenty years. The proconsul was hurt at this; for with these laws a partisan of the nobles might summon him before judges easy to corrupt or intimidate. Cato himself thought this provision

¹ Caesar had asked Pompey for the hand of his daughter Pompeia, then the wife of Faustus Sylla, and had offered him that of his great-niece Octavia, at that time married to Marcellus. Pompey refused, and married for his fifth wife Cornelia, the widow of the younger Crassus, and daughter of Metellus Scipio.

² The judges were sometimes bewildered and distracted by the numerous advocates who took up a case. He settled how many each side could have, only allowed two hours for the accusation, three for the defence, and forbade the eulogies which persons of influence were accustomed to make on behalf of the accused. The accused and the accuser had each the right of challenging five judges (*judices*). A citizen condemned for bribery obtained remission of his penalty by denouncing either two other citizens guilty of a crime less than his own or equal to it, or one guilty of a greater crime. (Dion, xl. 52 and 55; cf. Plut., *Cato*, 48; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 23-24.) "A great number of victims were condemned," says Caesar (*Bell. civ.* iii. 1), "by judges other than those who had heard the case."

iniquitous. Caesar's friends protested; but Pompey would not listen to them. In order to rid himself of Milo and his band, he allowed proceedings to be instituted against the murderer of Clodius. Cicero had long desired this murder; and Cato dared to say in full Senate that Milo had acted as a good citizen, so did these unhappy times confuse the most upright consciences.¹ But the people were too much irritated for justice not to be done. The soldiers with whom Pompey surrounded the tribunal frightened the defender, who pleaded badly:² the accused went into exile at Marseilles. When he received the oration, "Pro Milone," wisely recomposed by Cicero in the silence of his study, "If he had spoken as he can write," said the epicurean, "I should not to-day be eating fish at Massilia." The skilful orator had had more courage when, at the time of the close union between the triumvirs, it had been necessary to defend their friends. He had not hesitated to belie his whole life, his convictions, his old grudges, by taking up the cause of a Vatinius and a Gabinius, men of the worst character, or of many others of whom he said in secret, "May I die, if I know how to defend them!" In spite of his efforts to explain this conduct, he felt its unworthiness, and sought to forget himself in literary labors, which were powerless to console him.³

Clodius being dead, Milo in exile, and their bands dispersed, calm was restored, so easy was it for a man having the desire to maintain order to keep peace in the city.⁴ But Pompey, capable of energetic action, was incapable of long sustaining it, because in public affairs he acted at random, without fixed principle or plan of conduct, trusting, like a true Roman, to the fortune of the

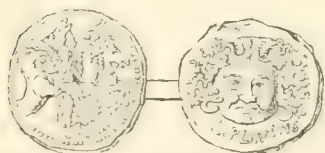
¹ Read Cicero's speech against Piso and so many others, listen to the deadly insults exchanged in the Senate, in the Forum, in the courts of justice, and it will be seen that the political arena bore a singular resemblance to that of the circus. The most inoffensive of these politicians, Cicero, demanded that Clodius should be slain, and later on, before the battle of Pharsalia, he thought that the assassination of Caesar would greatly simplify matters.

² At a certain moment Pompey caused the crowd to be charged, and some were wounded and even killed (Dion, xl. 53).

³ See his long letter to Lentulus (*Ad Fam.* i. 9).

⁴ Even the censorship recovered its rights. The consul Metellus Scipio caused to be restored to the censors their former privilege of erasing from the senatorial list all those who appeared to them unworthy of remaining in the Senate. We have just seen (p. 394, note 1) that they used this power very timidly. A law of Clodius had allowed the censors to exclude only those senators who had undergone a condemnation.

moment; that is to say, to circumstances, — to-day with Sylla, to-morrow with Caesar, restorer of the popular rights, then defender



COIN OF THE PLAUTIAN FAMILY.²

of the oligarchy. He did not even consider himself bound by the laws that he had made.¹ He had forbidden the eulogiums pronounced at tribunals by the powerful friends of the accused; but, when Plancus the tribune was accused of causing the fire which destroyed the senate-house, he pronounced a eulogy upon the accused, who was, nevertheless, condemned, so strong was the testimony against him.³ In the case of his father-in-law Metellus Scipio, who was charged with bribery, Pompey appeared with him in court, clothed in mourning; whereupon Memmius, who had made the charge, desisted, and the judges went as far as to conduct Scipio back to his dwelling. He had obtained the passage of a decree that magistrates should not be appointed to a province until five years after they left office. The measure was an excellent one: he annulled it by requesting that his own proconsular powers should be prolonged for five years, with the right of taking a thousand talents from the treasury yearly.⁴ He had established by the law *de jure magistratuum* that none might canvass an office while absent from Rome, and almost immediately he introduced an exception which destroyed it.

These contradictions prove that Rome had not found in Pompey the firm and resolute man whom she needed; but the nobles

¹ *Suarum legum auctor idem ac subversor* (Tac. Ann. iii. 28).

² Aurora, with outspread wings, driving four horses.

³ Plutarch (*Pomp.* 55) even says, that, in his father-in-law's case, he had summoned the three hundred and sixty judges to his house, and implored from them an acquittal (Dion. xl. 55). The body of judges was never very numerous at Rome, — four hundred and fifty, according to the *lex Sereilia*; all the senators, according to the *lex Cornelia*, that is to say from five hundred to six hundred; three hundred and sixty, if we must accept the passage from Plutarch quoted above; but the judges were far more numerous than ours for each trial, according to the nature of the crime, and consequently according to the *quaestio* which was to judge. Cicero speaks of thirty-two after the challenges of both parties (*Pro Cluentio*, 27), of fifty (*Ad Att.* iv. 15), of fifty-six (*Ib.* i. 16), of seventy (*Ib.* iv. 16), of seventy-five (*In Pison.* 40); in the trials of Milo and Saufeius they were fifty-one (Ascon., pp. 53 and 54, Orelli ed.). The reason of this difference was that it seemed desirable to take the judges from the higher ranks of society in order to obtain enlightened men, and to have many of them for each case, that it might be more difficult to bribe a majority of them. Urban quaestors divided them by lot among the different *quaestiones perpetuae*.

⁴ Dion, xl. 56; Plut., *Pomp.* 55.

did not trouble themselves about that. Blinded by their hatred, they helped the consul to entangle Caesar in a network of legislative arrangements designed to render powerless the proconsul of the Gauls. The new judiciary law made it possible to incriminate at any moment all his acts; and Milo's trial had just shown what Pompey understood by the liberty of tribunals. The prohibition of being candidate for a magistracy while absent obliged him, if he desired a second term of office as consul, to abandon his provinces, and place himself in the power of his enemies. Should he escape the judges,—that is to say, exile,—and succeed in obtaining from the people the consular fasces, the obligation to wait five years after quitting office before he could again obtain a province would leave him disarmed for those five years in face of Pompey, who was, until 46 B.C., master of the treasury and of large military forces.

The nobles would not at any cost allow him to attain a second consulship. The first had revealed a plan of reforms which would certainly be resumed and developed, and they believed that their new ally had determined upon a combination of measures to avert this danger. But in this well-conducted legislative campaign, the leaders of the Senate had taken everything into account, save the amount of Caesar's resignation to such open envy and such undisguised threats. Against the judiciary law, Caesar had contented himself with the protests of his friends, resolved as he was not to expose himself to the blows of Roman justice so long as the man who had now by his laws declared war against him should continue to hold an official or but half-concealed dictatorship in Rome. As regards the arrangement which placed an interval of five years between the exercise of a great office and the enjoyment of the proconsulship, he doubtless felt that what had been done by one consul could be undone by another. A consulship was necessary to him, therefore, in order to break through the meshes so artfully woven by his late ally and present foe; and this consulship he must be able to canvass, absent as he was in his provinces, for he was lost if he re-appeared in the city for a single day without being protected by the *imperium*.¹ He required that the law

¹ As long as the magistrate was in office, no accusation could be brought against him; now a man who intended canvassing the consulship must present himself at Rome before the con-

touching absence should be modified, and he must have done it in such a manner that Pompey, who was not in a position to break with him, was compelled to consent. A refusal would probably have led to the outbreak of the Civil war three years earlier. Cicero intervened. He repaired to the proconsul's headquarters at Ravenna by the request of Pompey, and on his return to Rome he persuaded his friend Caelius, at that time invested with the tribunitian power, to accept the conditions which he brought back with him.¹ Pompey himself urged the other tribunes to instigate a law establishing the right claimed by Caesar. The plebiscitum was voted, and unanimously, without doubt, since the people, represented by their ten tribunes, accepted it, and the senatorial party, drawn on in spite of themselves by Cicero and Pompey, submitted to it.² On the brazen table whereon the consular law against the absent was already graven, Pompey added the exception³ which had just been made in Caesar's favor. After the solemnity of this last vote, he could no longer hope to find juriconsults to call to mind that, according to the Twelve Tables, the *privilegium* was void and of no effect. He had threatened, and had gone back from his threat, — a double and dangerous game, which revealed his uncertain character.

Caesar had gained his cause, not by force, but by a law; for, in obtaining privilege of absence, he had obtained all the guaranties required by his ambition and for his safety. The plebiscitum, in fact, tacitly recognized his right to remain at the head of his army

sular comitia, that is to say, more than six months before entering office, and have his name inscribed on the list of candidates. Caesar, then, without the exception he asked for, would have remained six months at Rome as a private individual; and in less than six days the conqueror of the Gauls could have been brought to trial by Cato or some other member of the oligarchy, and very likely condemned to exile.

¹ . . . *Vt illi (Caesari) hoc liceret adjuci, rogatus ab ipso Ravennae de Caelio tribuno plebis, ab ipso autem? Etiam a Gnaeo nostro [Pompeio] (Ad Att. vii. 1, and cf. Ad Fam. vi. 6).*

² *Lex lata est, ut ratio absentis Caesaris in petitione consulatus haberetur (Livy, Epit. cvii.; he repeats it in Epit. cviii.).* The law was presented by the two tribunes (Cic., *Ad Att.* viii. 3), which leads to the supposition that it was voted unanimously. In his letter to Atticus (viii. 3), Cicero again says, "It was Pompey who desired that the ten tribunes should propose the plebiscitum . . . he too, who confirmed it by a law of his own kind." Suetonius (*Julius Caesar*, 26, 28) and Appian (*Bell. civ.* ii. 25) speak in the same way. Pompey, the Senate, and the people had agreed, then, to let Caesar canvass the consulship in his absence. By the treaty of Misenum, in 39, the same permission was granted to Sextus Pompeius.

³ Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 28; Dion., *xl.* 56; Cic., *Ad Att.* viii. 3.

till he could legally canvass for the consulship, that is to say, till the middle of 49 B.C.¹ Cicero, upon becoming his enemy, was forced to proclaim this. "By giving him the privilege of absence, they have given him the right to keep his army till the consular comitia." ²

All this was very unrepubli- can; but was Rome at this time a republic? Who could say where the right really lay? Money and intimidation having long decided the votes, any law could be abrogated, any election annulled for informality, corruption, or violence, to whatever faction might belong the chosen candidate or the author of the law. Since Rome had ceased to have free comitia, — and we may say that, since the murder of the Gracchi, she had had none, — the Republic had ceased to live.

V.—EFFORTS OF THE OLIGARCHY TO DEPRIVE CAESAR OF HIS POWERS.

POMPEY'S second consulship in 55 had been barren of results: the dictatorship which had been granted him in 52, for the purpose of re-establishing the authority of the Senate, and destroying that of Caesar, had not restored the one, and it had consolidated the other. The oligarchy had ill chosen the leader in whom they hoped to find a new Sylla. Cato was more resolute; but even his friends mistrusted this man of narrow and violent mind, whose death is his only claim to live in the memory of posterity. Notwithstanding his name, and his zeal for the faction of the nobles, the latter never allowed him to rise higher than the praetorship. In this year 52 he had solicited the consulship, and to him had been preferred one Marcellus, who was to use his office for the advantage of Pompey and his party. The new consul was one of those nobles who found it exasperating to have heard no name but Caesar's resound in Rome for the last eight years. They had long been reduced to secretly deploring his victories: now, feeling secure in the support of the

¹ According to one of Sylla's laws, an interval of ten years must elapse between two consulships. Pompey had just broken this law; but Caesar observed it, first because he needed the time to complete his work in Gaul, and, secondly, because he would not give his adversaries a pretext for erasing his name from the list of candidates.

² *Ad Att.* vii. 7.

conqueror of Asia. they ceased to restrain themselves when they ceased to fear. Marcellus began the attack: he directly challenged the proconsul of the Gauls in order to induce him to commit some imprudence which should justify an extreme measure. Caesar had established at Novum Comum, in Transalpine Gaul, five thousand colonists possessing the *jus Latii*. This right, which gave the magistrates of Latin towns the *jus civitatis* at the expiration of their office, exempted them from corporal punishments. Marcellus, to show in what esteem he held the proconsul's acts, had an aedile or *duumvir* of Novum Comum beaten with rods; and as the man invoked the rights which had been conferred upon him, "Blows are the mark of the foreigner," said the consul. "Go show thy shoulders to Caesar: it is thus I treat the citizens he makes."¹ A few days later he resolutely proposed in the Senate the recall of the proconsul.

But Pompey still hesitated, and employed the time in visiting his villas. While his rival was finishing his long war in this campaign, and getting free disposal of all his forces, he retired to Tarentum to nurse his health, and philosophize with Cicero, who "found him animated with the best and most patriotic intentions." He thought of going still farther away, into Spain. Was this a ruse to deceive the credulous ex-consul, and cause his disinterestedness to be as highly celebrated as his military fame? Probably so; but in this double game he lost the advantage which a firm decision and bold offensive would have given him.² By remaining inactive and silent, he allowed the Senate to come forward and seize the leading part; so that, at the time of the explosion, the question lay, not between him and Caesar, but between Caesar and the aristocracy, and Pompey was only their general. It could not be otherwise. Pompey, representing no principle, was not Caesar's real

¹ Appian (*Bell. civ.* ii. 26) and Plutarch (*Caesar*, 29) say that he was a magistrate; Suetonius (*Julius Caesar*, 28), that Comum even had the *jus civitatis*; Cicero (*Ad Att.* v. 11) denies it: *Marcellus fidei in Comensi: etsi ille magistratum non gesserit, erat tamen Transpadanus*. The authority of Cicero overrides that of Appian, and still more that of Plutarch. But he may have been ill informed of the antecedents of this individual, who was only secured against the rods if he had held a magistracy. (See vol. ii. p. 508, note 3.) The *jus Latii* had been given to the Transpadani by a Pompeian law in 89 B.C., at the same time as the *jus civitatis* was granted to peninsular Italy.

² [This was evidently the bold and right policy. But Pompey evidently felt in the East an authority he had nowhere else. — *Ed.*]

adversary, and since the Senate alone had retained any authority in the State, it was they who were to fight the last battle for the Republic.

The elections for the year 50 were no longer in favor of Pompey: the consuls chosen — Aem. Paullus, and one C. Claudius Marcellus — were zealous partisans of the Senate. In the other offices candidates of the same opinions triumphed. The appointment of the younger Curio to the tribuneship appeared to be another victory for Caesar's foes. "He was of noble birth, eloquent, intrepid, prodigal alike of his own fortune and reputation and those of others, — a man ably wicked, and eloquent to the injury of the Republic, and whose passions and desires no degree of wealth or gratification could satisfy."¹ Overwhelmed with debts, "he had nothing," says Pliny, "to allege as his income but the hopes which he founded upon the discord among the leaders."² Caesar, who knew how to make use of ruined men, secretly bought over the future tribune *ingenti mercede*; Appian says for more than fifteen hundred talents, which is a very large sum. A magistrate is not bought publicly like a piece of property. Cicero, who was very curious about these sales, knows nothing about this one, and Velleius doubts it: the only real uncertainty is in respect to the amount paid.

The aristocracy, being masters of all the points of vantage in the city, were anxious to hasten on the struggle. For a time they thought that the Bellovaci had rid them of Caesar. In May, 51 B.C., it was whispered that he had lost his cavalry, that the seventh legion had been defeated, and he himself cut off from his troops and surrounded.³ When the truth was known, it only made them more anxious to persuade Pompey to declare himself openly.

At a session of the Senate (12th of July, 51 B.C.), Pompey was asked about a legion which he had lent to Caesar.⁴ "It is in Gaul," he replied, and promised to recall it. But, when they reached the principal object of the deliberation, the regulation of the provinces, he left Rome in order to avoid declaring either for

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 48.

² *Ut qui nihil in censu habuerit praeter discordiam principum* (Pliny., *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 24, 120).

³ Caelius to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* viii. 1).

⁴ Caelius to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* viii. 4).

Caesar's recall, or for keeping him in his proconsulship. But, to encourage his new friends to proceed without him, he had let fall these words in the midst of the debate: "Every man owes obedience to the Senate." M. Marcellus did in fact resume the matter, notwithstanding Pompey's absence; but either because the wise counsel of Sulpicius, the other consul, who saw the storm gathering,¹ had moderated the blind ardor of the nobles, or because Caesar had claimed from the senators whom he had bribed some return for his largesses, each time the deliberation began, the Senate found there was no house, and on the 30th of September the question was adjourned till the 1st of March in the following year.

When the nobles granted the proconsul this imprudent truce, which allowed him to complete his work in Gaul, and prepare for the Civil war, they, however, had troops in Italy. The army raised by Pompey to re-establish order in the city had not been disbanded. Being stationed at Ariminum, on the frontier of Caesar's government, it could in a few marches close the passes of the Alps against him. But great assemblies do not know the value of time: like the people of Athens, who were listening to their orators when Philip was on his way through Thermopylae, the Senate was still engaged in deliberation when Caesar crossed the Rubicon.

M. Marcellus, however, who saw his consular year expiring without fulfilling the wishes of the oligarchy, wished to impose this task upon his successors. The resolution of the 30th of September was in these terms: "The consuls for the next year shall bring forward in the Senate the question of superseding Caesar at the session of the 1st of March [50]; till this question be settled, the Senate shall meet every day; six of the senators who are judges in the courts of justice shall be required to leave them in order to repair to the curia; none shall be allowed to oppose it; those who attempt to do so shall be declared public enemies; the Senate shall take into consideration the services of the soldiers in the army of Gaul, and

¹ *Tanquam ex aliqua specula prospici tempestatem futuram . . . monente et denuntiante te* (Cic., *Ad Fam.* iv. 3). Sulpicius, says Dion (xl. 59), saw that the people were not willing to depose before the lawful time a magistrate who had done no wrong. In Dion's opinion Caesar's powers ended in 59 B.C. But Hirtius (*De Bell. Gall.* viii. 53) says that Marcellus had put the question to the vote, *contra legem Pompei et Crassi et ante tempus*. Suetonius (*Julius Caesar*, 21) speaks to the same effect: *ut si ante tempus succederetur*.

restore to civil life the veterans who have a right to retirement and those who have valid reasons for obtaining it.”¹ The threat was clear, — to deprive Caesar of his command and disorganize his army, to render the veto of the tribunes worthless beforehand, and to place those who attempted to avail themselves of it in danger of capital punishment. Three tribunes resisted this proposal, and the colleague of Marcellus opposed it; but the senatorial majority adopted it. This revolutionary decision, into which all kinds of illegalities were crowded, was nothing less than a declaration of war. The Senate had had the courage to make it, because they relied upon Pompey, who had gone further that day than he had ever before done. “Whether Caesar refuses to obey the decree,” he had said, “or causes one of his partisans to offer obstructions to it, it is all the same thing.” — “But if he asserts that he is consul, and retains his army?” they asked. “But if my son raises a stick against me?” he replied. Pompey was coming back to Sylla’s system, — everything by and for the Senate. Though he did not demand the suppression of the tribunitian veto, which he had re-established, he at least treated it as old-fashioned rubbish which no one was bound longer to respect: the problem becomes clearly defined, as is fitting on the eve of great solutions.

Caesar made no reply to these challenges. He saw clearly and had long seen that the attempt would be made to compel him to lay aside the *paludamentum* before assuming the consular toga, in order that his acts might be cancelled, and that the Senate might rid themselves by exile of the popular leader and his threatening reforms.² But the difficulty was to make him commit this imprudence. The defections incited in his army by offering leave to his soldiers did not occur. His ten legions, whose pay he had doubled,³ and whom he maintained in a great measure at his own expense,

¹ Cic., *Ad Fam.* viii. 8.

² Dion, xl. 60; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 30: *Cumque vulgo fore praedicarent, ut si privatus redisset Milonis exemplo, circumpostis armatis, causam apud iudices diceret.*

³ Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 26. In the time of Polybius (vi. 39) the pay for a foot-soldier was 5½ ases a day, or 1,920 ases a year; i.e., 120 denarii: Caesar raised it to 225 denarii, at which amount it remained until Domitian. It should be remarked that in the year 50, 225 denarii would not be, as a means of exchange, worth more than 120 a century earlier. The increase decided upon by Caesar, which was formerly regarded as a means of bribing his army, was therefore a measure rendered necessary by the increased price of everything, produced by enormous influx of precious metals into Rome.

were devoted to him as never army had been before to its leader. A centurion at the doors of the Senate, hearing that it was probable Caesar would be refused the longer term of government which he sought for, had been heard to say, placing his hand on the hilt



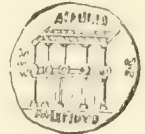
ARICIA (LA RICCIA).¹

of his sword. "But this shall give it."² Therefore the proconsul suffered his foes to deliberate, to decree and threaten in words: he even passed that winter in the heart of Gaul, at Nemetocenna (Arras), and those who had charge of his interests at Rome seemed to be only occupied in building for him a delightful villa near the grove of Diana at Aricia. So general was the misconception in regard

¹ From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.

² *Plut., Pomp.* 62. The same saying is attributed to one of the centurions of Octavius. Both are probably unauthentic.

to his resources, that Atticus thought to embarrass him by claiming an old debt of fifty-eight talents. But at this very moment Caesar was just completing the payment of Curio's enormous debts, and purchasing the defection of the consul Paullus at the price of fifteen hundred talents,¹ which he sent him in the form of a loan to complete his basilica. Lastly, by a clever move, he reduced Cicero to silence. The latter was then just returning with the title of "Imperator" from his government of Cilicia, where he had done himself honor far more by his irreproachable conduct than by the doubtful successes which it had been easy for him to gain over the poor mountaineers. None the less he solicited the triumph. On Cato's motion the Senate refused. At the moment when the orator's former friends were inflicting this cruel wound on his vanity, he received from the governor of Gaul a letter full of admiration, and a promise that, if Caesar should be consul, he would secure to Cicero what the latter desired. This hope reduced the orator to neutrality, which was all that Caesar required of him.



AEMILIAN
BASILICA ²

On the 1st of March, 50 B.C., the deliberation commenced. The proconsul's powers, which had been extended for five years by the *lex Licinia-Pompeia*, did not end till 49; but the nobles were unwilling to wait so long, and the consul C. Marcellus put to the vote his recall on the 13th of November in the present year, which would have given his accusers seven months,—far more than was necessary to obtain a condemnation. The majority were about to adopt this motion, notwithstanding the silence of the other consul, when Curio, rising, praised the wisdom of Marcellus, but added that justice and the public interest required that the same measure should be applied to Pompey. "We must make an end," said he, "of exceptional powers, and return to the constitution, which does not allow them." If his amendment were

¹ Cic., *Ad Att.* vi. 1; Val. Max. ix. 1; Plut. *Pomp.* 62. This sum again is a very large one, and I think must be reduced. Caesar's exchequer was supplied by the tax upon the Gauls, which was a light one; by booty, which was not equal in value to that which he would have gained in the rich provinces of Asia; and above all by the sale of captives, which was very productive, but yet not sufficiently so to enable Caesar to spend in the same year, and for only two men, something like three million dollars of our currency.

² Coin of the *gens Aemilia*.

refused, he should oppose his veto. The method was well chosen : in the midst of factions, Curio alone seemed jealous for the Republic. "When he left the Senate, the people received him with great tokens of joy, clapping their hands, and crowning him with garlands and flowers;"¹ and the nobles dared not brave his opposition.

Meanwhile, Caesar had at last completed his work in Gaul. In the summer of the year 50 he crossed the Alps on the pretext of commending to the municipia and colonies on the banks of the Po the candidature of his quaestor Antony² for the office of augur, but really in order to approach nearer to Rome, and obtain from the people of Cisalpine Gaul a manifestation of favor which should re-echo even in the Senate. Everywhere, indeed, the inhabitants went out to meet him, and sacrifices and feasts celebrated his arrival in each city. During this triumphal march into Italy, his legions were assembling in the territory of the Treviri: he returned into Gaul to review them. No doubt at this ceremony tacit promises were exchanged between the leader and his soldiers. They knew of the designs formed against their general, and, even had there been a lack of affection for him, their interest would have warned them that they must share his misfortunes or his prosperity. If Caesar were deprived of his command and condemned, who would pay them for their services? Would it be the man, who, but for Caesar, could not have obtained the gift of a foot of land for his army of Asia?

About this time Pompey fell ill at Naples.³ When he recovered, the inhabitants returned solemn thanksgivings to the gods. From Naples, the enthusiasm spread to the neighboring cities. Puteoli was garlanded with flowers, and throughout Campania feasts were held in honor of his recovery. "Campania," says Juvenal, "had given him a wholesome fever." "Had he died then," adds Cicero, "he would have died in full glory and prosperity." Pompey let

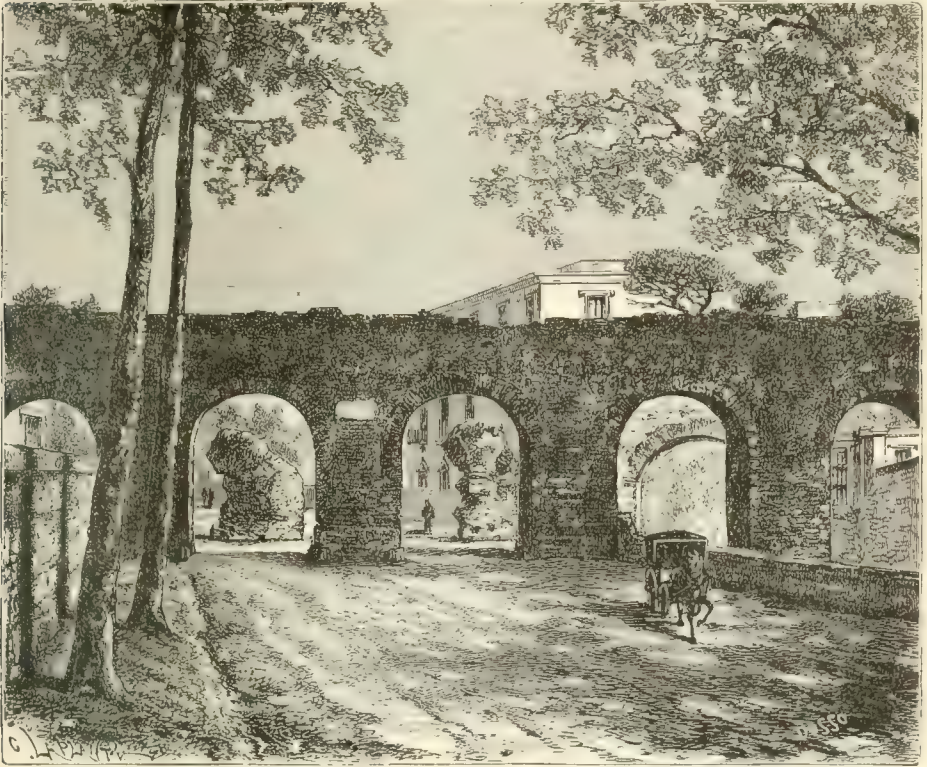
¹ Cic., *Ad Fam.* viii. 11 and 13. Καὶ παρέπεμψαν αὐτὸν ἀνθοβολοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴν μεγάλου καὶ δυσχεροῦς ἀγῶνος (App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 27). *Iustissimus quisque et a Caesare et a Pompeio collecti dimitti exercitus* (Vell. Patere., ii. 48).

² The death of Hortensius had just left a vacant place in the college, and Antony was appointed before Caesar's arrival in Cisalpine Gaul.

³ This, it appears, often happened to him; for Cicero writes to Atticus (viii. 2): *In minus hominis quotannis periculosa aegrotantis anima positas omnis nostras spes habemus* (Juv., *Sat.* x. 283-286, and Cic., *Tusc.* i. 35).

himself be dazzled by these commonplace acclamations, which have so often deceived men in high position, and his confidence increased.

In order to revive the debate about Caesar, and play the part of the disinterested citizen, he offered one day in the Senate to lay down his powers, well assured that the offer would not be accepted. When Curio urged him to carry out this promise, he found pre-



ROMAN RUIN AT NAPLES (THE PONTE ROSSI).¹

texts for delaying. "Let Caesar begin," he said: "I will follow his example." The result of this session, to which he had come with such noble words of self-sacrifice, was the despatching of an order to his rival to place two of his legions at the disposal of the Senate. The decree said, it is true, that the two proconsuls should furnish one legion apiece for Syria, where an invasion of the Parthians was threatening; but Pompey had lent one to Caesar, and he now demanded it back again; the proconsul of Gaul there-

¹ From a photograph by Parker, No. 2141, which shows the brick construction, *opus latericium*.

fore gave them both. Before their departure, he distributed two hundred and fifty drachmae to each soldier; they would be so many friends to him in the opposite camp. Of course they were not sent to Asia. The consul Metellus stationed them at Capua, though he suspected their fidelity.

This prompt obedience caused great astonishment. The party of Pompey thought that an explanation was to be found in what Appius Claudius, who had brought the two legions from Cisalpine Gaul, told of the temper of the whole army.¹ "Caesar's soldiers," said he, "are discontented and weary: they only long for rest and peace," — as if a soldier serving under a successful leader ever had enough of war. Appius was believed, and one more illusion lulled Pompey to sleep.

The struggle, however, was becoming imminent. A clear-sighted observer who was at Rome at the time wrote to Cicero: "The nearer we approach the inevitable struggle, the more we are struck with the greatness of the danger. This is the ground on which the two men of power of the day are going to encounter each other. Pompey is decided not to suffer Caesar to be consul until he has resigned his legions and his provinces; and Caesar is convinced that there is no safety for him but in retaining his army."² In Italy, however, there were no preparations, no measures of defence; and, when Pompey was asked what force would stop the enemy if the Caesarians crossed the mountains, he replied, with memories of his youth before him, "In whatsoever spot in Italy I stamp upon the ground, legions will rise." The consuls shared his security; and Marcellus, who was the most strongly opposed to Caesar, was quite resolved to have it out. On which side was, I will not say the right, but strict conformity to law?

Caesar had in his favor the following laws: —

1. The Vatinian plebiscitum and the senatus-consultum of the year 59, which had given him the governorship of the two Gauls for five years.

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 30. This Appius was the nephew of a censor then in office, and who, amidst such affairs, amused himself by proscribing pictures and statues, as another magistrate turned informer in the name of the *lex Scantinia de pudicitia*. Accordingly the witty and malicious Caelius writes to Cicero: *Curre, per deos atque homines! et quam primum hanc risum veni* (*Ad Fam.* viii. 14).

² Caelius, *Ad Fam.* viii. 14.

2. The consular law, *Licinia-Pompeia*, which in 55 had renewed his proconsulship for another five years.

3. The plebiscitum of the ten tribunes in the year 52, which authorized him to canvass a second consulship in his absence.¹

The first two of these laws secured him ten years of proconsulship, 58-49; the third, in which it is easy to see an indirect confirmation of the two former, conferred upon him the right to retain his provinces and his army till the time when he could legally solicit a second consulship. As he was very careful not to give his foes any legal ground against him, he had never proposed to canvass the consular fasces before the middle of the year 49, because a Cornelian law which Pompey had overridden, but which all other persons observed, required that there should be an interval of ten years between two terms of consular office of the same individual.

The Senate had not raised the question of the duration of Caesar's authority, so long as union had existed among the triumvirs: in 56 the majority still admitted that the proconsulship of the Gauls did not end until 54.²

But when the leaders of the oligarchy had secured Pompey by investing him with a kind of dictatorship, they asserted that the *lex Vatinia*, passed in 59, marked the starting-point of Caesar's government: consequently, according to the principle of law that a year begun is considered as ended, — *annus caeptus pro pleno habetur*,³ — the decennial proconsulship ended in 50, — a theory impossible to defend, since, if this law had made Caesar at once proconsul, he would have held the military *imperium* at Rome during his consulship (in the year 59), which was contrary to the laws, — a theory, however, maintained with variations of date, and in Cicero with contradictory affirmations, proving that hatred against Caesar dictated the opinion of his adversaries. Thus Pompey at one time fixes the limit of Caesar's powers at the 1st of March, 50, and at another at the 13th of November of the same year.⁴

At Rome the nobles, since their reconciliation with Pompey,

¹ *Vide* pp. 398 and 399.

² *Vide* p. 371.

³ Dig., L. 48.

⁴ Cf. Cic., *De Prov. cons.* 15; *Ad Att.* vii. 9; *Ad Fam.* viii. 8, 9, and 11; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 26 and 28; Dion, xl. 59.

held that the powers of the proconsul expired in 50. He, on the contrary, maintained that the proconsular year dated from the day when the proconsul entered his provinces; and common sense, as well as the letter of the law, sanctions this opinion. But he did not cross the frontier of Cisalpine Gaul until the end of March, 58; he ought not, therefore, to leave it till the end of 49; and of this there was no doubt in his army or throughout Gaul, where, towards the close of the military operations of 51, it was currently said that only one more summer remained for him to pass beyond the Alps,¹ that of 50. The arrangements to be made for his candidature detained him, indeed, in Cisalpine Gaul, that is to say, the neighborhood of Rome, during the first half of 49, and he did not claim to retain his command beyond that date. Accordingly, when the senatus-consultum of the 7th of January, 49, declared him a public enemy unless he immediately quitted his provinces, he replied that this would be illegally depriving him of six months' *imperium*.

Moreover, all the subtle and skilful calculations made on this score fall before the perfectly plain law which allowed Caesar, although absent, to canvass the consulship.² Cicero acknowledges that, in granting him this privilege, they had by that very fact authorized him to retain his army until the consular comitia of July, 49: *quum id datum, illud una datum*. The whole question lies in these six words, or, rather, these six words decide it. Accordingly, when the consul Marcellus opened the discussion in the Senate upon the redistribution of the provinces, he abandoned the theory that Caesar's powers had expired, and by what was, perhaps, a clever manœuvre, but certainly not a very honorable one, he demanded that Caesar should be obliged to come to Rome to solicit the consulship. But from the law of 52 he left out the essential part, — Caesar's right to canvass *while absent*.³

¹ Hirtius, *De Bell. Gall.* viii. 39.

² *Ad Att.* vii. 7; and p. 415, note 3.

³ Marcellus certainly knew the text of the law of 52; but it may be that many did not know it. The public archives at Rome were not well organized. The laws and senatus-consulta were preserved in the *aerarium*, and confided to the keeping of the scribes, the quaestors, and the aediles. It was necessary to apply to them to obtain a knowledge of the text of the laws, and to the *librarii* to obtain a copy. Accordingly Cicero said (*De Leg.* iii. 20), *Legum custodiam nullam habemus, itaque cae leges sunt quas apparitores nostri volunt. A librariis petimus, publicis litteris consignatam memoriam nullam habemus*. In the Verrine

What gave the consul courage to do this was the fact that at Rome Caesar's position was looked upon as very critical. It was known that he had only five thousand men in Cisalpine Gaul, and that the eight other legions were in the depths of Gaul, where it was hoped that, at the first order to retire, a general insurrection might break out, which would make it necessary to leave them at their posts. If Caesar, abandoning the conquest which had



ROMAN RUINS AT CAPUA.¹

made his fame, called all his troops round him, the seven Pompeian legions in Spain would enter Gaul, and follow the Caesarians into Italy, where Pompey, with his fresh levies and the two legions from Capua, would place Caesar between two dangers, from which he could not escape. Moreover, emissaries were at work in his

Orations (iii. 79) he says again, *Quid mirabimur turpis aliquos ibi esse, quo cuius pretio licet pervenire?* Dion Cassius bears witness to the same "errors and confusions" (liv. 36). These *librarii*, or notaries, were freedmen: they purchased their office, and might well sell their services, that is to say, incorrect copies.

¹ Engraving taken from the *Aeneid* of the Duchess of Devonshire.

army; promises of defection had been obtained; and Pompey's military reputation dispelled all fear: their confidence was unlimited.

In the session of March 1, 50, to the question of Marcellus, "Shall Caesar be superseded in his province?" an immense majority had replied in the affirmative: to his question, "Shall Pompey be superseded?" the same majority pronounced in the negative. But Curio, in the name of public interest, had changed these questions into the following: "Shall Pompey and Caesar both resign?" and three hundred and seventy voices against twenty-two supported the proposal, — a proof that, though the senatorial majority preferred Pompey to Caesar, they preferred the Republic to Pompey. Outside, the most vehement applause had greeted the courageous tribune. Curio had found the true solution in this memorable conflict, — a solution which would preserve peace, and did not compromise the future. Caesar returning to Rome without his army, but with all his great reputation, would have preserved over Pompey, disarmed like himself, the ascendancy of genius, and would have had in the State an influence by means of which he would have been able to lead the government gently into the right path. But the nobles desired Caesar's ruin, and they knew that, if the two rivals abdicated, the disarmed Caesar would still remain formidable to them. They could not, therefore, accept any measure which dealt alike with both proconsuls, and Pompey would have none of it.¹ Marcellus broke up the meeting, crying, "You carry the day! You will have Caesar for master."

A few days later a report spread that the army of Gaul was crossing the Alps. Marcellus proposed to call up the two legions from Capua. Curio maintained, as was perfectly true, that no movement of the troops had taken place. Then Marcellus said, "Since I can do nothing here with the consent of all, I alone take charge of the public welfare on my own responsibility;" and passing through the city, accompanied by Lentulus, the consul-elect,

¹ Pompey was even unwilling that Caesar should be permitted to become consul after having quitted his army: a long conversation with him persuaded Cicero that he desired war, that he might not be obliged to confine himself to his government of Spain (*Ad Att.* vii. 8). "Nothing was omitted by Caesar that could be tried for the promotion of peace," says also Velleius Paterculus (ii. 49): "To nothing would the party of Pompey listen."

and some senators of the party,¹ he repaired to Pompey, handed him his sword, and ordered him, for the defence of the Republic, to assume the command of all the troops stationed in Italy and to raise others. Pompey accepted, but, true to the last to his hypocritical moderation, he added, "If no better expedient can be found."

The expedient, indeed, was a detestable one, for the consul substituted himself for both Senate and people. of his own authority he invested Pompey with the dictatorship, trampling alike upon *senatus-consulta* and *plebiscita*. It was impossible to violate the constitution more openly, and thus it was a senatorial minority who began the appeal to arms and the revolution. Curio treated this unheard-of² proceeding as it deserved, and opposed the raising of troops. But his office was drawing to a close, and the nobles, having now entered upon the paths of violence, could no longer be stopped by a tribune. Two other partisans of the proconsul, however, — Cassius Longinus and his former quaestor, M. Antonius, — were about to take their seat on the tribune's bench. Caesar was too well aware of the power of this office not to take care always to have some of his own party elected to it.

He was then at Ravenna with the thirteenth legion, five thousand foot and three hundred horse. Curio urged him to attack. In order still to act under cover of the legal appearances which his foe had just cast aside, he sent word to the Senate that he consented to retain, until his election to the consulship, only Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria, with one legion. If this proposal were rejected, he further offered to lay down his command, provided Pompey would yield up his, adding that, in case these conditions were not accepted, he should be obliged to come to Rome in person to avenge his wrongs and those of the country.³ Curio was the bearer of this letter, and on the 1st of January, 49, he delivered

¹ Dion, xl. 66.

² This is the expression of which Dion makes use (xl. 66), though he is not favorable to Caesar: he adds that Pompey, eager to have soldiers, did not trouble himself either from whose hands he received them or by what means they reached him.

³ App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 32. Plutarch (*Pomp.* 59) says that Cicero proposed to leave Caesar Illyria, with two legions, that he might await his second consulship, a further proof that the orator fully recognized Caesar's right to canvass the consulship while absent. On Pompey's refusal, Caesar's friends consented also to the disbanding of one of the two legions; but Lentulus and Cato caused all proposals to be rejected.

it in full Senate to the new consuls, Corn. Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus. This Marcellus was a brother of the consul of 51, and cousin to the one who had had the fasces in 50, — three consulships in three years in the same house. By these exclusive selections the oligarchy in the last hours of its existence itself increased the evil of which it was dying. The consuls refused to make Caesar's letter known. Cassius and Antony insisted upon its being read, but were not, however, able to have it calmly discussed. In the midst of a confused debate, Lentulus was so far carried away as to declare that, if the Senate persisted in its servility, he and his friends were resolved to act; and the majority, swayed by fear,¹ adopted a motion of Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law and agent, to the effect that if, on the day prescribed, Caesar did not disband his army, he should be declared an enemy of the Republic. They forgot that another Senate had declared Cinna, Marius, Sylla, and Lepidus public enemies, and that, of the four thus proscribed, three had re-entered Rome in triumph. But "they desired war," says Cicero, and they had need of it to satisfy at once their hatred and their covetousness.²

The veto of the tribunes at first hindered Scipio's motion from being drawn up in the form of a decree; and the crowd in the Forum, to whom they declared that Caesar only desired to return as a private individual, and give an account of his administration to the sovereign assembly, were indignant that a hearing should be refused to him who appealed to the justice of the people.

In order to silence these clamors and this opposition, Pompey, who was encamped with his troops at the gates of Rome, sent a few cohorts into the city, and at the meeting of the 6th of January, the Senate passed the decree charging the consuls to watch over the safety of the Republic, — *Carent consules*: this was the declaration of war. As the tribunes persisted in their veto, the consul Lentulus ordered them to leave the curia if they wished to avoid

¹ *Inviti et coacti*, says Caesar (*De Bell. civ. i. 2*).

² *Vult . . . nostros amicos cupere bellum, hunc autem [Caesarem] non tam cupere quam non timere* (*Ad Fam. ix. 6*). On another occasion he writes to M. Marius (*Ad Fam. vii. 3*): . . . *In bello rapaces, in oratione ita crudes, ut ipsam victoriam horrerem; maximum autem acs aliorum amplissimorum virorum.*

"the punishment their spirit of hostility towards the Republic merited." At these words Antony rose, and called the gods to witness the violence done to the popular magistrates. "We are insulted!" he cried: "we are treated like murderers! You want proscriptions, massacres, and conflagrations: may the evils which you invoke fall upon your own heads!"¹ Meantime the Pompeian soldiers approached: they were about to surround the curia. Antony and Cassius escaped, followed by Caelius and Curio; the following night all four, disguised as slaves, fled to Caesar's camp. In the eyes of many he already had law on his side; the presence of these men with him seemed to give him popular right; and the oligarchy thus placed him in a position of legitimate defence (Nov. 19, 50-Jan. 7, 49).

Whilst the tribunes were proceeding in all haste towards Ariminum, the Senate passed a decree of proscription, and distributed the provinces in contempt of constitutional rules. They bestowed commands upon senators who had no right to them, and ordinary private individuals were seen preceded by lictors in Rome. Neither Scipio nor Domitius could as yet be proconsuls; but the former was given Syria, the latter Transalpine Gaul. Others were sent to Sicily, to Sardinia, to Africa, and to Cilicia; Considius received the difficult office of taking possession of Cisalpine Gaul; to Cicero was confided the more modest duty of watching over the coasts of Campania, which no one threatened. They all departed without legal title, for the *comitia curiata* were not called together to confer the *imperium* upon them; nor did they fulfil any of the religious and military formalities imposed upon magistrates on their entry into office. The party assuming to fight on the side of the laws began by violating all of them.

If the picture that has just been drawn of the internal state of Rome is a true one, Caesar's ambition was legitimate, and his victory as desirable as it was certain; for he had the strength to conquer as he had the genius to make use of victory, and give the world that repose for which it longed. Humanity advances, accord-

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 33. The letters of the pseudo-Sallust to Caesar speak (i. 4) of the murder — ordered by Cato, Domitius, and their party — of forty senators and a great number of youths. No trace of this deed is found elsewhere. Cicero and Caesar would certainly have mentioned it.

ing to the times, by the power of one as well as by the liberty of all. But it was not a question of sacrificing liberty. Where was liberty in the bloody saturnalia which had so long made the life of the Roman people the most tragic of dramas? Where was it for the great body of Latin nations, which, instead of moving onwards towards the future with a calm and assured step, was swaying in violent convulsions? It is a strange thing that in our age of democracy, and revolutions wrought in streets and palaces, men side with the faction of the nobles against the popular leader, with Sylla's heirs against the successor of the Gracchi, with the revolution brought about at Rome in the interest of a few against that which, on the passage of the Rubicon, took place for the benefit of the great majority.¹ Men allow themselves to be misled by the false inscription of the Roman Republic placed upon monuments, which was still to be read upon the standards of the soldiers of Probus. No doubt the man who had just rendered Rome the immense service of bringing to her feet the dreaded Gallic race, and putting off for three centuries to come the Germanic invasion,—no doubt this man was about to violate the law which forbade proconsuls to issue from their provinces in arms. But were there no laws violated against him? and, indeed, after the declaration of war by the consuls, were there any laws left? It is asking too much of human nature to suppose that it was possible for the victorious general, unquestionably proscribed at Rome should he re-enter the city without the protection of a public office, to commit himself to the discretion of intriguing nobles or of any sleeping Epimenides.² It does not appear that those who assumed to save liberty intended to save aught but the oligarchical interests.

The question of legality may be summed up in two words: the nobles commenced the war in order to carry out their illegal

¹ This prejudice dates from early times. The parliamentarians and men of letters of the seventeenth century retained it when absolute monarchy was at its height. Guy Patin said to a First President that, if he had been in the Senate when Caesar was slain, he would have dealt him the twenty-fourth dagger-thrust. This was a *literary* opinion, which all the Ciceronians shared, after the example of their master, and which many among them still keep.

² Cato loudly declared that he would take the execution upon himself, and Caesar was promised the fate of Milo (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 30).

senatus-consultum of the 10th of January, 49,¹ and Caesar accepted it to defend the sovereign plebiscitum of 52.

¹ Illegal, in the sense that it violated a formal law, — the plebiscitum of 52. Without the laws of 55 and 52, the Senate would have had the right of shortening the duration of Caesar's powers ; but since the passing of these laws they no longer possessed it.

² From an engraved stone (an amethyst .59055 inch by .43307 inch) from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1441 of the Catalogue.



MARS BEARING A TROPHY.²

CHAPTER LVI.

THE CIVIL WAR AND CAESAR'S DICTATORSHIP.

I.—PROGRESS OF THE MONARCHICAL IDEA.

THE poet Lucan, in a famous passage, represents Caesar on the banks of the Rubicon,¹ implored by his sorrowing country to desist from his crime. Crime?² no, but a necessary revolution, hid from Lucan's eyes by the epic illusions wherewith he consoled himself at Nero's court. It was in truth the favor of the people which made Caesar master of Rome, not his army or his genius. The first and irresistible cause was the need that the Empire had of a firm and regular government.

Everything tended towards a monarchy, which the loss of equality, the disorganization of the government, and the desires of the steady classes, rendered inevitable. What had been the tribuneship of Caius Gracchus, the consulships of Marius and Cinna,

¹ The Rubicon is probably the Fiumicino di Savignano, a reddish torrent twelve miles north of Ariminum, formed by the confluence of three brooks from the Apennines. In respect to the crossing of this little stream Plutarch says, "When Caesar came to the river Rubicon, which parts Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his thoughts began to work: now he was just entering upon the danger, and he wavered much in his mind when he considered the greatness of the enterprise into which he was throwing himself. He checked his course, and ordered a halt, while he revolved with himself, and often changed his opinion one way and the other without speaking a word. Presently he also discussed the matter with his friends who were about him, computing how many calamities his passing that river would bring upon mankind, and what a relation of it would be transmitted to posterity. At last, in a sort of passion, casting aside calculation and abandoning himself to what might come, and using the proverb frequently in their mouths who enter upon dangerous and bold attempts, 'The die is cast!'—with these words he took the river. Once over, he used all expedition possible, and before it was day, reached Ariminum and took it." This legend of the Rubicon is dear to poets and rhetoricians; but it is difficult to accept it. Caesar was scarcely the man to hesitate thus after he had entered upon an enterprise: moreover, the crime, if crime it were, was already committed, since his soldiers had preceded him on the road to Ariminum.

² Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 183.

Sylla's dictatorship, Pompey's commands, but so many temporary royalties?¹ During the past century this idea had been gaining ground, and taken possession, unknown to themselves, of many minds even among the noblest. This peace for which Lucretius asks;² the new wisdom which counsels men to flee public life and its dangerous seductions, as well as the temples and their vain terrors; this repose which Atticus seeks, remote from business, and on friendly terms with all the rivals;³ even Cicero's uncertainties — are they not indications of the disgust inspired by that unbearable anarchy known as the Roman Republic?

When the aruspices, being consulted in 56 about some prodigies at which the people were frightened, replied that the Republic was threatened with falling into the power of a single man, the notion had been revealed to them, not by the entrails of victims or the flight of birds, but by public opinion, of which they were a perhaps unconscious echo.⁴ Did not Cicero himself write: "What do you mean by men of the good party? I know none. Is it the Senate, who leave the provinces without any administration, and who dared not hold their own against Curio? Is it the knights, whose patriotism has always been wavering, and who are now Caesar's best friends? Is it the tradesmen and country-people, who only ask to live in quiet, no matter under what régime, were it even under a king? . . . Caesar is now at the head of eleven legions and as much cavalry as he likes. He has on his side the Transpadane, the people of Rome, the majority of the tribunes, all the debauched youth, the influence of his name, and his incredible audacity."⁵

¹ *C. Marius et . . . L. Sylla victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Pompeius occultior, non melior: et nunquam postea nisi de principatu quesitum.* (Tac., *Hist.* ii. 38.)

² *Placidam pacem* . . . (i. 41). The philosophy of Epicurus had made great progress at Rome. In the question between liberty and tyranny, it declared in favor of the latter; men being too senseless and wicked for the wise man to expose himself to danger with the view of delivering them. (Plut., *Brut.* 12.) Epicureanism was veritably a doctrine of renouncement. "Epicurus," says Plutarch, "held the sovereign good to be in profound repose, as in a harbor protected from all the winds and waves of the world," and Lucretius is as much occupied in his poem in delivering mankind from the ambition for honors and fame as in freeing it from the yoke of superstition. The height of wisdom, to his thinking, is to attain peace of mind.

³ Atticus was at the same time, or by turns, the friend of Cicero and of Clodius, of the younger Marius and of Sylla, of Caesar and of Pompey, of Brutus and Antony, and finally of Augustus, who took his grand-daughter into the imperial house.

⁴ *Ad unum imperium provinciae redeant exercitusque* (Cic., *De Harusp. resp.* 19).

⁵ *Ad Att.* vii. 7. Caesar had not then more than nine legions.

Plutarch, who saw documents which are lost to us, writes, for his part: "All who were candidates for offices publicly gave money, and without any shame bribed the people, who, having received their pay, did not contend for their benefactors with their best suffrages, but with bows, swords, and slings, so that, after having many times stained the place of election with the blood of men killed upon the spot, they left the city at last without a government at all, to be carried about like a ship without a pilot to steer her; while all who had any wisdom could only be rejoiced if a course of such wild and stormy disorder and madness might end no worse than in a monarchy.¹ Some were so bold as to declare openly that the government was incurable but by a monarchy, and that they ought to take that remedy from the hands of the gentlest physician."²

¹ *Caesar*, 28. Cf. *App.*, *Bell. civ.* 19, 20, and *Dion.* liii. 19: . . . παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἢ δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωπθῆναι. In the conversation of Cratippus with Pompey after Pharsalia, the philosopher "demonstrated to him that, in the position in which affairs then were, a monarchy was necessary in place of a bad government" (*Plut., Pomp.* 75). A century and a half later, Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 9) recognized this truth: *Non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur.*

² Two letters were long attributed to Sallust, which he was supposed to have written to Caesar, — the one before Pharsalia, the other after the war in Alexandria. They belong to the reign of Augustus, and from their date lose much of their historical importance; but they are none the less curious as a *résumé* of the opinions of those who accepted a monarchy. "In the name of the gods, Caesar, take the Republic in hand, for you alone can remedy our ills. Do not permit the great and invincible empire of the Roman people to fall through age and powerlessness, or to crumble away amid our senseless discords. If the country, if your ancestors, could make themselves heard, they would say to you, 'O Caesar! we have caused thee to be born in the most illustrious city, thee, our glory and support! We ask thee to save our empire from approaching ruin; for if, consumed by the ill which saps it, or struck by the blows of fate, it reaches the point of decadence, who doubts that the whole world would be forthwith given over to devastation, war, and carnage?'"

It is in the name of public peace, in the name of universal order, that the writer implores the victorious general to provide for the safety of Italy and the provinces, and he points out some of the necessary reforms. The people, he says, have become degenerate; infected with vicious principles, and distracted by different pursuits and modes of life, they are no longer fit to have the government of the State. Let a number of new citizens be added to the old; let colonies be founded in which old and new shall be mixed; thus a better state of public morals may be brought about, and the army will be better supplied. This reform will excite great wrath and fury among the nobles, he admits, and it will be said that, if one man is allowed the right of thus creating great numbers of new citizens, the Republic will be turned into a monarchy. By this, however, Caesar should not be deterred, since to hesitate in conferring such a benefit upon the public would be unworthy and cowardly conduct. The writer refers to the attempt of Drusus in this direction, and to his downfall, and conjures Caesar to take warning by that example, and secure for himself, with greater care than did Drusus, many faithful friends and supporters.

Having thus re-established a middle class, Caesar should then devote his care to the cultivation of good morals and harmony among the citizens. The disgraceful and ruinous power of

Those who sought for the great patient the most accommodating physician, the one who would cost least, were bent upon selecting Pompey,¹ who was thus very easily on the way to success; the consuls resigned their power into his hands; he had but to overthrow Caesar, who was the last obstacle; and he reckoned upon succeeding in that without any difficulty. He did not even think there was any need for long preparations. At Ravenna,² Caesar had with him but one legion, and it seemed to Pompey his persevering negotiations proved his weakness and his fears.

II. — CROSSING OF THE RUBICON; CAESAR TAKES POSSESSION OF ROME AND ITALY (49 B.C.).

BUT suddenly the news arrives that Caesar has crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his province, and has taken Ariminum, where he has shown his soldiers the fugitive tribunes in their slave's garments; that all his forces are advancing, carrying with them Gaul, which promises him ten thousand foot and six thousand horse; that

wealth must be broken down, integrity and simplicity must be restored to honor, and the elections purified.

Furthermore, a reform must be instituted in the Senate. "In these times," says the writer, "a few nobles, whose minds are possessed by timidity and indolence, unacquainted with toil, with an enemy, or with any kind of warfare, but leagued in a party at home, arrogantly usurp authority over the world; while the Senate — by whose counsels the State, when in difficulty, was formerly supported — is overawed, and fluctuates hither and thither at the pleasure of others, decreeing sometimes one thing and sometimes another, and deciding what is good or evil for the public, according to the animosity or presumption of those who rule the hour."

¹ All had been prepared long beforehand to give Pompey the means of overthrowing Caesar, — the kind of dictatorship he had exercised at Rome, where he had filled the consular office while retaining, contrary to law, the proconsulship of Spain; the army which he commanded in Italy; the seven legions in Spain, absolutely useless in that pacified province; the immense fleet which he had at disposal as superintendent of provisions; the thousand talents which he had the right to draw annually from the treasury; the law concerning magistracies, which substituted a new order for the old one, solely destined to hinder Caesar from obtaining the consulship: . . . *omnia contra se (Caesarem) parari: in se novi generis imperiū constitui: . . . in se jura magistratum commutari, etc.* (Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* i. 85.)

² Ravenna is about a hundred leagues from Rome. The passage of the Rubicon must have taken place on the 12th of January, 49 B.C., corresponding to the 24th of November, 50. If the calculation were made according to the sixty days fixed by Plutarch for Caesar's conquest of Italy, it would be necessary to put it as far back as the night of the 15th of November.

his legionaries, far from hesitating, are full of ardor, and have given him credit for their pay, while each centurion has furnished him with a horseman; finally, that all the cities are opening their gates



BRONZE DOOR-ORNAMENT FOUND AT CAPUA ¹

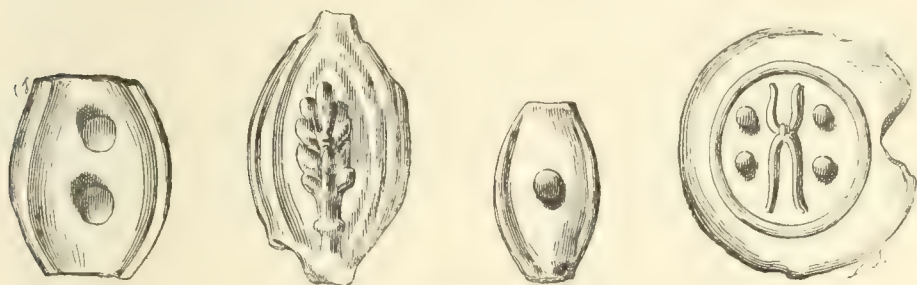
to him, and that he in person is rapidly approaching by the Flaminian Way, enthusiastically welcomed by the inhabitants. "Where is your army?" demands Volcatius of Pompey. "Stamp your foot upon the earth," says Favonius in irony, "it is high time." And the sham great man, cut off from his Spanish legions, was reduced to acknowledge that he could not defend Rome. He attempted to escape Caesar's first impetuosity, detaining him with a pretended negotiation, which he

¹ *Gazette archéol.*, 1875, pl. 17. This beautiful door-ornament forms part of the collections of the Duc de Luynes, in the *Cabinet des Médailles*. The head of Medusa with which it is ornamented in high relief is, says M. de Chanot (*Op. cit.* p. 69), one of the most perfect specimens of the Gorgon, according to the ideal of the best classical art.

² Dion, xli. 5.

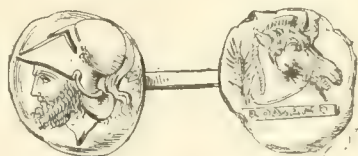
came free, he was sure to be chosen consul. Pompey knew it equally well, and for that reason he desired war. He prevented an answer being sent to Caesar's ultimatum, and notified the senators and magistrates that they must accompany him to Capua.¹ This was no mere advice; he declared that whosoever remained in the city would be treated as a public enemy. Thus, from the very beginning of the campaign, he left his foe in possession of the capital, — an immense advantage in a State where the capital was still everything.

The order was executed, and the senators who were yesterday so threatening were seen fleeing hastily before one legion. Pres-



COINS OF IGUVIUM.

ently the Appian Way was filled with a disorderly crowd, less irritated, perhaps, against the man who seemed to be pursuing them than against him whose haughty carelessness had made no preparations for their defence. At Capua the confusion reached its highest pitch. There was a lack of money, although it had been exacted from all the neighboring towns, and taken from the temples:³ even men were lacking, for fear had spread everywhere. At Rome, some days earlier, mourning had been assumed, and public prayers ordered, as in times of great calamity. The levies Pompey had attempted to make had been attended with great difficulty. "Some few indeed came in, but those very unwillingly; others would not answer to their names;

COIN OF CAPUA.²

¹ Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* i. 33; Plut., *Caesar*, 65; Dion, xli. 6; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 37.

² Head of Mars. See vol. i. p. 103, for another specimen of the coins of Capua.

³ . . . *Pecuniae a municipiis exiguntur, e fanis tolluntur* (Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* i. 6).

and the generality cried out for peace ;”¹ and Cicero found out that his former hero was a very poor general.² In the hurry of their flight the consuls had left the treasure-chest at Rome. Pompey wished them to return for it ; but an army was needed for its escort, and the two legions at Capua barely sufficed to keep in check the gladiators whom Caesar maintained in that city. Moreover, the latter was rapidly approaching, preceded by this declaration : “ I come to deliver the Roman people from a faction which oppresses them, and to re-establish their tribunes in their dignity.” Pisaurum, Ancona, Iguvium, Asculum, were taken, or, rather, opened their gates, driving out the Pompeian garrisons.

In order to reduce Caesar’s army, leave had been offered to the soldiers, and great promises made to the leaders. One of them, Labienus, the most renowned of his lieutenants, had yielded. This officer was a man in whom Caesar had placed full confidence. During the year 50 he had intrusted him with the command of Cisalpine Gaul, his outpost and fortress. But Labienus, proud of his military fame and of the wealth he had acquired,³ thought he



COIN OF PISAURUM.

had done much more towards conquering Gaul than his leader. On the approach of the Civil war he calculated the chances of the two parties, imagined that Pompey would be the stronger, and at the outset of hostilities went over to his side, to the great joy of the Pompeians, who took this flight as a signal for the defections which had been expected. Cicero already saw “ the new Hannibal ” overthrown. But not a single soldier followed Labienus ; and

Caesar did not even deign to keep the traitor’s money and equipage.⁴ This politic generosity, his clemency to prisoners (whom he left free to enlist among his troops, or to return to their own party), the discipline observed by his soldiers, shook the zeal of many. From

¹ Plut., *Pomp.* 59 ; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 36.

² *Quem ego hominem ἀπολιτικώτατον omnium jam ante cognoram ; nunc vero etiam ἀστρατηγικώτατον* (*Ad Att.* viii. 16).

³ *Ad Att.* vii. 7, and *Dion.* xli. 4.

⁴ Labienus joined Pompey at Teanum on the 22d or 24th of January, 49 B.C. (*Ad Fam.* xiv. 14).

the very beginning he had used this politic language, "All men who are not opposed to me are my friends," in contrast to Pompey, who declared all to be enemies who did not openly take his side. Caesar thus won to his cause the indifferent and the timid, who are always the most numerous: he also attracted upright minds by circulating in all the cities in Italy his messages to Pompey, conjuring the latter to submit their differences to arbitration.¹ His letters to Oppius and Balbus were quoted: "I shall willingly adopt your advice, and the more so, because, of my own accord, I had resolved to show every lenity, and to use my endeavors to conciliate Pompeius. Let us try by these means if we can regain the affections of all people, and render our victory lasting. Others from their cruelty have not been able to avoid the hatred of mankind, nor to retain their victory long, except L. Sulla alone, whom I do not mean to imitate. Let this be a new method of conquering, — to fortify ourselves with kindness and liberality."² We must pardon much to the man who wrote these noble words, so foreign to the political spirit of his time, opposed as he was to a party whose chiefs would have made a far different use of victory.

Pompey, on the contrary, assumed kingly airs: he and those about him had nought but threats in their mouths.³ "They were so many Syllas." This royalty had been his secret idea for two years past. "He did not desert Rome," says Cicero, "because he could not have defended it; he abandons Italy, not compelled thereto by necessity; his sole design since the commencement has been to excite tumult by land and sea, to raise barbarous kings to revolt, to turn upon Italy destructive waves of savage nations, to assemble innumerable soldiers under him. A power like Sylla's is what he craves, and what all who accompany him wish for." Accordingly, many slipped quietly away and went back to the city.⁴

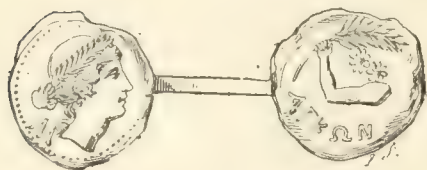
¹ Ἐς δίκην τινα (Dion, xli. 10).

² Cic., *Ad Att.* ix. 7c.

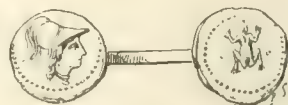
³ *Sermones minacis, inimicos optimatium, municipiorum hostis, meras proscriptiones, meros Syllas* (*Ad Att.* ix. 11). *Sullaturit . . . proscripturit*, etc. (Cf. Dion, xli. 10.) Is this an allusion to the massacres spoken of by the pseudo-Sallust? (*Epist.* i. 4.) The clemency of Caesar, says Hirtius (*De Bell. Afric.* 88), was a gift of nature in him, but also a policy, *pro natura et pro instituto*. It is so much the more to be praised.

⁴ *Bonorum sermones Romae frequentes dicuntur* (*Ad Att.* viii. 11). *Urbem jam refertam esse optimatium audio* (*Ad Att.* ix. 1).

Two great roads led from Rome to Cisalpine Gaul, — one passing through the country of the Etruscans, the other through that of the Umbrians: Caesar rapidly closed them by seizing the strongholds of Arretium on the *via Cassia*, and Iguvium, Pisaurum, and

COIN OF ANCONA.¹

Ancona on the Flaminian Way. The disaffection against the Senate and their general was so great that Picenum, where Pompey had hereditary domains and innumerable clients, offered no resistance. The cities drove out their senatorial garrisons, and opened their gates to Caesar. Asculum made him master of the *via Salaria*, the Sabine approach to Rome. Cingulum, which surrendered to him in spite of the favors with which Labienus had loaded it, put him in possession of the valley of the Velinus, which gives access to those of the Anio and Tiber. All the approaches to the capital were thus in his hands. The Apennine range protected him against troops which might be sent out from Rome; and on the western slope of the mountains he held two positions from which he could advance either upon Etruria or upon Latium.

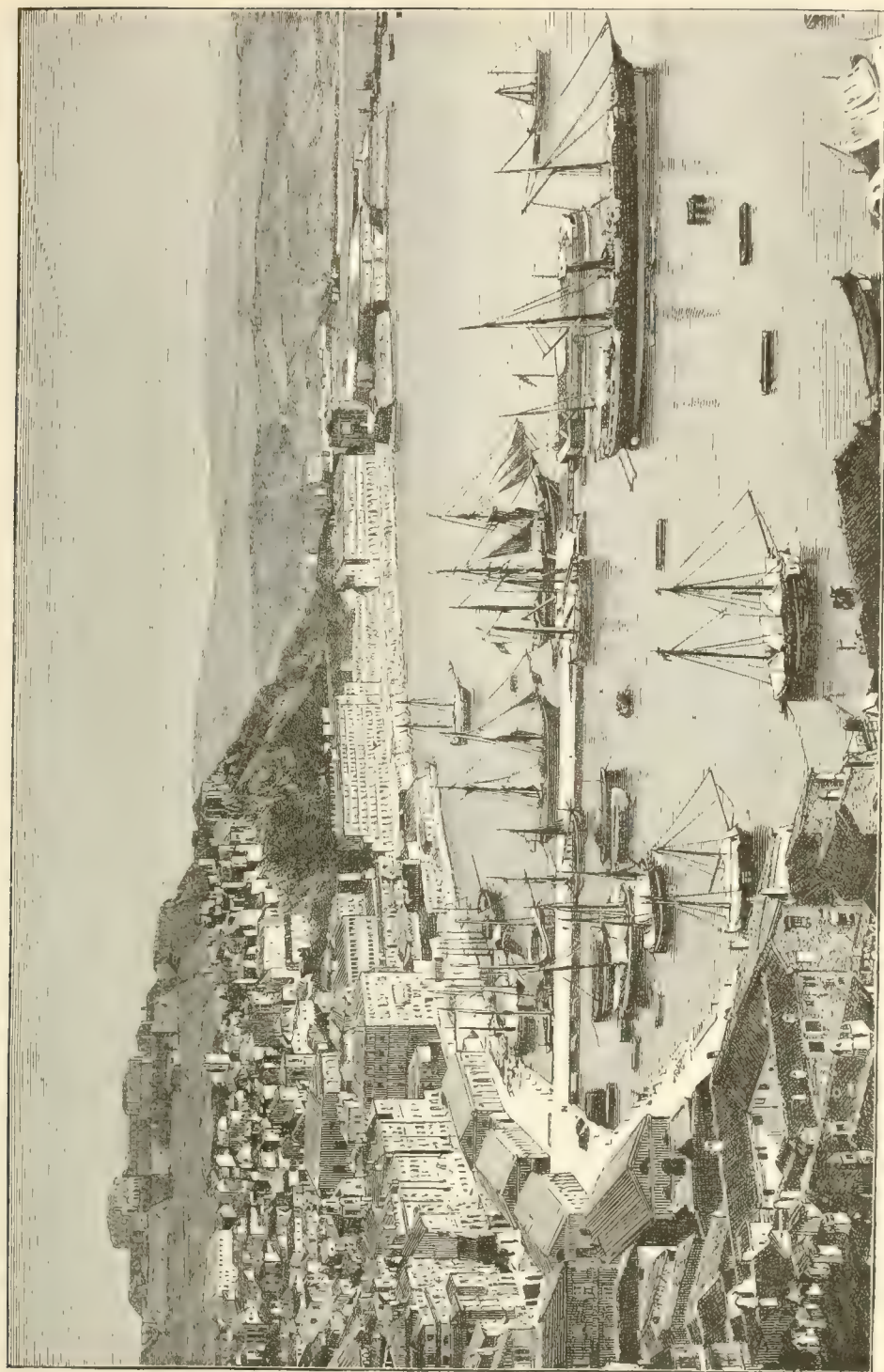


COIN OF LUCERIA.

But Pompey had no army at Rome; having taken refuge in Campania, he soon found himself no longer safe there, and retired as far as Luceria. This march revealed his design of crossing the sea, and carrying the war into the eastern provinces, where the senators should behold Pompey surrounded by a retinue of kings. There, indeed, great resources were at his disposal. He felt sure that he could count upon the devotion of the cities and princes, from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, from the Danube to the cataracts of Syene, from Cyrenaica to the depths of Spain, which his lieutenants ruled. Finally, the immense fleet which he had collected during his superintendence of provisions formed a connection between all these provinces, and gave him the undisputed empire of the seas. Cicero blames him for abandoning Italy; and posterity has followed Cicero, who was not a great general.² But having made

¹ See vol. i. p. 110, for the explanation of the emblem on the reverse, a bent arm.

² *Vehementer contemnebat hunc hominem* (*Ad Att.* vii. 8).



HARBOR OF ANCONA.

the mistake of despising his enemy, which prevented his forming anything like a sufficient army before the commencement of hostilities, and then that of anticipating defections, of which only one took place, he could not, with his fresh levies, hold Rome against veteran legions who had been accustomed to conquer during nine campaigns of the most terrible warfare. The retreat beyond the Adriatic was a military necessity, perhaps a long foreseen one.¹

Caesar perceived this plan as soon as Pompey withdrew from Capua. Being re-enforced by two legions, twenty-two cohorts of Gallic auxiliaries, and three hundred cavalry from Noricum,² he advanced by forced marches towards the south, in order to bar against the fugitives the road to Brundisium. The resistance of Domitius at Corfinium delayed him for seven days. In and around the place there were thirty-one cohorts and many senators and knights; but, in that country which had been the centre of the Social war, the people were not eager to fight for Sylla's heirs against the nephew of Marius. The troops of Domitius mutinied, and the town was given up with the immense stores it contained. The usual cruelties were expected: in order to forestall them, Domitius attempted to poison himself. His physician, however, only gave him a narcotic, and he was able, like the others, to implore pardon of the man whom he and his party would certainly not have pardoned. They asked for their lives. "I left my province, not to avenge myself, but to defend myself," Caesar said; and he guaranteed them against all insult from his soldiers; he even allowed them to carry off their wealth without binding them not to serve against him again, — a noble imprudence, which cost him many men and much time and money. A few weeks later Domitius tried to raise Gallia Narbonensis against him, and compromised Caesar's expedition beyond the Pyrenees by detaining three of his legions beneath the walls of revolted Marseilles.

This unusual clemency produced a profound sensation. "I talk frequently with the townsfolk and the country-people," writes Cicero.

¹ *Hoc turpe Gnaeus noster biennio ante cogitavit* (*Ad Att.* ix. 10).

² These auxiliaries from Noricum prove that Caesar had attached to his cause the nations on the right bank of the Upper Danube, settled to the north of his province of Illyria.

"Their farms, their homes, their little savings, — these are their only care. They dread him whom they lately trusted; they love him who caused them alarm,"¹ and, we may add, who now reassures them. These quiet people, with their indifference about politics, and their anxiety for their own interests, belong to all ages. They trembled when they heard approaching the storm let loose by passions which they did not understand, and they prayed for the success of him who seemed likely to restore calm. The old ex-consul ended by going over to their opinion, and he came to wish that Caesar might reach Brundisium soon enough to forestall Pompey, and impose peace upon him.²

This peace Caesar ardently desired: at every opportunity he repeated his demand for it, and there is no doubt, that but for Pompey's vast pride which brooked no equal, and the violent hatred of the oligarchy against the popular proconsul, peace would have been easily concluded. From Ariminum, Caesar had sent a message to Pompey, in which, while recalling his just grievances, he renewed the very acceptable proposals which he had already made. Let Pompey go to Spain, and he, Caesar, would disband his troops. Upon this the consular elections could take place with full freedom, and the Senate and people would recover their rights. If any misunderstanding made it impossible for these overtures to be at once accepted, let the two generals meet in conference, and all difficulties would be smoothed away.³ On learning these conditions there had been great rejoicing among those who dreaded civil war; but they had filled Pompey with fear, for he well knew that, if the people were taken as judges, his rival would win. Accordingly he had made an evasive answer, in which the clearest words were to the effect that the proconsul of the Gauls must return to his province, and that, until he had disbanded his troops, the levies would continue in Italy. Caesar could not trust these

¹ *Ad Att.* viii. 13.

² *Ibid.*, 14.

³ *De Bell. civ.* i. 9. After the capture of Corfinium, he charged C. Balbus to see the senators, to assure them that he ardently desired peace, and to tell Cicero in particular that he would consent to recognize Pompey's authority if he were certain to have guaranties for his life: *Nihil malle Caesarem quam principe Pompeio sine metu vivere* (*Ad Att.* viii. 9). "Do you believe that?" adds Cicero; and to me, as to him, such great abnegation appears suspicious. But I believe in Caesar's sincere desire to make a peace which could not fail to result in his advantage.

threatening uncertainties:¹ he did not halt in his march. Yet on the road to Brundisium, and even before that town, he twice again asked for an interview. "The consuls are absent," answered Pompey: "we cannot treat without them." And indeed, these blind magistrates, whose eyes the loss of Italy should have opened, would neither see nor hear: they fled, but none the less still dreamed of victories, murders, and proscriptions. Even the pacific Cicero



HARBOR OF BRUNDISIUM (BRINDISI).²

allows himself the reflection that Caesar is but mortal, and that there are many ways in which he might be got rid of.³ And Pompey never doubted that he should, like Sylla, return from the East master of the world.

When Caesar appeared before Brundisium, the consuls and their five legions were already on the other side of the Adriatic, at Dyrrachium. Pompey had sent them away, "for fear they should attempt something in favor of peace."⁴ He himself, left in the

¹ Pompey said a few days before that he was sure of defeating Caesar (*Ad Att.* vii. 16).

² From Yriarte, *Les Bords de l'Adriatique*, p. 609.

³ *Ad Att.* ix. 10.

⁴ Dion, xli. 12.

city with twenty-two cohorts, only awaited the return of his vessels in order to embark. Caesar attempted by great engineering works to shut him up in the town, closing the entrance to the harbor. Before they were completed, the consular fleet returned, and Pompey set sail March 17 (Jan. 25).

During these operations in Italy, three Gallic legions, commanded by Fabius Maximus, had gone to take up a position at Narbo, in order to prevent the Pompeians leaving Spain: the three others, slowly drawing near the Alps, could be directed, according to circumstances, against the Gauls if they should rise, or to the help either of Caesar in Italy or of Fabius in Narbonensis. The line of operations extended, accordingly, from Brundisium to the foot of the Pyrenees; and Caesar no longer had cause to fear being taken in the rear. At the same time, Valerius, without striking a blow, had made himself master of Sardinia, and Curio of Sicily;¹ and thus the two granaries of Rome were in Caesar's hands. Sixty days had sufficed to drive the senatorial party out of Italy, to subdue the peninsula with its islands, and to guarantee the security of the two Gauls.

This extraordinary activity extracts from Cicero, in spite of himself, a cry of admiration and dismay: "Oh, what fearful rapidity! This man is a marvel of vigilance." And his friend Caelius, who had remained among the Caesarians, wrote to him: "What do you think of our soldiers? In the depth of winter they finished the war by a march."² But he was mistaken: the war, on the contrary, was destined to be prolonged and extended.

For want of vessels, Caesar had not been able to pursue his rival. To prevent Pompey returning and assuming the offensive, he occupied Brundisium, Sipontum, and Tarentum with troops, then he returned to Rome, which he had not seen for ten years, and where everything had resumed its usual course,—the praetors sitting in court, the aediles preparing the games, and the people of the winning side taking advantage of the circumstances to put out

¹ Cato had been ordered to defend Sicily; and Cicero, who was very courageous for other people, reproaches him with not having offered resistance: . . . *potuisse certe tenere illam provinciam scio* (*Ad Att.* x. 12). But Curio arrived with his legions, and Cato had not a soldier: he did well not to oppose him with a few provincial militia, who would not have stopped the Caesarians, and would have drawn misfortunes upon the province.

² Cic., *Ad Fam.* viii. 15.

their money at large interest.”¹ When the victor re-entered the city on the 1st of April (7th of February), he found there senators enough to reconstitute a Senate, which he opposed to that which Pompey held in his camp. Two tribunes, Antony and Cassius, convoked it upon the Campus Martius, whither Caesar repaired. He reminded them that he had waited ten years, according to law, before soliciting a second consulship, and that he had been legally authorized to canvass that magistracy, though absent: he then set forth his efforts to avert war, his repeated offers to disband his own troops if Pompey would dismiss his. He begged the senators to assist him in the government of the Republic, unless they preferred to leave the burden to him, and finally he asked that an embassy should be appointed to go and treat for peace with the Pompeians.²

This last proposal was an entirely sincere one, since Caesar never lost any opportunity of renewing it; but no one was willing to undertake the matter, so much did they dread Pompey's threats against those who had remained in Rome. Caesar did not insist. While pushing on the war energetically, he was willing to gain the advantage of moderation: for this reason he always spoke of reconciliation and concord, although vainly, for the popular instinct was not mistaken. It was felt that a revolution was inevitable, and that Caesar must become master. To show that this royalty did not forget its origin, he assembled the people, and promised them a gratuity in corn and money. But money was already failing him: he obtained the authorization of the Senate to take the treasure deposited in the Temple of Saturn. This was the gold reserved for times of extreme necessity, and the law forbade using it save in case of a Gallic invasion. One of the tribunes, L. Metellus, objected, and adduced laws against it. “If what I do displeases you,” Caesar rejoined, “leave the place. War allows no free talking. When I have laid down my arms and made peace, come back and make what speeches you please. And this,” he added, “I tell you in diminution of my own just right; for you and all others who have

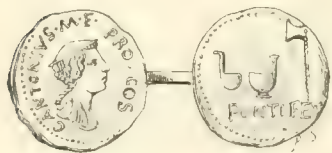
¹ *Ad Att.* ix. 12.

² *De Bell. civ.* i. 30. From the crossing of the Rubicon till Pharsalia, five attempts at negotiations may be counted. (Cf. *Ibid.* i. 8, 23, 25, 30; iii. 8, 17, 49). Paternulus has, therefore, the right to say, *Nihil relictum a Caesare quod servandae pacis causa tentari posset; nihil receptum a Pompeianis.*

appeared against me are now in my power, and may be treated as I please." Upon this he ordered the doors of the treasury to be forced, and, Metellus still opposing, he threatened the tribune with death. Caesar had taken up arms to defend the tribunitian inviolability, he said, and now, in his turn, he violated it. Metellus, yielding to violence, retired. We know nothing of his life except this act of courage, which has preserved his name in history.

III. — CAESAR IN SPAIN; SIEGE OF MARSEILLES (49 B.C.).

POMPEY being driven out of Italy, the greatest danger which threatened Caesar at this moment was a rising in Gaul. He hastened thither, after having intrusted the government of the city to Lepidus (son of the consul who in 78 had attempted to overthrow the laws of Sylla); the command of all the troops left in Italy to Marcus Antonius; and that of Illyria to his brother Caius Antonius. The latter was to harass the Pompeians on the east coast of the Adriatic, or close the road against them if they attempted to penetrate by that way into Italy, as report said.¹ "I am about to fight an army without a general," said Caesar; "afterwards I shall attack a general without an army." This pithy saying explains the whole war. Marseilles, Pompeian at heart, stopped



C. ANTONIUS, CAESAR'S LEGATE.

him on the way. This city assumed to remain neutral, but had just received within her walls Domitius, whom Caesar had treated so generously, but in vain, at Corfinium. Before the commencement of hostilities, Domitius had been invested by the Senate with the command of Transalpine Gaul, and from Marseilles he could stir up all the province in which his grandfather, by his victories and public works, had established the influence of the Domitian family.² Caesar hastened to shut him up in the place, which he caused to be attacked by three legions,

¹ Cicero (*Ad Att.* x. 6) mentions on the 22d of April the report of Pompey's march through Illyria.

² See vol. ii. p. 524.

under the command of Trebonius, and by a fleet which Decimus Brutus built in thirty days in the Rhone at the port of Arelate. During these operations the three legions of Fabius moved from Narbo towards Spain to seize the passes of the Pyrenees: three others and six thousand Gallic or German horse made ready to support them. The centurions and tribunes, and other friends of Caesar, had lent him the necessary money, which he was unwilling to raise by confiscations.

Terentius Varro, the author, was Pompey's lieutenant in Further Spain; Petreius, an old soldier, in Lusitania; and Afranius, in Hither Spain. The two latter united their forces, and

MARSEILLES PERSONIFIED.¹COIN OF VARRO.³

with their five legions, to which were added eighty cohorts and five thousand horse raised in the Province, they made a stand on the north of the Ebro, near Ilerda (Lerida),² against Fabius, who had crossed the mountains without encountering the least resistance. On arriving, Caesar found the two armies face to face: his own men, established in a difficult position between the Segre and the Cinca, could only obtain provisions by drawing their convoys from

¹ The style of this beautiful marble head, found in the territories of the Volcae-Arecomici, and preserved at Nismes, seems to fix the execution of the work at the time when Pompey gave the Massiliotes the country of the Arecomici, a short-lived rule, to which Caesar put an end (*Gazette archéol.* 1875, p. 129, and pl. 34).

² See p. 77 for the present state of Lerida. The ancient town must have been concentrated on the plateau, and consequently have occupied a very strong position.

³ VARRO PROP. Head of Jupiter Ternumatus. On the reverse MAGN. PROCES; dolphin and eagle, separated by trident. Coin of the family Terentia.

countries situated on the right and left of those two rivers. Much difficulty arose in respect to the bridges, which through freshets, and by attacks of the enemy, were repeatedly broken down. Some indecisive engagements took place; finally, by a complete destruction of both bridges, and several days of extremely high water, in which it was impossible to repair them, Caesar found himself, as it were, surrounded and starved out. A bushel of wheat (*modius*)



PUERTA DE LOS BOTES (LERIDA).¹

was sold in the camp for fifty denarii, and the ill-fed soldiers lost their strength. The situation was becoming serious; for during these long delays, Pompey, had he been the great general he was reputed, might with his powerful fleet have recrossed the Adriatic, recovered Italy and Rome, where but insufficient forces had been left, delivered Marseilles, and crushed Caesar between the legions of Petreius and his own.

¹ *Puerta de los Botes* (Roman gate). (Delaborde, vol. i. pl. lxxi.).

Meanwhile Curio with two legions had crossed from Sicily into Africa, where Varro commanded for Pompey. During his tribuneship, desirous to obtain the honor, and doubtless the profit, of confiscating a kingdom, Curio had proposed to despoil Juba, king of the Numidians.¹ The prince had naturally retained a feeling of resentment, which made him a devoted Pompeian. He put all his troops in motion, united them with those of Varro; and Curio, being defeated on the banks of the Bagradas, slew himself. The victors butchered the legionaries whom they took prisoners. Dolabella, whom Caesar had intrusted with the building of a fleet on the Adriatic, was also defeated by Octavius and Scribonius Libo: and finally, C. Antonius, in Illyria, fell into the hands of the Pompeians.

JUBA I.²

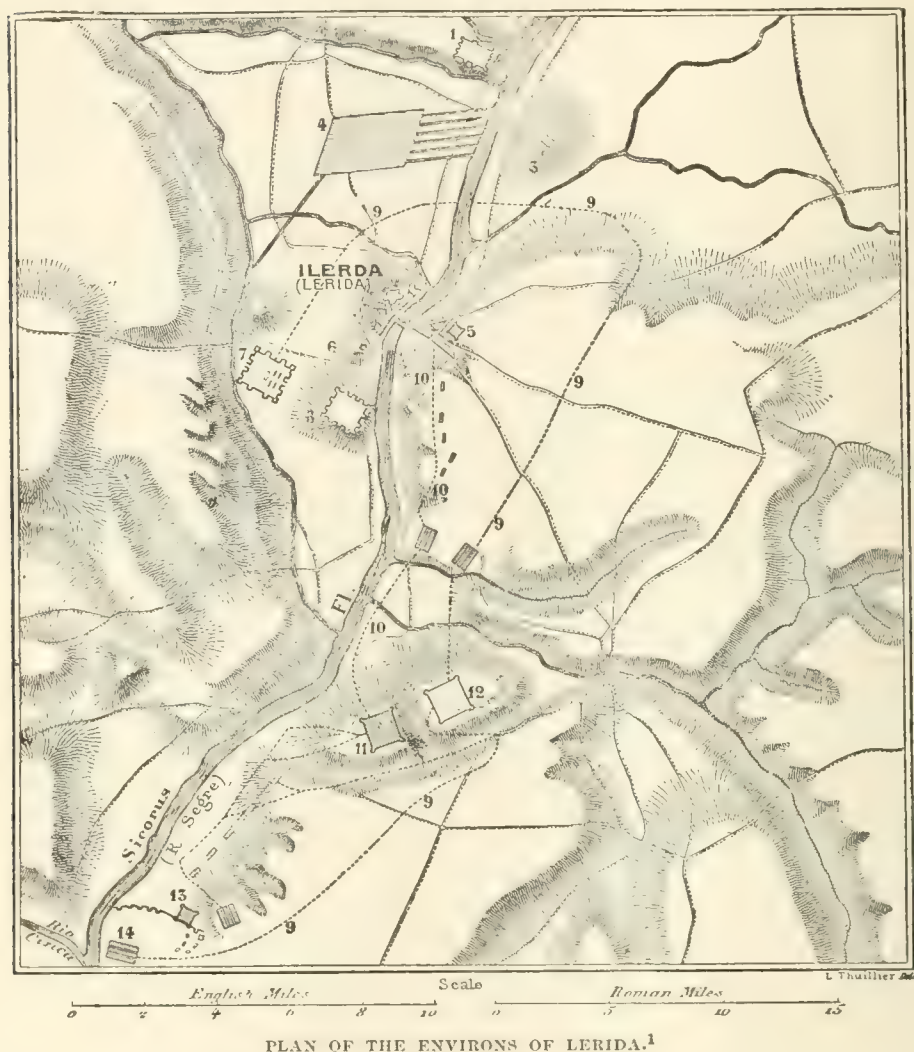
When news came to Rome of these disasters to the lieutenants, and of the critical position of the leader, whose dangers the letters of Afranius exaggerated, his cause was thought lost. Many senators who had hitherto remained neutral hastened to Dyrrachium. It is sad to find among them Cicero, who had hitherto remained in Italy. A few months earlier, this decision would have looked like devotion to the Republican cause: now it might be called by a hard name. For his defence it must be said that he had flattered himself with the idea of acting as mediator between the two rivals. But, after the visit Caesar had paid him on returning from Brundisium, he had perceived that nothing was wanted of him but his signature to decrees that were about to be passed, and he had been wounded to the quick at the discovery of his political insignificance. From that time it had been his intention, in spite of Caesar's letters and the advice of Atticus, who had remained at Rome, secretly to rejoin Pompey, while all the time he said, "Ah! I see plainly which will prove the better policy." He referred to a neutrality, which would have saved his life and his fortune. This was not weakness, but rather a too clear-sighted intelligence: for while he loved with a sincere affection that Republic in which eloquence had raised him to honor, he also knew that, whoever proved victor, the Republic would perish on the battlefield:³ hence this despondency.

¹ Dion, xli. 41

² Juba I., from a gold coin of that prince (Visconti, *Icon. grecq.* vol. iii. pl. 55).

³ *Uterque regnavit, ut* he wrote to Atticus (viii. 11). He repeats it (x. 7): *Regnandi*

this uncertainty and apparent vacillation, which we cannot but condemn, for this example of a great man has perhaps in other times



been thought to justify indifference and cowardice, or has furnished treason with sophistries. In the end he forgot his prudence and

contentio est, and in the *Pro Marcello* he again says, in the year 46 (if this speech is really his), that the Civil war had been only the conflict of two ambitions. That of the Pompeians appears to him much to be feared: *Primum consilium est suffocare urbem et Italiam fame, deinde agros vastare, urere, pecuniis locupletium non abstinere . . . tegulam in Italia nullam relicturum.* (*Ad Att.* ix. 7, xi. 6; *Ad Fam.* iv. 14; cf. *Dion.* xli. 56.) Appian also says (*Bell. civ.* ii. 48), οὐ γὰρ ἀδελφὸν ἦν ἐς μοναρχίαν τὸν νικῶντα τρέφασθαι.

¹ Petreius and Afranius occupied a fine position at No. 8, which has served in modern

the jests he had made about Solon's law against neutrality: unhappily he forgot them at a moment when, in going over to Pompey, he made it plain that he went, not because the senatorial party was in the right, but because it seemed to be becoming the stronger. Such, indeed, was the rule of conduct which Caelius had long counselled. "As long as they keep to words," he had written to him, "I shall be with the honest folks: if it comes to blows, I shall range myself on the side of those who deal the hardest."¹ But Caelius had gone over to Caesar: Cicero "went, like Amphiparaus, to cast himself living into the gulf."²

Meanwhile in Spain, events had taken an unexpected turn. Caesar had had boats built of light wood, osier, and leather, after the pattern of certain that he had formerly seen in Britain. These he sent by night in wagons, twenty-two miles from his camp, to the banks of the Segre, far from the enemy's scouts; a good number of soldiers, crossing at this point, intrenched themselves upon the other side, and could then quietly build a bridge for his convoys to use. Some time later, that he might not be obliged to send his cavalry so far to forage, he conceived the plan of draining the river by numerous canals thirty feet deep in order to make the main stream fordable. Some successful skirmishes led to the defection of

wars to cover the entrance into Aragon. They were there masters of both banks of the Segre, Lerida having a stone bridge which allowed them to cross to the right bank at will. Fabius, Caesar's lieutenant, had established himself a league and a half away from the enemy, between the Noguera Ribargorsana and the Segre, over which he threw two bridges four thousand paces apart. When he sent his troops to forage on the left bank of the Segre, the Pompeians attacked them. Plancus, who was in command, withdrew to the hill (No. 3), where he was able to defend himself till his leader came to the rescue. On his arrival, Caesar, in order to press the enemy closer, established his camp in No. 7; then he attempted to obtain possession of a hill which stood between the enemy's camp and the town, at No. 6, but did not succeed. When the rising of the Segre had swept away his two bridges, and interrupted his communications with the high lands by which supplies reached him, he drained off the river, and drew away some of the water into a natural hollow (No. 4), whence a fresh canal led it into a stream which flowed into the Segre below Lerida. This work allowed him to receive his provisions, and to cross over on to the left bank, where he, in turn, impeded the efforts of the Pompeians to revictual. Afranius then crossed the Segre, in order to escape by descending the right bank. At first he left two of his legions encamped in No. 5, and with the remainder of his forces he reached positions 11 and 12, following line No. 10. Caesar effected the same movement along line No. 9, and then supported his left on the Segre, at the spot where it receives the Cinca, and his right on the mountains, — position No. 14. The Pompeians established in No. 13 found themselves surrounded. (De Laborde, vol. i. pl. 72, and p. 42 *sq.*, after the *Mémoires militaires* of Colonel Guischart.)

¹ *Ad Fam.* viii. 14.

² It is Cicero who thus speaks of himself when he went to join Pompey (*Ad Fam.* vi. 1).

several tribes; and the Pompeian generals were reduced to quit their position at Herda, where Caesar, with his numerous Gallic cavalry, would have at length starved them into surrender. But to beat a retreat before so active a general was a difficult undertaking. They attempted it, however. Not one of their movements, by night or by day, escaped his vigilance. He guessed all their plans, forestalled them in all the positions they tried to occupy, always postponing an engagement, always restraining the eagerness of his own soldiers, and making everything bend to his desire to terminate the affair without bloodshed, "being," as he says, "touched with compassion for Afranius' soldiers, who after all were fellow-citizens."¹ At last the Pompeian generals surrendered, and implored the clemency of the victor (June 9, 49 B.C.). Caesar accepted their submission kindly, and only exacted that the troops should be disbanded. He undertook to find them in corn till they should reach the frontiers of Italy, and promised to restore to them all their lost possessions that could be identified among the booty his soldiers had made. This campaign, in which, "by the influence of his manœuvres," Caesar subdued, without fighting, an army equal in strength to his own, was the admiration of the great Condé and of Napoleon. Either through imprudent slowness or calculated delay, Varro had not effected a junction with his two colleagues in time. All resistance was now impossible to him: he appeared at Corduba before the victor, who took away his military chest, swelled by numerous exactions.²

Having conquered and pacified this wholly Pompeian province in forty days,³ Caesar set out for Marseilles, whither his foe, who had an immense fleet at disposal, had only succeeded in sending the insignificant re-enforcement of sixteen galleys under command of Nasidius. Shut up within their walls by two defeats inflicted by Decimus Brutus, the skilful leader who had so well conducted the war against the Veneti, the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremities. On the arrival of the proconsul they decided to enter into negotiations, and gave up their arms, their vessels, and all

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 42.

² Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* i. 37-87. Respecting this clemency, it must be noted that Afranius, having seized all Caesar's soldiers who had come into his camp under protection of a tacit truce, had ordered them to be put to death (*Ibid.* 76, and App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 43).

³ Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* ii. 32.

the money in the public treasury. Here, again, Caesar did himself honor by his clemency: he had no occasion, however, to exercise it towards Domitius, who fled before the town opened its gates.

Like Alexander, Caesar concerned himself about what men thought of him. About barbarous towns he had few scruples: their ruin was a matter of no importance. But Marseilles was celebrated, it was the Athens of Gaul; and he spared it. He left undisturbed its liberty and laws, and its walls; but he took away its arms, vessels, and treasure. He deprived it of several subject towns, amongst others of Agde and Antibes, which he made Roman colonies, and he founded, at the mouth of the Argens,¹ Frejus (Forum Julii), which he destined as a rival to Massilia on the east coast, as Narbo was on the west. A few years later, under Augustus, Frejus became one of the arsenals of the Empire, and Strabo calls Narbo the port of all Gaul. In this latter town, and at Béziers and Arles, he established those of soldiers who had completed their term of military service.

These last operations insured the submission of all the western provinces of the Empire,—those which furnished the bravest soldiers.² Caesar, now secure from danger in the rear, was at liberty to go in search of the general whose best army he had just destroyed.



THE GOLDEN GATE AT FREJUS.

¹ A river the great alluvial deposits of which have choked up the navigable lagoon which formerly separated the town from the sea. On the subject of the Roman constructions at Frejus, which quickly had all the public buildings which appeared necessary for a colony, — *thermae*, a theatre, an amphitheatre, and in addition great military establishments, an aqueduct thirty-seven miles long, etc., — see the interesting study by M. Lenthalie: *Frejus, le port romain et la lagune de l'Argens*.

² Mention has been made of a rising of the Volcae-Arecomici (Nîmes) and Allobroges (Dauphiné and Savoy), who, on the pretext of fidelity to the Roman Senate, are said to have seized this opportunity afforded by the Civil war to draw the sword once more upon their conquerors. Caesar is said to have punished them severely, and Nîmes to have long kept in

He was still before the walls of Marseilles when he heard that, on the proposal of Lepidus, the people had proclaimed him dictator. Many of the prescribed formalities had been omitted: a praetor and the people, instead of a consul and the Senate, had invested him with the office. But amid the din of arms the mere appearance of legality seemed to suffice. As he was on the way to Rome to take possession of his new magistracy, he came upon his ninth legion in open revolt at Placentia, because they had not yet received the gifts promised at Brundisium. The example was dangerous; and Caesar punished the troops severely. Twelve of the ringleaders were condemned to die by the axe. One of the twelve having proved that he was outside the camp during the disturbance, the centurion who had accused him was executed in his place.

Caesar retained the dictatorship for twelve days only, just long enough to accomplish the few measures necessary for the tranquillity of Rome and Italy. Since the commencement of the war, pecuniary difficulties had been general, and credit unobtainable; all coinage seemed to be withdrawn from circulation; and a general abolition of debts was feared, which would have brought on a frightful panic.¹ Caesar resorted to a happy expedient, employed in earlier times. He appointed arbitrators to appraise all property of debtors, real and personal, according to its value before the war, and ordered that creditors should receive it in payment, after deducting from the amount of their claims the interest already paid.² To stimulate the circulation of specie, he forbade any person to have in his house more than sixty thousand sesterces of coined money, — a measure difficult to carry out, especially when he added, through respect for ancient right, that a slave should not be allowed to depose against his master.³ The people had hoped for something more; but he appeased them by a large distribution of corn. All those who rightly or wrongly had suffered from the former govern-

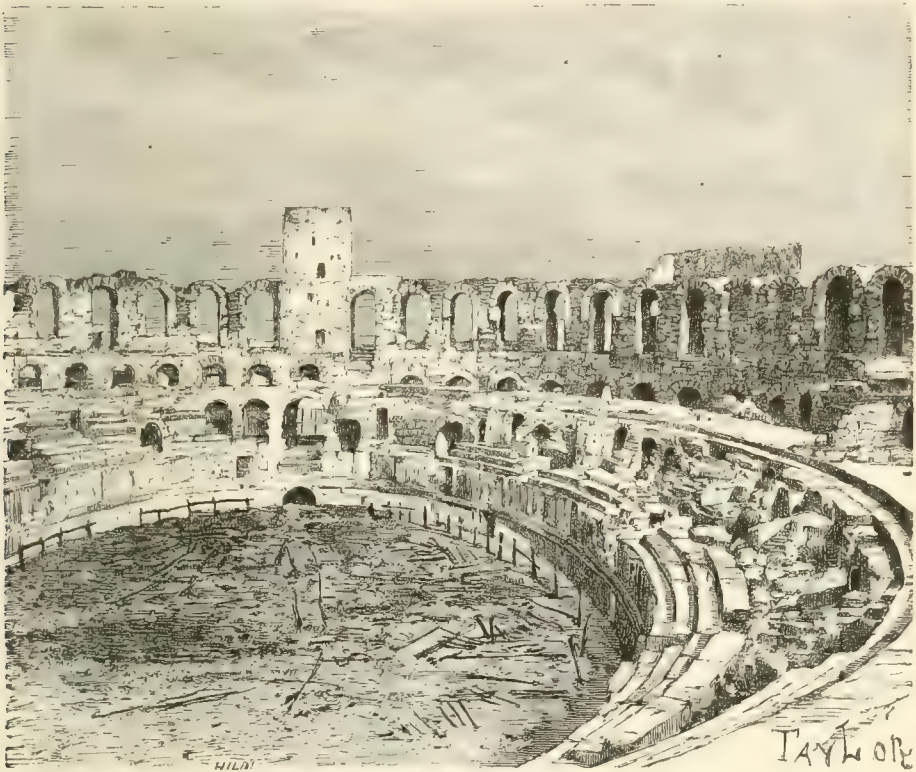
one of her squares an inscription recalling their chastisement. This inscription is false: the event which it had seemed to prove must therefore be considered doubtful.

¹ Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 42; Dion, xli. 37. The letters of the pseudo-Sallust say that Caesar, in not abolishing debts, deceived the hopes of many, who fled to Pompey's camp, where they found an inviolable asylum, *quasi sacro atque inspoliato fano* (*Epist.* ii. 2). Cicero repeats the same several times.

² Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* iii. 1; App. ii. 48; Dion, xli. 38.

³ It may be that this law was passed before his departure for Spain.

ment naturally obtained his protection. At the outset of hostilities, many banished men, whose condemnation Pompey had obtained during his third consulship, had offered their services to Caesar, and he caused a law to be presented to the people by the tribunes, recalling these persons from exile. Milo, the murderer of a fellow-tribune, and Antonius, the involuntary conqueror of Catiline, were,



THE AMPHITHEATRE AT ARLES: VIEW OF THE INTERIOR (P. 441).

however, excepted from the amnesty. Sylla's law inflicting political incapacity upon the children of proscribed persons was still in full vigor; it was repealed; and finally the Cisalpines were rewarded for their long fidelity by the concession of citizenship.¹ Before relinquishing his dictatorship, Caesar presided at the consular comitia, which appointed him consul with Servilius Isauricus: the other offices were given to his partisans with all legal formalities.

¹ He organized τὴν πολιτείαν αἵτε καὶ ἄρχας αὐτῶν (Dion. xli. 36). Cisalpine Gaul was so Roman that it had already given birth to Catullus, Bibaculus, Cassius of Parma, Corn. Gallus, and Livy; yet it continued to be looked upon as a province until the year 42 B.C.

He himself had only assumed the fasces at the period fixed by the law which had promised him the consular office after ten years' proconsulship.¹

Thus the Republic lasted, to Caesar's advantage. Nothing was wanting to him that belonged to a legal government, — decrees of the Senate, elections by the people, sanction of the curiae, and auspices. As a proconsul, Caesar became a rebel as soon as he left his province; but, now that he was a consul legally instituted, the right, in the eyes of this formalist people, was on his side and the revolt on the side of his enemies. The latter themselves recognized that in losing Rome they had lost their legal standing, or at least the power to make their position legal; for although there were two hundred senators in Pompey's camp, and his soldiers were called the true Roman people, they dared not pass decrees there, nor proceed to elections; and, when the year was over, the consuls Lentulus and Marcellus laid down their title, and, according to custom, took the name of proconsuls.

IV.—THE WAR IN EPIRUS AND THESSALY: PHARSALIA (49–48 B.C.).

AT the end of October, 49, Caesar arrived at Brundisium, the rendezvous of his troops, in order to cross over thence into Epirus. Pompey, having had a whole year to complete his preparations undisturbed by wars, and free from the interruption of an enemy, had collected a mighty fleet from Asia, the Cyclades, Coreyra, Athens, Pontus, Bithynia, Syria, Cilicia, Phoenicia, and Egypt, and had given orders for the building of ships in all parts. He had exacted great sums from the people of Asia and Syria, from the kings, tetrarchs, and dynasties of those parts, from the free States of Achaia, and from the corporations of the provinces subject to his command.

* He had raised nine legions of Roman citizens; five he had brought with him from Italy; one had been sent to him from Sicily,

¹ Jan. 1, 48 B.C., according to the Roman Calendar: in reality, about the end of October, 49 B.C.

consisting wholly of veterans, and called *Gemella*, because composed of two; another from Crete and Macedonia, veteran soldiers likewise, who, having been disbanded by former generals, had settled in those parts; and two more from Asia, levied by the care of Lentulus. Besides all these he had great numbers from Thessaly, Boeotia, Achaia, and Epirus, whom, together with Antony's soldiers, he distributed among the legions by way of recruits.¹ He expected also two legions that Metellus Scipio was to bring out of Syria. He had three thousand archers, drawn together from Crete, Lace-

MOUNTED ARCHER.²

daemon, Pontus, Syria, and other provinces, six cohorts of slingers, and two of mercenaries. His cavalry amounted to seven thousand, six hundred of which came from Galatia, under Dejotarus; five hundred from Cappadocia, under Ariobarzanes; and the like number had been sent him out of Thrace by Cotys, with his son Sadalis at their head. Two hundred were from Macedonia, commanded by Rascipolis, an officer of distinction; five hundred from Alexandria, consisting of Gauls and Germans left there by A. Gabinius to serve

¹ Pompey even received some men from Athens. He separated his Greek contingents from his Oriental auxiliaries, "because," says Appian (*Bell. civ. ii. 75*), "they were more accustomed to keep their ranks in silence."

² From the Column of Marcus Aurelius, also called the Antonine Column.

as a guard to King Ptolemy, and now brought over by young Pompey in his fleet, together with eight hundred of his own domestics. Tareondarius Castor and Donilaus furnished three hundred Gallo-Grecians: the first of these came in person, the latter sent his son. Two hundred, most of them archers, were sent from Syria by Commagenus of Antioch, who lay under the greatest obligations to Pompey. There were likewise a great number of Dardanians and Bessians, partly volunteers, partly mercenaries, with others from

DYRRACHIUM.¹

Macedon, Thessaly, and the adjoining states and provinces, who all together made up the number mentioned above.

“To subsist this mighty army he had taken care to amass vast quantities of corn from Thessaly, Asia, Egypt, Crete, Cyrene, and other countries, resolving to quarter his troops during the winter at Dyrrachium, Apollonia, and the other maritime towns, to prevent Caesar’s passing the sea; for which purpose he ordered his fleet to cruise perpetually about the coasts.”²

¹ Henzey, *Mission archéologique en Macédoine*, pl. 27.

² Caesar, *De Bell. civ.* iii. 3, and App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 49. The Pompeian forces might easily amount to eighty thousand men; but the strength of Republican feeling must not be judged by the number of Pompey’s troops. These legions had been enrolled before the rupture, in virtue of legitimate orders, according to ancient customs, with the formality of the oath, which placed every soldier in danger of extreme penalties if he failed to keep it. As for the auxiliaries, all these nations and kings of the East, Pompey’s clients, were bound to his fortunes, and had no power to refuse him their aid. Then there had come to him the familiars and protégés of the nobles, whom they had drawn along with them, and in their trains the volunteers and adventurers who were attracted by his reputation and the hope of making a fruitful campaign under him.

Caesar could name among his allies neither so many nations nor so many kings. Yet not to mention the legion of the Lark (*Alauda*), or the aid furnished by the Gallic and Spanish cities, by the Cisalpines and the nations of Italy, he had enrolled the German horse, whose courage he had often put to the proof; and no doubt the example of the king of Noricum, who had sent him troops at the very commencement of the war, had been followed by other chiefs on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube. Thus it was the East and the West which were about to grapple and to fight, not for a Senate and a liberty which were no longer known, but for Caesar or Pompey; each great division of the Empire desiring one or the other for master after having had them alternately as conquerors and benefactors. The forces, however, did not appear equal. Caesar had neither fleet, nor money, nor stores, and his troops were less in number; but for ten years they had lived in tents, and their devotion to his person, as well as their confidence in his fortune, was unlimited: no labors, no fatigues, could dismay them, and they had, which makes numbers double, the habit of victory. If Pompey's army was the stronger, there was less discipline among the soldiers, less obedience among the leaders. To see the foreign attire in his camp, to hear the orders given in twenty different languages, suggested those Asiatic armies to whom the soil of Europe has been always fatal. At headquarters there was another thing strange to see: so many magistrates and senators hampered the chief, though he had been given full power to decide on everything.¹ Since they were fighting for the Republic, it was certainly fitting that the commander-in-chief should show the Conscrip*t* Fathers, constituted into a council at Thessalonica, a deference which was at once a good augury and a good example; but did this deference suit the necessities of war?

The ancients did not like sailing in winter-time. Accordingly, though the passage between Brundisium and Dyrrachium was only twenty-four hours long, Pompey did not expect to be attacked before the spring, and he had quartered his troops in Thessaly and Macedonia. It was this very severity of the season which decided Caesar. With his transport-fleet he could only cross by

¹ Dion, xli 43; Plut., *Pomp.* 64.

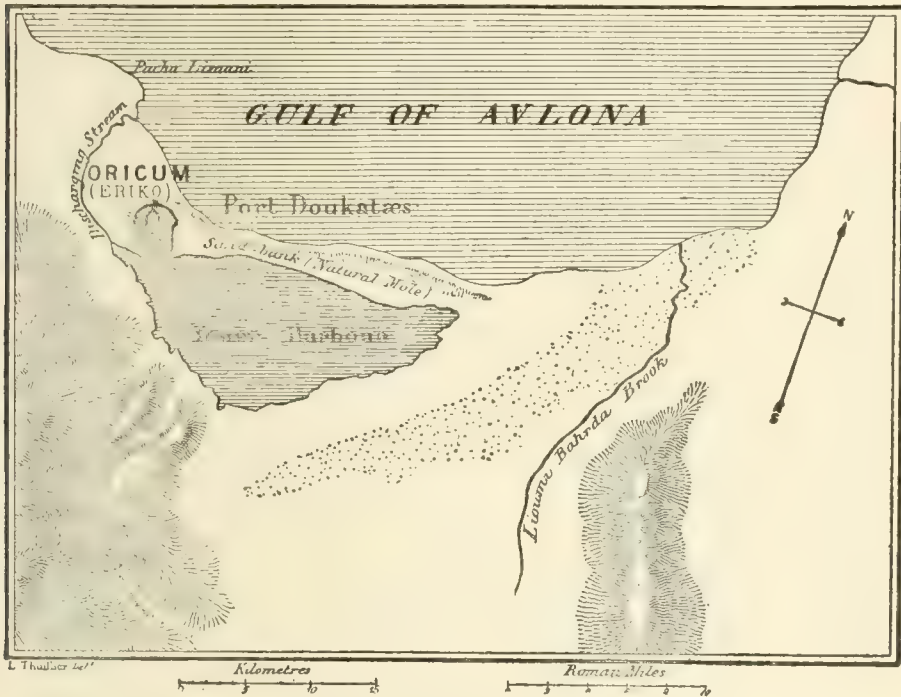
surprise, and this surprise was only possible in winter, when the Pompeian squadrons had taken shelter from heavy weather in the harbors. Notwithstanding his numerical inferiority and the dangers of the sea, Caesar, therefore, again assumed the offensive. On the 4th of January, 48 (5th of November, 49), he embarked in transport-vessels seven legions, consisting of only fifteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. Had he encountered the Pompeian fleet, it would have been all over with him; but, as he had expected, the empty Pompeian galleys were riding quietly at anchor in the road-



steads of Oricum and Coreyra: his daring stroke had been well planned. The seven legions crossed without meeting a single hostile vessel, and landed at the foot of the Acroceraunian Mountains, in the roadstead of Paleassa (Paljassa). "They found he had arrived, before they heard he had started." Pompey's admiral was the unfortunate ex-consul whom fortune always opposed to Caesar, and whose fate it was to be always outwitted by him. Bibulus, hastening up too late, avenged himself on the vessels which Caesar sent back empty the same night to Brundisium, to bring over Antony and the remainder of his troops: he captured thirty of them, which he burnt, with their pilots and sailors. Then, in order to expiate his negligence,

he stationed his fleet along the coast, and himself remained on board ship in spite of the inclemency of the weather, wearying himself out so much with watching sea and shore that he was seized with an illness which carried him off.

The first town Caesar came upon was Oricum (Eriko). The Pompeian officer in command proposed to defend it; but the inhabitants declared that they would not fight a consul of the Roman people, and opened their gates: at Apollonia, on the mouth of the



PLAN OF THE HARBOR OF ORICUM.¹

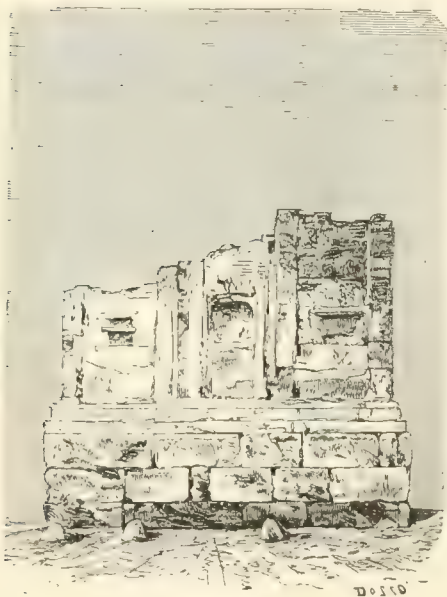
Aoiis (Voiussa), the same thing happened. He attached more importance to the possession of Dyrrachium (Durazzo).² on account of its strong position and its harbor, which was the best on that coast. Learning that Pompey had forestalled him by establishing his stores

¹ Heuzey, *Mission archéologique en Macédoine*.

² Dyrrachium stood at the end of a little chain of steep hills running parallel to the sea, and separated from the continent by large lagoons. To the north, a strip of sand connected these cliffs with Cape Pali; to the south, the lagoons communicated with the sea by a narrow discharge-channel, so that to reach Dyrrachium by land there were but two narrow approaches, easy to defend. Caesar had established his camp on the plateau of Arapai; Pompey placed his farther south. (See Heuzey, *Mission archéol. en Macédoine*, p. 370 sq.)

there, he halted on the banks of the Apsos (Beratino) to protect the places which had yielded to him, and the districts of Epirus, whence he drew his supplies.

Again he proposed peace, less in the hope that it would be made than to conciliate public opinion. He wrote to Pompey that it was now time for both to desist, and lay down their arms; that the losses they had already sustained ought to serve as lessons, and fill them with just apprehensions in regard to the future; that Pompey having lost Sicily and Sardinia, the two Spains, and about a hundred and thirty cohorts of Roman citizens, and he himself having been a sufferer by the death of Curio, the destruction of the African army, and the surrender at Coreyra, they ought both to show some regard to the sinking state of the commonwealth, and refer conditions of peace to the decision of the Roman Senate and people.



TOMB OF BIBULUS (PRESENT STATE).

words of his which cannot have been his official answer, but which certainly express his secret thoughts: "What is my life or country to me, if I shall seem to be beholden to Caesar for them? And will it be believed that I am not indebted to him for them, if he, by an accommodation, restores me to Italy?"¹

The two camps being separated only by a narrow river, much

¹ Caesar says (*De Bell. civ.* iii. 18) that he was informed after the war, of these words, which doubtless escaped Pompey in intimate conversation, and were afterwards reported to the victor by one of his intimates.

conversation passed between them. One day, Vatinius on Caesar's behalf, and Labienus on that of Pompey, were discussing aloud the conditions of an arrangement. The soldiers listened: they might, perhaps, take seriously the great words about an impious war and a country in tears, and compel their leaders to treat. Suddenly a shower of arrows, according to Caesar's account, came from the Pompeian ranks; and Labienus broke up the conference, crying, "Leave off prating of an accommodation! You must not expect peace till you bring us Caesar's head." It is certain that the Pompeians, unless Caesar has maligned them, thought only of massacres. A ship sailing from Brundisium having been taken at sea, all on board were butchered. Cicero's remark, quoted above, gives credibility to these stories.¹



COIN OF BIBULUS.

Meanwhile, urgent messages ordered Antony to cross the straits with the first favorable wind; but the days passed by, and

Antony did not arrive. It is related that Caesar, little accustomed to these delays, was anxious to go himself for his legions, and that one evening he quitted the camp alone, went on board a river-craft, and ordered the pilot to sail out to sea. A contrary wind, which began to blow almost immediately, raised the waves; and the pilot, frightened at the storm, refused to proceed. "What dost thou fear?" said his unknown passenger: "thou bearest Caesar and his fortune!" All these founders of empires believe, or feign to believe, in a fatality which protects them

until they have accomplished their work. He was obliged, however,



TOMB OF BIBULUS¹ (RESTORED).

¹ Again he says (*Ad Fam.* iv. 14): "I knew how insolent, covetous, and cruel those whose party I followed would be after the victory."

² This tomb is not that of Pompey's admiral. The inscription engraved upon it is to the

if the anecdote, in spite of the silence of the "Commentaries," is true, to return to shore; but the tempest served him on another occasion. Since the death of Bibulus, the Pompeian fleet had been without a leader: by an unfortunate want of firmness, or in order not to intrust so important a command to another ex-consul, who might be less docile and less sure, Pompey allowed the eight lieutenants of Bibulus to manage their squadrons at their own will. They did not agree; the watch was less actively kept; and one day, when the south wind was blowing hard, Antony arrived off Apollonia in a few hours with four legions and eight hundred horse. Driven by the storm, he passed Dyrrachium, and could only land at the port of Nymphaeum, a hundred miles, at least, from Caesar's camp. Two of his ships had been intercepted by the enemy. One of them carried two hundred recruits who, fatigued with sea-sickness, yielded, and, in spite of the promise that their lives would be spared, were butchered. The other carried two hundred veterans: they forced the pilot to run the ship on shore, and were saved.¹ Thus Pompey found himself between the two Caesarian armies, and it would have been easy for him to crush Antony. He tried to do so, but with delays which allowed the two leaders to effect a junction (April, 48).

The movement of the Pompeians had led them away from Dyrrachium. Caesar by a long circuit marched upon the town, and established himself there, thus rendering Pompey's return impossible. They followed him, and camped on a hill called Petra, which had a sheltered harbor. Then commenced a struggle of four months' duration. Caesar, unable to bring his rival to decisive action, conceived the bold idea of enclosing in a line of intrenched positions an army which was superior to his own in number. At Alesia and in Spain this manœuvre had succeeded, because he had

effect that the Senate and people conceded, *honoris virtutisque causa*, the ground whereon the monument stood to one Bibulus, a plebeian aedile, for him and his posterity. (Orelli, No. 4698.) We know nothing of this aedile; but the Bibuli, being plebeians, doubtless belonged to this house. Was this tomb, one of the rare monuments left us of the Republican epoch, situated within, or without, the walls of the city? This subject has been much discussed. The inscription announces a great favor, and leads to the supposition that an exception had been made to the law of the Twelve Tables, which forbade burial in the city. But, on the other hand, how is it that Cicero, who in the *De Legibus* (ii. 23), composed in 52, mentions the exceptions made to that law, does not mention this one, which hardly seems as if it could have been made later?

¹ Caesar adds, *Hic cognosci licuit, quantum esset hominibus praesidium in animi fortitudine* (*De Bello civ.* iii. 28).

been able to starve out his foes. Here that result was impossible, since the Pompeian army had command of the sea. His veterans, ever admirable, commenced gigantic works with their usual activity. All around Pompey's camp were high and steep hills, of which Caesar took possession and built forts on them, drawing lines of communication between. Two motives had decided him to follow this plan: first to keep himself in supplies, while at the same time distressing the enemy for lack of food; and, second, to show the world the great Pompey imprisoned in his camp and not daring to fight.

Napoleon has severely condemned these manœuvres. "They were extremely rash," says he, "and accordingly Caesar was punished for them. How could he hope to maintain with advantage the long line of contravallation, six leagues in extent, surrounding an army which commanded the sea and occupied a central position? After immense labors he failed, was defeated, lost the flower of his troops, and was compelled to quit the field of battle." Pompey opposed him with a line of circumvallation protected by twenty-four forts, and this line he constantly expanded in order to weaken his opponent's line by forcing it to be extended. Every day skirmishes took place between the two armies. Once the whole of the ninth legion was engaged, and for a moment Pompey thought he had victory in his hands. But the veterans sustained their reputation, and drove back the enemy. In one of these daily attacks the foe hurled so many projectiles into a fort that not a soldier was without a wound. They proudly showed Caesar thirty thousand arrows which they had collected, and the shield of one of their centurions pierced with a hundred and twenty darts.

It has been remarked that French soldiers have been on short rations when they have gained their greatest victories.¹ Caesar's men were also accustomed to scarcity, caused by the rapidity and boldness of his manœuvres. Nowhere did they suffer so much as at Dyrrachium. Caesar had indeed sent detachments into Epirus, Aetolia, Thessaly, and even Macedon. But only rare and scanty supplies could be drawn from those countries, exhausted as they

¹ This remark of General Foy (*Mémoires sur la guerre d'Espagne*) is flattering to French patriotism, but does not do credit either to the prudence of the generals or the foresight of the commissariat department.

were by the presence of so many armies ; for, in addition, Metellus Scipio had arrived there with his two legions. The soldiers were reduced to pounding roots, and kneading them with milk to make a sort of bread. This furnished an abundance of food, and, when the Pompeians taunted them on the scarcity among them, they threw in some of these loaves ; and they were often heard to say among themselves that they would live on the bark of trees rather than let Pompey escape. The latter had corn in abundance ; but he lacked water and forage. Caesar had diverted the streams which flowed down from the mountains, and the Pompeians were reduced to the brackish water of the seacoast. Accordingly, the baggage animals and horses died in great numbers, and the exhalations arising from so many dead bodies tainted the air, and caused diseases which killed many men. At length Pompey thought he had found a favorable opportunity, and, guided by deserters, he prepared a night attack by land and sea, and very nearly cut off a whole legion which was encamped on the shore. Antony only succeeded in saving it after heavy losses. In order to make immediate amends for this check, Caesar penetrated the enemy's camp at the head of thirty-three cohorts. But his right wing, having mistaken the way, left between itself and the rest a gap, into which Pompey immediately threw himself : the broken ranks of the Caesarians fled in disorder. In vain did Caesar confront the fugitives. A panic had seized his troops ; he himself was carried away, and left thirty-two standards in the enemy's hands.

That day Pompey might have ended the war. The facile success, however, had made him fear an ambuscade, and he dared not follow up his victory. It was proclaimed, however, as a decisive affair, and, on announcing it to all the provinces, he resumed the title of Imperator. It was said in his camp that Caesar had gained his renown very cheaply ; that he could conquer barbarians, but fled before Roman legions ; that it was to treason that he owed all his successes in Spain. Some prisoners had been taken ; Labienus, anxious to prove his zeal to his new friends, claimed them : " and," says Caesar, " this deserter, cruel and brutal as usual, diverted himself with insulting them in their calamity, and asked them sarcastically if it was usual for veterans to run away ; after which he caused them all to be put to death." Cato had caused a decree to be passed

by the Pompeian Senate, that no town should be plundered, no citizen put to death off the battlefield. He veiled his head that he might not see in what manner military leaders, when once the sword is drawn, obey the decrees of the civil power (May and June, 48 B.C.).

While the Pompeians were declaring the war at an end, the Caesarian legions, who had soon recovered from their fright, eager to obliterate the disgrace, demanded the punishment of the guilty, and were anxious to be at once led against the enemy. But Caesar had other plans. His position was no longer tenable; provisions would soon fail; and Scipio was approaching: by advancing to meet that leader, he was sure to draw after him the now confident enemy, and he might, perhaps, find an opportunity for a battle. In any case he would gain space, collect provisions, and lead the Pompeians away from their fleet.

Leaving his sick and wounded, therefore, at Apollonia, he passed through Epirus by Gomphi, which he sacked, because it closed its gates against him, and entered Thessaly. All the towns in the valley of the Peneus, except Larissa, yielded to him; and in this fertile land his soldiers found themselves in the midst of an abundance which they had not known since they left Brundisium.

As he had foreseen, Pompey followed him, in spite of the advice of Afranius, who advised a return to Italy.¹ Cato and Cicero had been left at Dyrrachium with the baggage: the criticism and republican regrets of the one, and the peevish temper of the other, annoyed the Imperator. Dissatisfied with himself and with others, Cicero had brought into the camp only his mocking spirit, his discouragement, and his well-founded fear of the proscriptions which would follow the victory; he regretted the laborious leisure of his villas, *Tusculanenses dies*; and he had willingly let the army depart, in which he was treated as a prophet of misfortune.³

Scipio, who had been sent by Pompey into Asia to obtain sol-



COIN OF
THESSALY.²

¹ [This was the bold and right policy. But Pompey evidently felt in the East an authority he had nowhere else. — *Ed.*]

² Minerva fighting, the name of the people, ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ, and of two magistrates, ΑΛΟΥ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟ.

³ *Ad Fam.* vi. 6, ix. 6 and 9, vii. 3; *Ad Att.* xi. 3, 4, 6, etc.

diers and money, had lost much time in Syria and Asia Minor, living luxuriously in those rich provinces, which, if we may believe Caesar,¹ had then to suffer ills almost as great as those of Sylla's time. A formal order from Pompey at length obliged him to quit his headquarters at Pergamus; but he still marched slowly. His appearance during the fights before Dyrrachium might have changed into a disaster the check inflicted on the consular army. Caesar had time to send Cassius Longinus with one legion into Thessaly to close the vale of Tempe, and Domitius Calvinus with two other legions into Macedon, where he occupied in force the valley of the Haliaemon; thence he kept watch over the great military road, the Via Egnatia, by which Scipio was advancing from Thessalonica to Dyrrachium. The Pompeian general marched straight towards Calvinus, but on arriving in his neighborhood he suddenly turned southwards, leaving his baggage behind the Caesarians in a fortified camp guarded by eight cohorts, and himself marched upon Cassius. The latter, alarmed by the appearance in his rear of the Thracian horsemen of King Cotys, who seemed to have crossed Olympus by footpaths, fell back from Tempe upon the heights of the Pindus. Scipio was thus free to enter Thessaly when it suited him; but by so doing he risked giving up his line of supplies and retreat to the Caesarians in Macedon. He remained in that province and in the vale of Tempe till Calvinus had struck his camp to rejoin Caesar near the source of the Peneus.²

Pompey, on his side, had effected a junction with his father-in-law's legions near Larissa. He was desirous of prolonging the war in order to exhaust his foe; but the young nobles who surrounded him thought the campaign very long, and so much circumspection made them suspicious. They complained that he protracted an affair which might be easily settled, for the purpose of gratifying his ambition for command, and having consular and praetorian senators among the number of his followers. "Domitius Ahenobarbus," says Plutarch, "continually calling him Agamemnon, and King of kings, excited jealousy against him; and Favonius,

¹ Certain details given by Caesar, as the arrangements made for stealing the treasure of Ephesus (*Bell. civ.* iii. 3), which were stopped by a letter from Pompey, are improbable. The books *De Bell. civ.* are not equal in authority to those *De Bell. Gall.*, and there is even some doubt as to the true author of the work.

² See in vol. ii. the map on p. 163.

by his unseasonable raillery, did him no less injury than those who openly attacked him, as when he cried out, 'Good friends, you must not expect to gather any figs in Tusculum this year!'" Their impatience was increased by the certainty of an easy victory. Already there began to be disputes about offices, as though the Pompeians were at Rome on the eve of the comitia; and some sent to secure the most conspicuous houses adjacent to the Forum, whence they could best solicit votes. The consuls were designated for the following years, and the spoils of the Caesarians divided. They would begin with a general proscription, judicially carried out, as befitted men who were fighting in defence of the laws: they had even drawn up the form of sentence. They were less agreed upon the division of the booty. Fannius wanted the estates of Atticus; Lentulus, those of Hortensius and Caesar's gardens. The wisest became blind. Domitius, Scipio, and Lentulus Spinther openly quarrelled as to which should succeed Caesar in the pontificate. The chances were even among the three candidates; for, if Lentulus had his age and services in his favor, Domitius enjoyed a great influence, and Scipio was Pompey's father-in-law. "In a word," says he who dispelled these vain hopes, "nothing was thought of but honors, or profit, or vengeance; nor did they consider by what methods they were to conquer, but what advantage they should make of victory."

Urged on by the clamor of these nobles, whom he was unable to reduce to obedience, Pompey decided upon giving battle near Pharsalia, in the same place where, a hundred and fifty years before, Rome had conquered Greece and all the Hellenic East (*Cynoscephalae*). His troops had been encamped for some days on the hills to the east of Pharsalia, while those of Caesar lay in the plain between that city and metropolis (see plan, p. 459). Several skirmishes had taken place, and Caesar had vainly offered battle. Pompey retained his position on the higher ground; and Caesar, despairing of drawing his opponent into an engagement on equal terms, made his plan to break camp and move away, in the hope of finding a better supply of provisions elsewhere; also with the idea that, in the frequent marches both armies would thus make, he might come upon an advantageous position for fighting; and, lastly, with the certainty that he should greatly harass Pompey's army, which was sure to follow

him, by the continued fatigues they would thus be forced to endure. In the early morning, therefore, of the day on which the battle was fought, the order for marching had been given and the tents struck, when Caesar perceived that Pompey's army had quitted their intrenchments, and advanced out into the plain. Thereupon, joyfully making known to his soldiers that the day had at last come when

they were to fight, not with hunger and famine, but with men, he ordered the red colors, the signal of battle, to be set up before his tent, and his army eagerly fell into rank.

Pompey's force consisted of forty-seven thousand foot and seven thousand horse. It was drawn up with the right wing resting upon the little river Enipeus, whose steep banks completely protected it on that side, and the cavalry, with the bands of slingers and bowmen, thrown out into the plain at the left. He himself was in command at the right, Metellus Scipio in the centre, and Domitius at the left. Caesar, opposite to him, adopted a corresponding arrangement, protecting his left wing by the river, and placing his cavalry at the right. His entire army consisted only of twenty-two thousand legionaries, and in cavalry he was numerically very feeble, having but a thousand horse. Observing the great number of the enemy's cavalry and their



HOPE.¹

evident intention to outflank his own, he ordered six cohorts (three

¹ Bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3049. The head is surmounted by a flower with a broad calyx. The left hand, which should hold another flower, as in the engraving on p. 316 in vol. i, is broken. According to M. Chabouillet, the gesture of raising the skirt of the tunica was consecrated to the images of Hope.

thousand men) to place themselves in reserve behind his right wing, carefully concealing from the enemy this movement. The legionaries, drawn up in the usual order, began the battle, advancing at a run upon Pompey's lines. The latter had been ordered to hold their ground and await the attack, in the idea that the Caesarian troops, having twice as far to go as usual, would be weary and breathless when they came up with their foe. But the veterans, by their good discipline and experience, defeated Pompey's expectations; for, seeing that the enemy did not advance to meet them, they halted half-way to recover their breath, then marched up in good order, flung their javelins, and attacked with the sword.



Meantime Pompey's cavalry advanced to the attack, compelled Caesar's horse to give way, and began to spread out their ranks to surround and turn his right wing. But an unexpected foe appeared to them. The six cohorts, now ordered to advance, and, instead of throwing their javelins, to use them as hand-spears and specially to thrust at the enemy's faces, made so fierce an attack that they at once turned the fortune of the day. The Pompeian cavalry retreated at full gallop, and never stopped till they had taken shelter among the hills. The archers and slingers of the left wing were quickly cut to pieces; and the six cohorts, continuing their

victorious advance, turned the enemy's left, and began to charge the Pompeian lines in the rear. Upon this Caesar brought forward his main line of reserves, which had not been engaged until now; and Pompey's infantry, attacked in front by fresh troops and in the rear by the victorious cohorts, made no further resistance, but gave way in the utmost disorder, and fled to their camp. Pompey had quitted the battlefield when he saw his cavalry repulsed, and had retired despairing into his tent. Presently the sounds of battle came nearer: it was Caesar leading his victorious soldiers to the attack of the intrenchments. "What!" cried the unhappy general, "into my very camp!" He threw off his general's scarf, sprang upon a horse, and escaped by the *Porta Decumana*. The camp was bravely defended for some time by the troops left in charge of it; but the demoralized fugitives from the battlefield thought of nothing but retreat. At last all withdrew, taking refuge in the hills behind their intrenchments. "On entering Pompey's camp," says Caesar, "we found tables ready covered, sideboards loaded with plate, and tents adorned with branches of myrtle: that of Lentulus, with some others, was shaded with ivy. Everything gave proof of the highest luxury and an assured expectation of victory; whence it was easy to see that they little dreamed of the issue of that day, since, intent only on voluptuous refinements, they pretended, with troops immersed in luxury, to oppose Caesar's army accustomed to fatigue, and inured to the want of necessaries" (9th of August—6th of June, 48).

In spite of Caesar's efforts to stop the slaughter, fifteen thousand six hundred men were slain, but only one leader: Domitius perished in his flight.¹ "They would have it so," said he as he passed over this field of slaughter. "After all I have done for the Republic, I should have been condemned as a criminal, had I not appealed to my army."² His clemency did not fail. As soon as success was

¹ Caesar gives the number of Pompeians slain as fifteen thousand; Asinius Pollio only reckoned six thousand; but doubtless he omitted the allies, "who were not counted," says Appian (ii. 82). The same historian gives ten senators and forty knights among the Pompeian dead.

² Words gathered by Asinius Pollio, who was present at the battle, and reported by Suetonius. Dion asserts (xli. 62) that he caused to be put to death those who, having once taken up arms and been pardoned by him, were found among the captives, but that he granted each of his friends the pardon of one Pompeian.

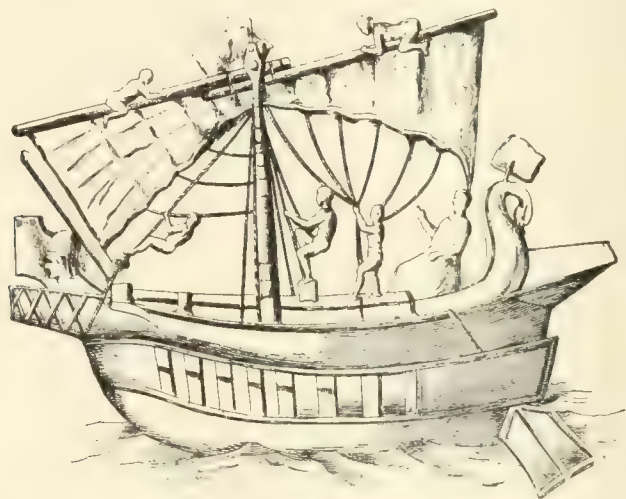
assured, he forbade the slaughter of a single citizen, and pardoned all captives who implored his pity. Even those who had already made proof of it only required an intercessor to be again pardoned. In Pompey's tent he found correspondence which might have yielded him very useful revelations; but he burnt the letters unread. History regrets that he was not more curious. The peoples and princes who had sided with his rival trembled; but he re-assured them. The Athenians, little fitted for these combats of giants, had lent their feeble aid to Pompey, instead of accepting the neutrality offered them by both parties. Caesar was anxious to win over the city, "which knew how to talk;" and, when her deputies appeared as suppliants before him, he contented himself with saying, "How many times already has the fame of your fathers saved you!"

Without giving his troops time to pillage the riches scattered through the Pompeian camp, Caesar led them onwards in pursuit of the enemy, the last remnants of whom he surrounded upon a hill. Twenty-four thousand men were taken prisoners. On the morrow the whole army decreed the prize of valor to Caesar, to the tenth legion, and a centurion. At the moment of giving the signal for battle, Caesar had recognized this veteran, and called out to him by name, saying, "What hopes, Caius Crastinus, and what ground for encouragement?"—"We shall win with glory, Caesar," he had replied in a loud voice, "and to-day you will praise me, living or dead." With these words he had advanced; and a hundred and twenty men of the cohort had dashed forward with him, breaking through the ranks with much slaughter of the enemy, until at last he had fallen. Caesar had his corpse sought out, and erected a special tomb for him beside the trench where the other dead were laid.

V. — DEATH OF POMPEY.

POMPEY's mistake had been great in separating himself from his fleet, and accepting battle in the midst of the Greek mainland: still another mistake was in not securing a place of refuge in

case of defeat.¹ But such was his confidence that he had not appointed any rallying-place; so that all had dispersed hap-hazard, and of all that powerful army there remained only the dead and the suppliants. The leader himself, wholly occupied in saving his own life, fled towards the vale of Tempe, and the two Lentuli who accompanied him saw the conqueror of Mithridates, of the pirates and of Sertorius, driven by thirst, drink the water of the river from the hollow of his hand like a mountain shepherd. Having reached the seacoast, he passed the night in a fisherman's hut, and in the morning was taken up by a merchant-vessel which

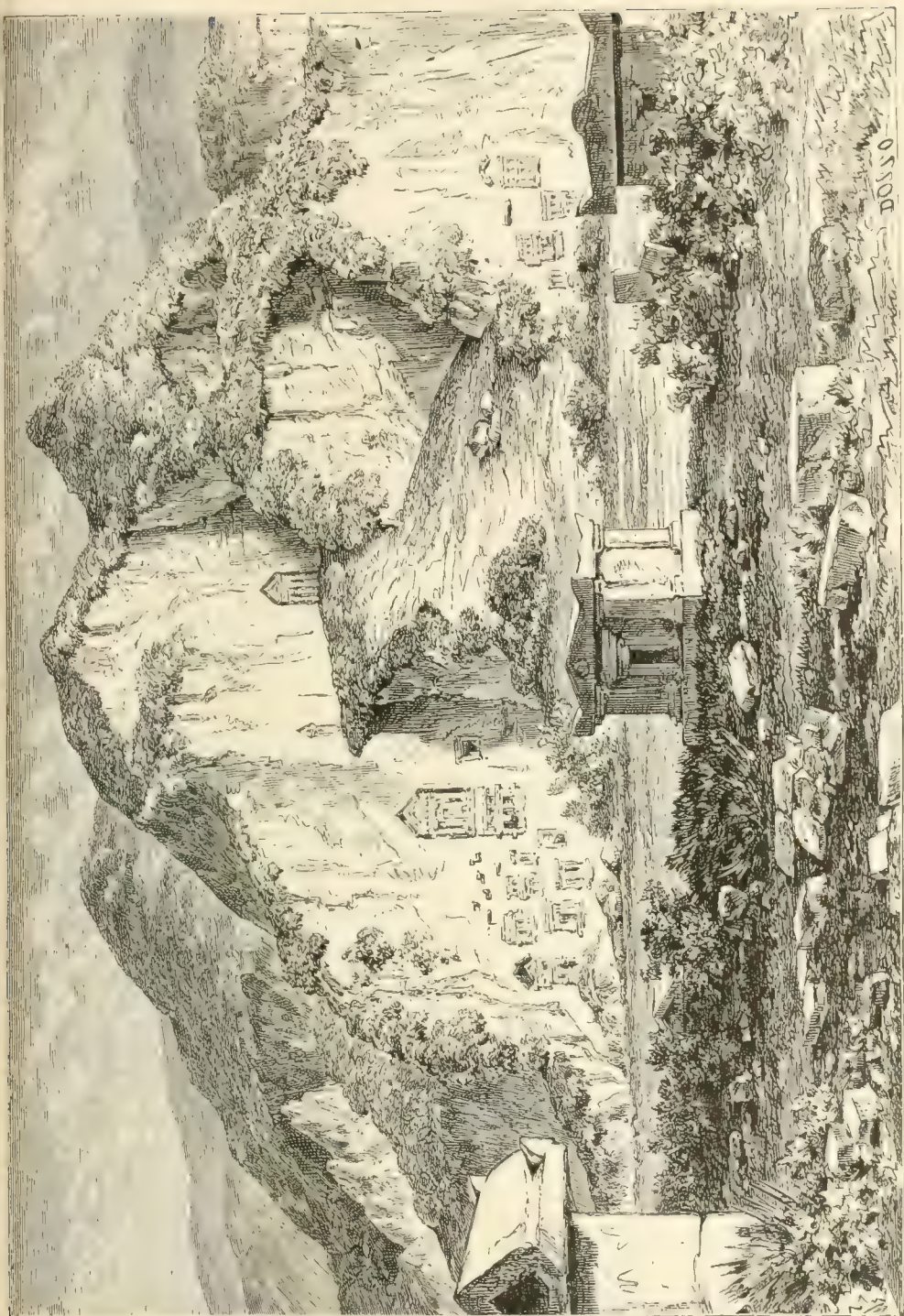


MERCHANT-VESSEL (ON THE TOMB OF A MERCHANT AT POMPEII).

had cast anchor at the mouth of the Peneus. He had been joined by Spinther, Lentulus, Favonius, the Galatian Dejotarus, and a few others; and the master of the vessel, recognizing the distinguished fugitive, agreed to take him wherever he desired to go. They crossed over at once to Lesbos, where Pompey took on board his wife Cornelia; then he drew southward by the sea of the Sporades, "through which he had been wont to sail with five hundred galleys."² The report of his defeat had preceded him; and in these islands, as well as in this province of Asia, which he had thought so devoted to his cause, no one showed any readiness to give him

¹ [There must have been ample time to bring his fleet round Greece, and anchor it near Pharsalia. — *Ed.*]

² Plutarch (*Pomp.* 71) puts these words in the mouth of Cornelia.



TELMESSTUS (MACRI) : TOMBS HEWN IN THE ROCK (TEXIER, DESCR. DE L'ASIE MIN., VOL. III. PL. 5).

aid: even at Rhodes he dared stop only for a very short time. On the coasts of Caria and Lycia, the scene of his former exploits, there were rich cities — Aphrodisias, Telmessus, Patara — which gave him a little money: Cilicia furnished him with ships and a few soldiers. But whither should he go? It is said he thought of fleeing to the Parthians; but Antioch, which had declared for Caesar, having closed the desert road against him, he decided on seeking



STATUE, SAID TO BE OF CLEOPATRA, FROM THE VATICAN¹ (MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO).

an asylum in Egypt. He had no other course open to him.² The reigning king, whose father, Ptolemy Auletes, had been under obligations to him, was his ally; sixty Egyptian vessels had joined the senatorial fleet in the Adriatic, and, after the expedition of Gabinus, there had remained in Egypt a few thousand Pompeian soldiers who had not yet forgotten their old general; finally, the country was easy to defend, and he could thence communicate with

¹ This statue, which has often been taken for a Cleopatra, on account of the serpent's-head bracelet worn on the upper part of the arm, is probably an Ariadne represented sleeping. In any case, it cannot be considered the portrait of Cleopatra.

² He had already solicited the alliance of the Parthians; but his ambassador had been cast into prison by them (Dion, xlii. 2).

the Parthians if it were necessary, and certainly with Varus and Juba, who were masters of Numidia and Roman Africa.

He therefore set sail for Egypt, and, hearing that Ptolemy was at Pelusium, directed his course that way, followed by about two thousand men. According to the will of the late king, Cleopatra was to marry her brother, Ptolemy Dionysus, two years younger than herself,¹ and reign conjointly with him under the tutelage of the Senate. But at the end of three years the young queen had been driven out by the general Achilles and the king's tutor Theodotus.



COIN OF
PELUSIUM.²

She had withdrawn into Syria; and Ptolemy had collected an army at Pelusium to stop the expedition his sister was preparing against him. When the messenger of the vanquished Pompey appeared, Achilles and Pothinus, the regent of the kingdom, were of opinion that he should be received with honor; while Theodotus rejected the idea of uniting the destinies of the king and country with the lot of a fugitive and thus incurring Caesar's displeasure, and recommended that Pompey should be seized and put to death. His advice prevailed; and a boat was sent to the vessel under pretence of bringing the general to the king.

Achillas, therefore, taking with him as his accomplice one Septimius, a man that had formerly held a command under Pompey, and Salvius, another centurion, with three or four attendants, made up towards Pompey's galley. In the mean time all the chiefest of those who accompanied Pompey in this voyage were come into his ship to learn the event of their embassy. But when they saw the manner of their reception, — that in appearance it was neither princely nor honorable, nor in any way answerable to their expectation (for there came but a few men in a fisherman's boat to meet them), — they began to suspect the meanness of their entertainment, and gave warning to Pompey that he should row back to his galley whilst he was out of their reach, and make for the sea. By this time the Egyptian boat drew near; and Septimius, standing up, first saluted Pompey in the Latin tongue, by the title of Imperator. Then

¹ She was born towards the close of 69 B.C., and was consequently nearly twenty-one on Caesar's arrival.

² Head of Isis, surrounded by the name of the city, ΠΗΛΟΥΣΙΑ. Bronze, of the time of Hadrian.

Achillas, saluting him in the Greek language, desired him to come aboard his vessel, telling him that the sea was very shallow towards the shore, and that a galley of that burden could not avoid striking upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's galleys getting their men on board, and all the shore covered with soldiers; so that, even if they changed their minds, it seemed impossible for them to escape, and, besides, their distrust would have given the assassins a pretence for their cruelty. Pompey, therefore, taking his leave of Cornelia, who was already lamenting his death before it came, bade two centurions, with Philip (one of his freedmen) and a slave called Scythes, go on board the boat before him. And as some of the crew, with Achillas, were reaching out their hands to help him, he turned about towards his wife and son, and repeated the iambs of Sophocles:—

‘He who repairs to a tyrant becomes a slave,
Though he set out a freeman.’

These were the last words he spoke to his friends; and so he went aboard, observing presently, that, notwithstanding there was a considerable distance betwixt his galley and the shore, yet none of the company addressed any words of friendliness or welcome to him all the way. He looked earnestly upon Septimius, and said, ‘I am not mistaken surely in believing you to have been formerly my fellow-soldier.’ But he only nodded with his head, making no reply at all, nor showing any other courtesy. Since, therefore, they all continued silent, Pompey took a little book in his hand in which was written out an address in Greek which he intended to make to King Ptolemy, and began to read it. When they drew near to the shore, Cornelia, together with the rest of his friends in the galley, was very impatient to see the event, and began to take courage at last, when



PTOLEMY AULETES (FROM
A COIN)¹

¹ Clarac, *Icon.* Ptolemy Auletes has on his coins the laurel-wreath, which he scarcely deserved.

she saw several of the royal escort coming to meet him, apparently to give him a more honorable reception. But in the mean time, as Pompey took Philip by the hand to rise up more easily, Septimius first stabbed him from behind with his sword, and, after him, likewise Salvius and Achilles drew out their swords. He, therefore, taking up his toga with both hands, drew it over his face, and neither saying nor doing anything unworthy of himself, only groaning a little, endured all the wounds they gave him. And so ended his life, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, on the very day following his birthday.

“Cornelia, with her company from the galley, seeing him murdered, gave such a cry that it was heard to the shore, and, weighing anchor with all speed, they hoisted sail and fled. A strong breeze from the shore assisted their flight into the open sea; so that the Egyptians, though desirous to overtake them, desisted from the pursuit. But they cut off Pompey’s head, and threw the rest of his

POMPEY.¹

body overboard, leaving it naked upon the shore, to be viewed by any that had the curiosity to see so sad a spectacle. Philip stayed by, and watched till they had glutted their eyes in viewing it, and then washing it in sea-water, having nothing else, he wrapped it in a shirt of his own for a winding-sheet. Then, seeking up and down about the sands, at last he found some rotten planks of a little fisher-boat, — not much, but yet enough to make up a funeral-pile for a naked body, and that not quite entire. As Philip was busy in gathering and putting these old planks

together, an old Roman citizen, who in his youth had served in the wars under Pompey, came up to him, and demanded who he was that was preparing the funeral of Pompey the Great. And, Philip making answer that he was his freedman, ‘Nay then,’ said he, ‘you shall not have this honor alone. Let even me too, I pray you, have my share in such a pious office, that I may not altogether repent me of this pilgrimage in a strange land, but, in compensation of many misfortunes, may obtain this happiness at last, — even with mine own

¹ *Tre'sor de Numism.*, pl. 1, No. 3.

hands to touch the body of Pompey, and do the last duties to the greatest general among the Romans.' And in this manner were the obsequies of Pompey performed.

"The next day Lucius Lentulus, not knowing what had passed, came sailing from Cyprus along the shore of that coast, and seeing a funeral-pile, and Philip standing by, exclaimed before he was yet seen by any one, 'Who is this that has found his end here?' adding after a short pause, with a sigh, 'Possibly even thou, Pompeius Magnus!' And so, going ashore, he was presently apprehended and slain. This was the end of Pompey."¹

History is like Caesar, who wept over this fate of his rival. But while we grant that Pompey's services, the brilliancy of his military life, and the dignity of his private life merit praise, we must nevertheless condemn the sterile ambition and perpetual indecisions of him who desired power, only that "he might display his triumphal robe." His talents, which after all were but ordinary, do not give him the right to be called a statesman. This title belongs only to him who well understands the needs of his time, and hence the approaching future, and, recognizing what is to come, goes resolutely forward to meet it. Pompey, who so often passed from Senate to people, and from people to Senate, had never any motive save the interests of his own ambition. From his history springs a political moral: the fugitive from Pharsalia was the deserter from all parties.

¹ Plut., *Pomp.* Hadrian raised a tomb to him a hundred and sixty years afterward (Spart., *Hadrian.* 7).

¹ Engraved gem in the Berlin Museum (after Bernhard Graser, *Op. cit.*).



VESSEL, WITH ENSIGN HOISTED.¹

CHAPTER LVII.

THE CIVIL WAR AND DICTATORSHIP OF CAESAR, FROM THE DEATH OF POMPEY TO THAT OF CATO (48-46 B.C.).

I. — ALEXANDRIAN WAR (OCTOBER, 48, to JUNE, 47). EXPEDITION AGAINST PHARNACES.

CAESAR knew how to complete his victories. Leaving Cornificius in Illyria to keep watch over Cato and the Pompeian fleet, and Calenus in Greece to reduce the nations there, he set out with two legions, which in all scarcely formed a body of thirty-two hundred foot and eight hundred horse, and followed Pompey's track, not to leave him time to gather a new army. According to a very improbable story, as Caesar was crossing the Hellespont in a boat, he met Cassius at the head of ten Pompeian galleys, and ordered him to surrender. Cassius, losing his presence of mind, submitted, without ever thinking that it was in his power to finish the war at one stroke.¹ It is more certain that Asia, which had been fearfully oppressed by Scipio, heard with joy of the new master given her by destiny. The victor relieved the province of a third of the taxes, allowed her to raise the tribute herself,² and made a change in the system of it, substituting for the disastrous law of tithes a fixed payment;³ so that there remained for the publican only the collecting of some indirect taxes of little importance. He reckoned upon finding and levying in Egypt the money which he was unwilling to demand of exhausted Asia.

A few days after the death of Pompey, Caesar arrived before Alexandria with thirty-five vessels and four thousand men. When

¹ This is the account given by Appian and Plutarch. That of Cicero (*Philipp.* ii. 11) is more credible. Cassius, he says, waited for Caesar at the mouth of the Cydnus in order to kill him, and the latter only escaped by chance.

² App., *Bell. civ.* v. 4.

³ Dion, xlii. 6. Perhaps he made the same change in Sicily.

Theodotus presented to him his rival's head, he turned away his eyes in horror, and ordered the sad remains to be buried in a shrine of Nemesis, which he built at the city gates. The king's ministers were angry at the honors paid to their victim, and, seeing Caesar so poorly attended, they forgot that they had before them the master of the world. The Egyptian soldiers were secretly encouraged to cry out, when the lictors passed, that their presence was an outrage upon the Egyptian king. Every day disturbances took place, in which some legionaries were slain. When the consul, to pay his troops, claimed the arrears of an old debt of Ptolemy Auletes, amounting to ten million sesterces,¹ Pothinus disdainfully replied, that Caesar still had very great matters on his hands; that it would be better to start as quickly as possible to terminate them; and that, on his return, he would certainly receive, with the king's thanks, all the money which was due to him. This language was too clear. But Caesar neither could nor would depart. The ancients said that from November to

NEMESIS, RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE.²

¹ See p. 207.

² A statue in the Louvre. The right arm thus bent is the characteristic attitude of this goddess, because it represented a cubit, a measure which was taken allegorically to measure punishment or recompense. The horn of plenty symbolizes the blessings which the goddess assured to the just. The head is ancient, but set on later, as also the horn of plenty. (Clarac, *Descript. des Antiq.* No. 318.)

March the seas were closed.¹ The periodical north winds, which blow with violence in the Archipelago, interrupted navigation between Egypt and Greece, and condemned the conqueror of Pompey to remain at Alexandria.² He had the interests of Rome too much at heart not to make use of his enforced stay to regulate Egyptian affairs in the interests of the Republic; and the interests



of the Republic required that Pompey's assassins, who took such a high hand with Caesar, should cease to be masters of that wealthy kingdom. He invited Cleopatra to come to him. "She took a

¹ Vegetius, v. 9: *maria clauduntur*.

² *Ipsæ enim necessario etisii tenebatur, qui navigantibus Alexandria sunt adversissimi venti* (De Bell. cin. iii. 107). The sailors still say, "In the Mediterranean there are only three good harbors, June, July, and August." See p. 447, how Pompey at Dyrrachium counted on the winter, and p. 487, how Cato was obliged to make his fleet winter at Barca. Vegetius (v. 9) says that navigation was closed from the 16th of November to the 21st of March. At Venice, even in the sixteenth century, return voyages from the coast of Syria and of Alexandria were forbidden to the Venetian vessels from the 15th of November to the 20th of January, "in order that they may escape the perils of an imminent shipwreck in the 'time of the months of the raw winter,' on a penalty of five hundred ducats for the captains, and of a thousand for the shareholders or proprietors of the vessel" (Law of the 8th of June, 1569, Jal, *Nautical Glossary*, vol. ii. p. 1045). Admiral Jurien de la Gravière speaks "of the incapacity of the new navy to keep the sea in winter." If our ironclads must go into harbor in the bad season, *a fortiori* was it a necessity for the galleys of the ancients.

small boat, and one only of her confidants, Apollodorus the Sicilian, along with her, and in the dusk of the evening landed near the palace. She was at a loss how to get in undiscovered, till she thought of putting herself into a great rug or bed-covering, and lying at length, while Apollodorus tied it up with a strap, and carried it on his back through the gates into Caesar's apartments. Caesar was at first captivated by this proof of Cleopatra's bold wit, and was afterwards so overcome by the charm of her society that he made a reconciliation between her and her brother, on condition that she should rule as his colleague in the kingdom."¹ Plutarch sees in this only an affair of gallantry:

I see also in it, and more especially, a political transaction. The ministers quickly saw that their ruin was the pledge of this reconciliation. With a view of breaking it off, they persuaded the young Ptolemy to escape from his palace, and call the people to his aid. The Romans quickly seized the fugitive prince; but this attempted escape excited a disturbance in the town, which Caesar endeavored to pacify by reading to the people the will of the late king, Auletes, and by declaring that, in his position of guardian, he ordained that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign together.²

The insurrection was for the moment suppressed. Pothinus even appeared to resign himself; but he secretly recalled to Alexandria Achilles, who was at Pelusium, in command of twenty thousand fairly good troops, thanks to the Roman officers whom Gabinius had left behind in Egypt. Caesar compelled Ptolemy to send them word to remain at Pelusium: in answer they put the envoys to death. Thus four thousand Romans were obliged to confront a well-drilled army of twenty thousand men and an angry



PTOLEMY DIONYSUS.³

¹ Plut., *Caesar*, 54, 55.

² Dion, xlii. 35. Dion adds that Caesar promised to give Cyprus to two other children of Ptolemy, — a promise which was not very binding on him.

³ This Ptolemy wears the ivy-wreath, the attribute of Bacchus, whom the Greeks more often called Dionysus. On other coins of this prince the god's thyrsus is seen.

nation three hundred thousand strong. Caesar intrenched himself in the Bruchium quarter, on the north of the Via Canopica, in the royal palace and the adjacent theatre. Here he held the king and his minister prisoners, closing all the approaches in such a manner as to make of that collection of solid buildings a vast fortress, which Achilles soon abandoned the attempt to take by storm. In the chief harbor lay the Egyptian war-fleet; these vessels Caesar set on fire and destroyed. The flames reached the arsenal and other adjacent buildings, and destroyed the famous library of the Ptolemies, which is said to have contained four hundred thousand volumes.

From the interior of the palace, Pothinus kept up active communication with the besiegers. Caesar caused him to be put to death, and then confined Ptolemy more closely. The king's youngest sister, Arsinoë, with her confidant and adviser, the eunuch Ganymede, had succeeded in making her escape, and, assuming the title of queen, placed herself at the head of the insurrection. Ganymede, who was an active and intelligent man, took advantage, on his own behalf, of the favor of the soldiers. He caused the murder of Achilles, took his place, and thought he had found an infallible means of destroying the Roman army by cutting the aqueducts which supplied their quarter with water, and by sending sea-water into their cisterns with the aid of machines. But they dug wells,¹ and patiently waited for the arrival of the aid which Caesar had ordered from the governor of Asia, — Domitius Calvinus.

The latter was an able man, firm and just, who, though he had been appointed to the post after Pharsalia, had already re-organized everything. He was able to send Caesar one legion by land and another by sea, the latter of which was driven by the winds to the west of Alexandria. Caesar went with some vessels in search of the second, and on his return defeated Ganymede, who barred his way. The eunuch repaired his galleys, built fresh ones, and persisted in trying to close the sea against the Romans, and starve them out. In front of the town stretched the island of Pharos, connected with the shore by a mole. Caesar attacked it, and suc-

¹ These wells are found all along the coast as far as the isle of Pharos.

ceeded in gaining possession of it. But the Alexandrians bravely continued their efforts to destroy the fleet, and to regain the fort. Many naval engagements took place, and one day Caesar was so hard pressed that he only escaped by throwing himself into the sea, and swimming to a ship that lay at some distance.¹



COIN OF PTOLEMY XII.²

At length, however, he grew alarmed about this struggle, which was costing much precious time, and involved useless risks. He gave the Alexandrians back their king, in hopes of arriving at an arrangement, or of sowing dissension among his enemies. This concession, which was taken as a sign of weakness, only gave them fresh vigor, and they also stopped a convoy coming from Cilicia. Fortunately, Mithridates the Pergamean (believed to be a son of the great Mithridates), who had been sent in the beginning of the war to raise troops in Syria, assembled in that province an army which was swelled on the way by a great number of Jews; for that nation saw in the conqueror of Pompey the executor of Jehovah's decrees against the man who had violated the Holy of Holies.³ Mithridates reached Pelusium at the end of January, 47. The town, though strong and well guarded, was carried by an impetuous attack.

Egypt is considered as defended on all sides by strong barriers. says the author of the "Alexandrian War," — towards the sea, by the Pharos, and towards Syria by Pelusium, which are accounted the two keys of the kingdom. Of these, Caesar held one; and Mithridates having taken the other, which secured his communications, could therefore march fearlessly into the country. He ascended the east bank of the Pelusiatic branch, and in a sharp engagement, the chief honor of which fell to Antipater, Herod's father, he drove into the river an Egyptian army which attempted to stop him. This success facilitated the passage of the Nile, which he effected between the upper point of the Delta and Memphis. Many Jews dwelt in

¹ Appian (*Bell. civ.* ii. 150) says that, in order to avoid being observed by those in pursuit, he swam under water, only rising to the surface to take breath.

² Ptolemy XII., or Dionysus, as Bacchus. M. Bompois has recently maintained that this coin represents Ptolemy IV. On the reverse an eagle on a thunderbolt.

³ See p. 146.

that town. Letters from the high priest Hyrcanus had led them to join Caesar's party; and they furnished Mithridates with auxiliaries, provisions, and information. Such was the number of the circumcised in this army, that the place where the decisive battle took place retained the name of the Jews' Camp.¹

On hearing of the approach of the army of relief, Caesar had issued from his Alexandrian fortress, and turning westward around the end of Lake Mareia, whilst Ptolemy with his fleet ascended the Canopic branch, he had forestalled the Egyptians, though his route was the longer one, and effected a junction with Mithridates. The king placed his camp on a hill in the Libyan chain, which terminates at the Nile near Chom-Cherik, at the spot where, five centuries before, Amasis had won Egypt from Apries, and where, seven centuries later, Amrou won it from the Alexandrians. A decisive battle ensued, in which the Egyptians were defeated. In the fray the king was drowned, and a rich booty rewarded the legionaries for their long patience. Egypt accepted Cleopatra as queen, and she married the last of her brothers, Ptolemy XIII., whilst her sister Arsinoë was sent captive to Rome.²

Having come out victoriously from this severe trial, Caesar remained two or three months longer in Egypt. He is blamed for this stay. Cleopatra, it is said, bewitched him with all the seductions of wit and beauty: indolent and splendid like a daughter of the East, intense and passionate like a child of Ionia, the siren detained the hero. If Caesar loved pleasure, he loved still more his fame and his fortune, which so ill-timed a passion would have compromised.³ After passing eleven years in the tent, he doubtless had a right to a few days' repose; but the time for repose had not yet come, while his foes were collecting a powerful army in Africa, and defeating the Caesarians in Illyria, while a new Mithridates was appearing in Asia, disturbances breaking out in Spain, and revolutionary passions at Rome and in Italy. In the case of such a man, things should be looked at on their serious side: that he did not quit Egypt sooner was due, first to the fact that

¹ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 14.

² An inscription (*C. I. L.* i. p. 390) allows us to fix Caesar's return to Alexandria, after the victory of the Nile, on the 27th of March, 47 B.C.: . . . *Caesar Alexandriam recepit.*

³ Caesar was then fifty-five.



TERRA-COTTA FRAGMENTS FOUND AT TARSUS, AND NOW IN THE LOUVRE.

it was difficult to get away from there during the winter; and, secondly, that Roman interests of great importance detained him. Coming into the country with the design of bringing the war to a close by the capture of Pompey, he had found a nation in revolt against the guardianship of Rome. Every day he had passed on Egyptian soil had been a day of combat for him; and as public opinion, even in those times, was a great force, he could not have been willing to quit Egypt as a fugitive. After the victory it was necessary still to remain, in order to impose upon turbulent Alexandria



CLEOPATRA AND CAESAR HONORING THE GODS OF EGYPT.¹



PHARNACES II., KING OF PONTUS.³

the acceptance of its condition as a subject city, to insure the safety of the two legions he left there, strengthen the authority of the rulers he had just given it, and appease the popular resentment by paying homage to the gods of the country. It certainly was not through mere complaisance towards Cleopatra that he had resolved upon this solution of the Egyptian question.² To make this rich country into a province would have been to expose to dangerous temptations the proconsul who should be sent thither. Augustus and the

emperors for two centuries thought as Caesar did on this subject.⁴

¹ Bas-relief, from the Temple of Denderah, representing Cleopatra and Caesar making offerings to Hathor. (After Rosellini, *Mon. stor.* ii. 406.)

² Shortly after Caesar's departure, Cleopatra was delivered of Caesarion, and this birth was, according to custom, represented on a temple, that of Hermontis, near Thebes (cf. Champollion, *Monum.* pl. 145-148, and Maspero, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1878). Caesar never paid any heed to this child, and did not mention him in his will.

³ From a gold coin of that prince (Clarac, *Icon.*, pl. 1031, No. 2984).

⁴ . . . *Veritus provinciam facere, ne quandoque violentiorem praesidem nacta, novarum rerum materia esset* (Livy, *Epit.* cxii.). The commander of the troops which he left in Egypt,

It was better to have native princes, who would be useful without ever being dangerous. But it was needful to accustom the people to obey these kings imposed by a foreign power; and this necessary protectorate required the dictator to take and hold the reins of government for some time with his strong hand.

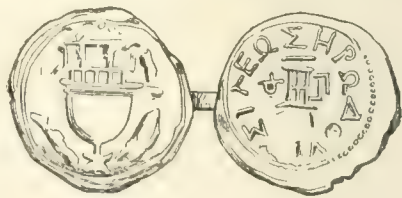
Urgent despatches summoned Caesar to Rome; but Asia Minor was threatened by the King of the Bosphorus. Between private interests and those of the Republic he did not hesitate. Instead of setting sail for Italy, he resolved to stop the advance of Pharnaces, even should he be obliged to go, in search of the offending prince, into the very heart of the latter's kingdom.

This son of Mithridates, whom Pompey had made king of the Bosphorus, had taken advantage of the Civil war to regain Pontus, and drive out Dejotarus and Ariobarzanes from Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia. Caesar's lieutenant in Asia, Calvinus, had been defeated in endeavoring to defend these two princes; and Pharnaces,



COIN OF HYRCANUS II.¹

having gained possession of the greater part of his father's former kingdom, there perpetrated fearful cruelties, imprisoning the publicans, and slaying or mutilating the Romans who traded in those regions. Caesar passed rapidly through Palestine and Syria. In Judaea the weak Hyrcanus II., the last of the Maccabees, reigned nominally, not, however, as king but as high priest, while actually the power was in the hands of his minister, the Idumæan Antipater. Caesar recognized the former as the political and religious head of his nation, and restored to him the title of king; but he left the real power to the latter, whom he made a Roman citizen, and procurator of Judaea. Of the two sons of Antipater, Phasaël, the elder, obtained the government of Jerusalem; the second, Herod, that of Galilee. These judaizing Edomites founded their fortunes on the ruins of the Maccabaean royalty, and



COIN OF HEROD.²

the son of one of his freedmen, was of too lowly a condition not to be faithful (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 76).

¹ A horn of plenty. On the reverse a Samaritan inscription. Bronze coin of Hyrcanus II.

² ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ (Herod, king): an altar and two Samaritan characters. On the reverse a vase. Bronze coin of Herod the Great.

cemented them by the friendship of Caesar, which the first emperors continued.

Antioch had been well treated by Pompey: when he made Syria a Roman province, he had granted that town autonomy. But the inhabitants of the pleasure-loving city bore gratitude lightly: on the news of the disaster of Pharsalia they had gone over to the stronger side. Caesar recompensed them for this, and renewed in their favor the decree guaranteeing their independence; then



COIN OF TARSUS.¹



COIN OF TARSUS.¹



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF APHRODISIAS.²

he sailed for Cilicia, where he had already convoked at Tarsus an assembly of deputies from that State and from the neighboring countries. Here he took cognizance of all disputes, rewarded and

¹ ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ; head surmounted by turret, no doubt a personification of the town. On the reverse Hercules strangling the lion. Silver coin of Tarsus.

² Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie min.* vol. iii. p. 150.

punished, bestowing much in the way of privileges, demanding little except money, which these wealthy provinces were well able to provide. We still have a decree recording his favors to Aphrodisias of Caria, which he declared free and exempt from taxation. Many



COIN OF
COMANA.³

cities participated in these bounties, which burdened the future, but served the present, because they were bought for ready money.¹

Order having been promptly restored in these disturbed



COIN OF APHRODISIAS.²

countries, he rapidly crossed Cappadocia, halted two days at Mazaca, its capital, where he re-established Ariobarzanes; and at Comana,



ASANDER, KING OF PONTUS.⁴



DYNAMIS, WIFE OF ASANDER.⁵

where he bestowed upon a descendant of the former royal family the important office of high priest at the temple of Bellona. Dejotarus, who with his title of tetrarch possessed almost the whole of

¹ I think at least, that we must thus understand these words of the decree: "On account of services rendered to Caesar." These towns could only have served him in such a manner.

² Head of Juno. On the reverse ΠΑΡΑΣΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΕΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝ; eagle on a thunderbolt. Silver coin showing the close alliance between Aphrodisias and Parasa.

³ COL. AVG. COMANA, the goddess of Comana in a temple. Bronze piece of Comana. Cf. pp. 120 and 151, two other coins of this town.

⁴ From a gold coin.

⁵ From a coin. This princess, a daughter or grand-daughter of the great Mithridates, married, after Asander's death, Ptolemon I., King of Pontus.

Galatia, and with that of king, Lesser Armenia, came to meet Caesar with great humility and as a suppliant. He had fought for Pompey at Pharsalia, and expected to expiate bitterly his failure to recognize in advance the winning side. According to ancient customs this mistake should have cost him his territory, and perhaps his life; but he got off with some reproaches, a fine, and the loss of Galatia, and Caesar restored to him the royal insignia.¹ In Pontus, Pharnaces made an attempt to negotiate in order to obtain time; but Caesar was not the man to be deceived by the duplicity of a Barbarian: he advanced upon the camp of Pharnaces, though he had but a small force, — only one legion of veterans reduced by fatigue and fighting to a thousand men, the two legions of the province of Asia which had been defeated by Pharnaces, and a few troops belonging to Dejotarus. But with him recruits soon became valiant soldiers; and the enemy felt themselves conquered in advance by this hero whom none had been able to defeat. This time, however, Pharnaces, who boasted of having won twenty-two battles, dared to await the Roman army and to make the first attack. Caesar laughed at this boldness.² A single engagement reduced the son of Mithridates to flee with a few horsemen as far as the Bosphorus, where he was slain by Asander, who had married his sister Dynamis, and who took his place. In five days this war was brought to a close.³ “I came, I saw, I conquered,” Caesar wrote to one of his friends at Rome. He gave the kingdom of Pharnaces to the illegitimate brother of the latter, Mithridates, who had so ably led the Egyptian expedition; and, as he could not secure him the immediate possession of it, he added to this eventual gift the Galatian tetrachate of Dejotarus.⁴ “Fortunate Pompey,” exclaimed Caesar on com-

¹ This Dejotarus, of whom Cicero, his advocate, draws so fine a portrait, was a very bad character. Plutarch (*De Stoic repugn.*) represents him as a cruel despot. Of several sons whom he had, it is said he left alive only the one whom he destined to succeed him. He also slew his daughter and his son-in-law (Strabo, xii. 568). His grandson Castor accused him at Rome of having wished to kill Caesar. These Asiatic kings were never either husbands or fathers. It is difficult to know what Caesar left Dejotarus. Hirtius, Cicero, and Dion Cassius do not agree upon the matter.

² . . . *Irridebat inanem ostentationem* (*Bell. Alex.* 74).

³ The defeat of Pharnaces was on the 2d of August (20th of May), 47 B.C. (*Kalend. Amitern.*; Orelli, *Inscr.* ii. 397). Cicero wrote to Atticus (xi. 21): “I do not think Caesar will be at Athens before the 1st of September.”

⁴ Mithridates never entered into possession of his kingdom: he was defeated and slain by Asander (Strabo, xiii. 625; Dion, xlii. 48, xlvii. 28).

paring these Asiatic wars with his own struggle with the Gauls, — “fortunate Pompey, to have acquired so cheaply the surname of ‘Great’ !” After having overthrown his rival, he was now disposed to destroy the latter’s fame.

II. — CAESAR’S RETURN TO ROME (47 B.C.).

AFFAIRS being settled in Asia, Caesar at last set out for Italy, where his prolonged absence had caused great disorders, and arrived there before it was known that he had started.

Some disturbance had been occasioned in Rome by a man of whom we have already heard, Caelius, that friend of Cicero whom the orator declares to have been a great statesman, though history only knows him as a mischief-maker. He was a man of active mind, and very sharp of tongue, who had strayed into politics after a career of pleasure. Being praetor in 48, he thought himself ill rewarded for some imaginary services, and, with no other claim than certain fine letters and scandalous intrigues, he sought to fill the first rôles, which were all taken. At the moment when Caesar, with great political sagacity, was effecting his transition from popular leader and military chief into ruler of the State, Caelius set up as a demagogue, and dreamt of seeking his fortune as the leader of the poor. As praetor he promised his support to debtors who would not submit to the decisions of the arbiters so judiciously appointed by Caesar in the preceding year; but, no person applying to him, he then had recourse to the extreme revolutionary methods, — the suspension of rent-payments and the abolition of debts. Caesar’s Senate and his colleague in the consulship, Servilius, fortunately showed great decision. The consul forbade Caelius to exercise the functions of his office, and, as the praetor persisted, Servilius had his curule chair broken, and himself driven from the rostra, while not one voice was raised among the people in favor of this tardy representative of bygone tribunitian violence. After this public disgrace and his desertion by the people, the new Catiline quitted Rome, and ended like his forerunner, but more ignominiously. Caelius had recalled Milo, who still had a few of his gladiators with him, from Mar-

seilles ; and both together attempted to excite insurrection in Campania and Magna Græcia. But two great ambitions disputing the Empire between them were enough. No attention was paid to these obscure adventurers, who perished unnoticed, — one before Cosa, the other at Thurii.

During the eight months that the struggle in Greece lasted, the city remained in cruel suspense, which was not ended by the news of the battle of Pharsalia, because all that remained of the Pompeian forces were in the neighborhood of Italy. When the account of Pompey's death arrived, and his ring was seen which was brought by Antony, the enthusiasm, hitherto uncertain and kept in reserve for the victor, burst forth round Caesar's name. Antony took care so to direct it that it should further the interests of his general, who was a second time chosen dictator for a whole year (October, 28) : the consulship was bestowed upon him for five years, the tribunitian power for life, and the right of deciding upon peace and war, with the presidency of the comitia of election to the higher magistracies. Accordingly, as he was absent, there were only tribunes of the people elected for the year 47. Caesar took possession of the dictatorship at Alexandria, and, as there were no consuls, he intrusted the government of the city to Antony, his master of the horse. Brave, but violent and profligate, Antony had neither the persevering energy nor the subtle prudence which the circumstances demanded. The sinister reports which soon began to be in circulation about the dangerous position of his chief in Egypt made him undecided ; he dared not withstand the agitators



ASIATIC VICTORY.¹

¹ Small bronze figure found in Egypt. It has on a Phrygian cap or tiara, a lappet of which it is raising with the right hand. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3044.)

on whom Caesar's death might perhaps confer the power. Cicero's son-in-law, Corn. Dolabella, ruined by debauchery, had, like Clodius, caused himself to be adopted by a plebeian in order to obtain the tribuneship; once appointed, he had brought forward again the proposal to abolish debts. Antony at first made a feeble resistance; but, when he thought he had a personal insult to avenge on Dolabella, he went to the opposite extreme, and scenes of violence and plunder recommenced in the city,¹ as if to prove, even to the most incredulous, the indispensable need of a master. Fortunately this master was coming. In September, 47, Caesar landed at Tarentum.

Contrary to the expectation of many, his return was marked by no proscription. He only confiscated the property of those who still bore arms against him, and caused Pompey's house on the Palatine and his other estates to be sold at auction. Dolabella and Antony became the purchasers; but the latter refused to pay the price, and proudly answered, in reply to Caesar's demands, that it was his share of the spoil. The dictator contented himself with imposing on him a partial restitution of the money: his opinion of the men of his time was not so high that he cared to employ against them a severity implying that they were capable of reform; and by nature he was averse to rigorous measures.

He increased the number of offices; some, like the praetorship, in the interests of the service; others, such as the sacerdotal colleges, in order to satisfy vain and puerile ambitions.² He doubled the number of the Senate by summoning brave officers to it, as Fabius Buteo had done after the battle of Cannae,³ and bestowing the laticlave upon the most important provincial men.⁴ The Roman nobility were naturally indignant: they called these new-comers Barbarians, and pursued them with sarcasms; but these so-called

¹ Cic., *Philipp.* ii. 25; Dion, xlii. 50. In one of these riots eight hundred citizens perished.

² He increased the number of augurs, pontiffs, and quindecimvirs. He appointed ten praetors instead of eight (Dion, xlii. 51). Later on, the number was raised to twelve (Pomp., *De Or. jur.*), to fourteen, and even to sixteen (Dion, xlii. 51, xliii. 59). Sallust, whom he appointed praetor for that year, then re-entered the Senate, whence he had been expelled.

³ See vol. ii. p. 4.

⁴ Caesar himself mentions two Allobrogian senators (*Bell. civ.* iii. 59) and a Spanish one (*Bell. Afric.* 28). We have seen (p. 306, note 1) that during his campaigns he kept a free table for provincials of distinction, *illustrioribus provinciarum* (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 48). The Emperor Claudius bears witness, that, long before his time, Vienne [in Gaul] furnished senators to the Roman curia.

Barbarians represented in the curia a new and great idea, — the unity of the Roman world.

Although it was the ninth month of the year, he held the consular comitia, and appointed Fufius Calenus and Vatinius for the three months remaining. A few days later he designated himself consul for the following year with Lepidus, and at the same time assumed the dictatorship. His partisans being now provided with appointments, dignities and governments, he gave large presents to the poor and granted debtors the suppression of part of the interest against them. The legions in Campania also claimed the fulfilment of the promises so often renewed: they openly revolted, and even marched to Rome and encamped outside the city gates in the Campus Martius. Caesar visited the camp, called the soldiers, and asked what they desired. They claimed their discharge and the payment of arrears. The dictator granted it. "I dismiss you," he said: "go, Quirites." He had found the surest way to wound their pride: he had called his old companions-in-arms, his fellow-soldiers, *citizens*. To make them citizens was to degrade them; and they implored him to take back his words. Caesar's conduct in this case has been much admired; but it casts a sad light upon the times. All that we have said about the transformation of political feelings is illustrated by the meaning now attached to those two words, "citizens" and "soldiers," *Quirites* and *commilitones*: the civilian is no longer anything, the soldier is everything; the reign of armies approaches; already their chief is unwilling, even within the city's walls, to lay aside his military title of "Imperator."

III. — WAR IN AFRICA (46 B.C.); THAPSUS; DEATH OF CATO.

THIS sedition being pacified, Caesar set out for Africa, there to destroy what was left after the battle of Pharsalia. L. Octavius, a Pompeian leader, had assembled a few troops in Macedon; thence he had passed into Illyria, and had been compelled by Cornificius and Vatinius to flee into Africa, where Juba and Atius Varus commanded the only Pompeian army which could boast of a victory. The leaders assembled at Corcyra — Labienus, Scipio, Afranius, Petre-

ius, and Faustus Sylla, son of the dictator — resolved to secure that province. When the news of Pompey's defeat at Pharsalia reached Cato, he was at Dyrrachium with a fleet and some soldiers. He offered the chief command to Cicero, a man of consular rank, whereas he himself had only been a practor. But Cicero was in the greatest distress, fearing to remain "with these mad men," ashamed to depart, and not knowing how to excuse himself to Caesar for his flight from Italy. Cato's proposal decided him. Was



COIN OF CORNFICIUS.¹

he to command? he said. Was he to fight when it was a time not merely to lay down arms, but to throw them away? It was mere mockery. Cnaeus Pompeius rushed upon Cicero, sword in hand, and would have slain him had not Cato protected him while he made

his escape. He returned to Brundisium, still accompanied by his licitors with their fasces wreathed with triumphal laurel, and remained there for nearly a year, cursing the Alexandrian war, the war with Pharnaces, and the slowness of Caesar, who was now guilty of prolonging his anxieties by allowing the Pompeians time to rise again, and perhaps bring about some fresh disaster.²

Whilst his friends were making their way towards Utica, Cato, suspecting that Pompey had taken refuge in Egypt, resolved to go to him with his three hundred vessels and the troops which manned them. But for the treachery of the Egyptians, these ten thousand men, finding Pompey alive at Alexandria, might have changed the aspect of affairs. On his way Cato met Pompey's son Cnaeus, and from him received news of the disaster. The only



CNAEUS POMPEIUS.³

¹ Head of Jupiter. On the reverse Q. CORNFICII AVGVSTI IMP.; Juno Sospita holding a trophy in the left hand, and with the right crowning Cornificius, dressed as an augur. Gold denarius struck at Cyrene, as is indicated by the horned head of Jupiter Ammon.

² Cic., *Ad Fam.* xv. 15.

³ From a coin which Sextus Pompeius had struck during the Sicilian war. The head of Cnaeus faces that of his father, and that of Sextus is on the reverse of the same coin.

course left, therefore, was to direct his march to the Roman province of Africa. The same winds which prevented Caesar leaving Alexandria obliged Cato to leave his fleet in the harbors of the Cyrenaica all the winter. But in view of the urgent necessity of rejoining the army, which was re-forming in the neighborhood of Utica, he obtained supplies of water and provisions at Cyrene, and entered upon the passage through the desert. When, at the end of thirty days, he reached Leptis Magna, his troops were so fatigued that he was obliged to await the end of the winter at that place: indeed, he

COIN OF UTICA.¹COIN OF CYRENE.²COIN OF BARCA.³

was there within call of Scipio, and secure of being able to effect a junction with him.

This ex-consul, Scipio, whose name was of such good augury in African warfare, had been recognized as the leader; but he was a very poor general.⁴ He took as his second in command Labienus, Caesar's old lieutenant, whose skill could not, however, make amends for the unfortunate choice which had been made of a chief. If at Dyrrachium and Pharsalia the Pompeians had been already divided, what was it now, when the only man capable of restraining them had ceased to live? One man, however, assumed the part of a supreme leader, and this was the barbarian king. But for Cato, all these haughty Romans would have yielded to him, even Scipio,

¹ Livia seated; in the field, D. D. (*decreto decurionum*), P. P. (*pater patriae*). Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Utica by Vibius Marsus, proconsul.

² ΔΑΜΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ; Jupiter Ammon, full-face; beside him a ram. On the reverse ΚΥΠΑΝΑΙΩΝ, and a woman driving a quadriga. Gold coin of Cyrene.

³ ΒΑΡΚΕΙΟΣ; head of Jupiter Ammon, full-face. Silver coin of Barca.

⁴ The "Commentaries" do not mention one Scipio Sallutio, a man otherwise mean and contemptible, but of the house of the Africani, whom, according to Plutarch,—"whether in raillery, or to ridicule Scipio who commanded the enemy, or seriously to bring over the omen to his side, it were hard to say,"—Caesar pretended to put at the head of his army. We do not know who wrote the *De Bell. Afric.*; but the narrative is certainly that of an eye-witness, perhaps Hirtius, the author of the eighth book of the "Gallic War," and less certainly, of the "Alexandrian War."

whom Juba forbade to wear the scarlet cloak of commanders-in-chief, because, said the Numidian, purple belonged only to kings.¹

LEPTIS MAGNA.²

Juba proposed to sack Utica, accusing it of being devoted to Caesar, but in reality to destroy the Roman capital in Africa; and again Cato prevented him. But Scipio was not so far-sighted: he undertook to pay the Numidian cavalry, and unintentionally furthered the king's policy by devastating the province with the view of ruining the enemy beforehand.

As soon as Caesar had a few troops ready, he advanced. Once more he seemed to stake his fortune on the hazard of the die. He probably left Rome before the end of November, 47, having with him only one legion of new levies, and not quite six hundred horse. He marched down through Italy, crossed the straits of Messina, and traversed Sicily, to his rendezvous at Lilybaeum. Here he remained some days and received a considerable re-enforcement; then, at the head of six legions and two thousand horse, he set sail for Africa, arriving in sight of land after a four days' passage. His transports were much dispersed by the winds, however, and the troops who landed with him before Hadrumetum were scarcely more than an escort, while he ran the risk of meeting the united forces of Scipio and Juba, consisting of fourteen legions, other light-armed troops, a hundred and twenty elephants, and numerous cavalry. But he thought the enemy's fleet, withdrawn into their harbors, would again allow him a free passage, if he should find it needful to re-embark, and his legionaries, weary of wars, needed to be stimulated by a sense of their leader's danger. He had too, other reasons for his confidence: the report had spread that, to repay Juba for his aid, Scipio had prom-

COIN OF JUBA I.³

¹ Plut., *Cato*. 64; Caesar, *Bell. Afric.* 57. According to Dion (xliii. 1), Scipio promised him the whole of Roman Africa; but this is not probable.

² Bacchus standing, holding a cup and a thyrsus; beside him a panther and four Punic letters. Reverse of a great bronze of Augustus, struck at Leptis Magna.

³ REX IVBA; bust of Juba I. with his sceptre. On the reverse a temple with eight pillars and a Punic inscription. Silver coin of Juba I.

ised to abandon the Roman province to him, and the numerous citizens who had settled there were angry at a bargain which put them under the sway of the barbarian king. Among these were some descendants of Marian veterans, who, with the fidelity of the Romans to family traditions, looked upon the nephew of their

VIEW OF CYRENE.¹

father's general as a patron.² The Pompeians punished this sentiment as a felony, and laid waste the districts where they thought they had discovered it. Every Caesarian who fell into their hands was put to death. Even Cicero was indignant at these cruelties.³

¹ The northern necropolis of Cyrene, after Murdoch Smith, *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*.

² . . . *Qui sumus clientes C. Marii . . . ad te volumus in tuoque praesidia confugere* (Bell. Afric. 35). Scipio had agreed to support the king's cavalry at the cost of the province (*Ibid.* 8): hence came levies of money, which estranged the population. Moreover, in order to starve out Caesar, the corn had been everywhere carried into the strongholds, and the flat country laid waste.

³ *Ad Att. xi. 7.*

Notwithstanding their repeated defeats, these heirs of Sylla were animated with his spirit, and everything points to the conclusion that, if they had triumphed, torrents of blood would have been shed at Rome and throughout Italy and the provinces.

This reign of terror did not insure the fidelity of their soldiers. Their army — composed in a great measure of freedmen,¹ slaves, peasants whose farms had been burnt, and provincials enrolled by force — had no consistency. The renown of their foe frightened these raw troops, who did not share the passions of their leaders; and deserters reached Caesar's camp in such numbers that some time later he was able to form a whole division of them.²

Other aid unexpectedly reached him. An Italian named Sittius,



SITTIVS.³

an accomplice in Catiline's conspiracy and since that time a fugitive, had created for himself in Africa a kind of nomadic royalty. He had gathered round him adventurers from all lands, and had formed of them a considerable piratical squadron, with which he roved along the coasts, or even went inland, living sometimes by plunder, and sometimes on mercenary pay. Sittius was totally indifferent

to the mighty quarrel which shook the Roman world; but the fortunes of the Pompeians inspired him with little confidence, whereas he had great faith in those of Caesar, and it is impossible but that, in his wandering life, some disagreements with Juba should have drawn down upon him the enmity of that king. Sittius had a thorough knowledge of the country and possessed partisans in the two Numidian and Moorish kingdoms; Caesar, therefore, employed him to invade Juba's States in company with Bocchus, the Mauritanian king, thus recalling Juba who was on his way with a large army to assist Scipio, — a service of the greatest utility to Caesar.

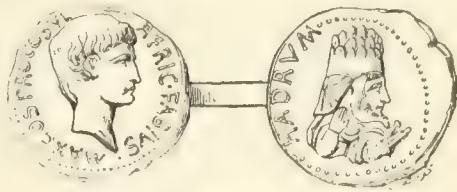
The dictator counted upon taking Hadrumetum without difficulty. Considius held it with a superior force: he even threat-

¹ *Ex hybridis* (born of a Roman father and a foreign mother) *libertinis, servisque, conscriptis* (*Bell. Afric.* 19).

² Throughout the *De Bell. Afric.* mention is continually made of deserters going over to Caesar.

³ *SI. P. SITTIVS M . . . IVS III VIR DECR. DECVR. D* Bronze coin of Cirta.

ened the Caesarians, who retreated as far as Ruspina, harassed in their march by two thousand Numidians. But less than thirty horse belonging to Caesar, charging this light cavalry, repulsed them and drove them back within the city's walls. The trading cities on the coast were in favor of the man who would quickly end these interminable

COIN OF HADRUMETUM.¹

wars, that is to say, of Caesar. One of them, Ruspina, sent deputies to him. He hastened to occupy that place, which had a harbor well suited to receive the re-enforcements which he had ordered. Still better news reached him. Leptis Minor, which, notwithstanding its name, was a rich and important city, also offered him its harbor, one of the best on that coast. Caesar was about to set sail to meet his expected re-enforcements,² in order to save them from falling into the enemy's hands, when they appeared in sight. Forthwith he resumed the offensive, and with thirty cohorts fell in with the cavalry of Labienus, three miles inland from Ruspina.

COIN OF LEPTIS MINOR.³

The latter allowed his Numidians to fight in their own way : they came some distance forward from the battle-front, shot their javelins, and then fled, drawing the legionaries after them in disorder, thus exposed to the hostile infantry. Caesar commanded his troops not to go more than four feet away from the standards. This encouraged the foe ; and Labienus taunted the soldiers of Caesar as raw recruits. "Thou art mistaken," one replied ; "I am no recruit, but a veteran of the tenth ; recognize me by this." And he hurled his javelin at him, which Labienus only avoided by making his horse rear, so that the animal received the weapon

¹ Fabius Maximus, proconsul of Africa. On the reverse the Phœnician god Oulom, whose name the Romans rendered into *Sacculum frugiferum*, the right hand raised and open, in sign of benediction. Bronze, published by the *Gazette archéol.*, 1877, p. 30.

² The custom was known of giving the captains of vessels sealed orders, which were only to be opened at sea after a certain time, and Caesar was blamed for not having done this ; but he acted with design, for he knew of no port that was free from the enemy's forces, and could only rely upon fortune. The uncertainty of the officers in charge of the re-enforcements and provisions as to when they should land seems to have caused embarrassment. (*Bell. Afric.* 3.)

³ AEITIC ; bust of Mercury. Bronze coin of Leptis Minor.

in its breast. The army, however, drawn up in close order, was surrounded. The position no longer seemed tenable. The situation



COIN OF JULIUS CAESAR.¹

was extremely critical. But with a signal Caesar opened the ranks, and extended them rapidly in two lines, so that they were able to drive back the foe. Aid brought up by Petreius led Labienus to begin the action again when Caesar thought it was

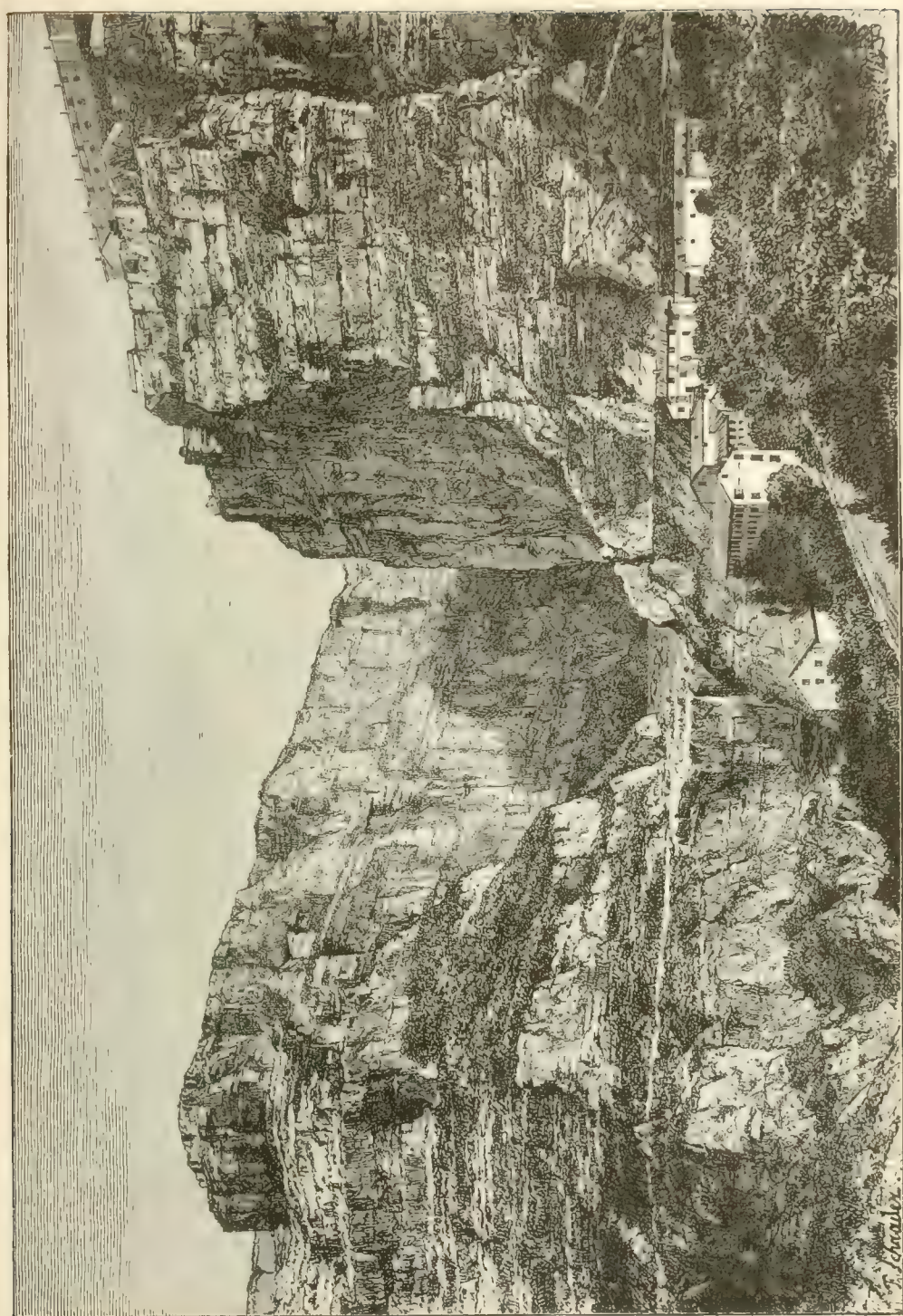
over; but a new charge with horse and foot swept the plain clear. Caesar withdrew to his camp, and the enemy retreated to theirs.

Caesar's risk had been very great; but he had extricated himself from it by his coolness and the admirable discipline of his legions. Scipio, however, was expected in three days at the head of eight legions and three thousand horse. Not to meet such forces in the plain, Caesar established himself between Ruspina and the sea, in a camp which he rendered impregnable, and thence he took measures for the safe arrival of his convoys.

He was beginning to suffer from scarcity, when Sallust, at that time praetor, took by surprise the island of Cercina, where the enemy's stores were, and carried off their supplies. Meanwhile Sittius had taken Cirta, the capital of Numidia, had raised the Gaetuli, who never forgave Pompey for having subjected them to the Numidian kings, and by this fortunate diversion had recalled Juba to defend his kingdom. Finally four more legions arrived and a sufficient supply of military stores and provisions.

Caesar's situation was, nevertheless, very strange: military history knows no parallel to it. Of Africa he held only the soil enclosed in his lines. He lacked everything, and must create all, — workshops for forging arms, yards for building machines. He dismantled several galleys in order to have the wood for making palisades; and, when he had no fodder for his horses, his troopers gathered seaweed, and, having washed it in fresh water, thus kept their animals alive. On embarking from Sicily, the fleet being insufficient, order was given to take neither baggage nor slaves on board, and the soldiers were to bring only their arms.

¹ COS. TERT. DICT. ITER; head of Venus. On the reverse AVGV PONT MAX; instruments of sacrifice. Silver coin struck before Caesar was authorized to put his likeness on money.



THE RAVINE OF RUMMEL NEAR CIRTÀ : CONSTANTINE. (DELAMARE : EXPLOR. SCIEN. P. DE L'ALGÉRIE, P. 359.)

A legionary tribune having disobeyed this order, and filled one vessel entirely with his own equipage and attendants, without taking on board a single soldier, Caesar summoned him immediately on landing, and, in the presence of the tribunes and centurions of the whole army, dismissed him from the service with ignominy,¹ and ordered him to leave Africa at once. Never did any military man better understand the necessity of reducing to the utmost the *impedimenta* which render armies unmanageable.



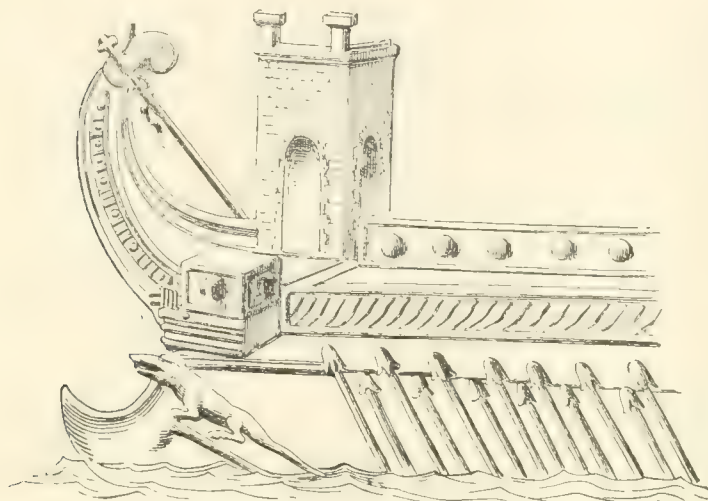
HUTS FORMED OF BOUGHS.²

His soldiers supplied themselves with everything by their industry and activity. The Gallic war, where it had been necessary daily to improvise camps, fortresses, fleets, bridges over great rivers, and roads across marshes, had taught them to be engineers, bridge-builders, and mechanics. Thus they worked at all kinds of trades without a murmur, never complaining of the want of necessities, because their general lived as they did. The Roman

¹ *Ignominiae causa* (Bell. Afric. 48). Four other officers were also expelled that day for having shown a want of courage or of the spirit of discipline. They were immediately put on board ship, and each might only take a single slave with him. The punishment was not, on the whole, very severe, and this narrative of an eye-witness contrasts with the severities which Dion Cassius imputes to Caesar.

² Huts made of boughs, still used in Algeria. From a photograph.

legionary had been accustomed to lodge in camp under a tent of hides; but these soldiers slept in the open air, or made themselves huts of rushes and boughs, and, when one of the violent storms of Africa soaked this frail shelter through, the soldiers wandered up and down the camp, sheltering their heads with their bucklers.¹ But there was no delay in the manœuvres: the camp was struck or was pitched with the greatest rapidity, and these alert soldiers were always



BIREME WITH A TOWER IN THE PROW.³

ready to be deployed into the plain for an attack upon the enemy. One day, in less than half an hour, they made a ditch and rampart to protect themselves against Scipio's cavalry.²

That methodical general

had not known how to profit by the advantages offered him by Caesar's temerity, the superiority of his own fleet, and his numerous army.⁴ He hoped to reduce his formidable adversary by starvation, and to allow Juba time to join him with three legions: his only care was to avoid the battle which Caesar urged. Two months passed in marches and campings, without any result, in the narrow space enclosed between the towns of Leptis, Ruspina, Achilla, and Agar,

¹ . . . *Arundinibus scopisque contextis . . . scutis capita contegebant* (*Bell. Afric.* 47). In Spain, in the following year, Caesar's soldiers had still only *casas quae stramentitiæ . . . hibernarum causa, ædificatæ erant* (*Bell. Hispan.* 16).

² . . . *Et minus semi hora efficit* (*Bell. Afric.* 38), whence we see that Caesar's soldiers can still teach ours something. He had covered his workmen with a screen of cavalry.

³ From a marble bas-relief (*Rich. Dict. des ant. rom. et grecq.* under the word *Bîremis*).

⁴ The Pompeian fleet was originally far superior to Caesar's, yet it confined itself to capturing a few merchant-ships, and made no serious attempt to obtain the command of the Maltese Channel, which would apparently have been easy, and would have starved out Caesar. Evidently Scipio did not know how to make use of it, and his captains did not like remaining out at sea in the bad season.

which Caesar held, and Hadrumetum, Thapsus, Uzita, and Thydrus. occupied by Scipio.¹ It was not Caesar's custom to remain so long in the vicinity of the enemy without finding means to bring him to a battle, as at Pharsalia, or to hem him in, as at Lerida. But he had only a few hundred horse, while there were thousands of them in the Pompeian army, and he had been kept to the coast by the necessity of awaiting his convoys from Sicily, for the provisions of the towns which had received his garrisons and the grain stores of the natives had been quickly exhausted. For water, he had been obliged to dig wells in the plain which extended from the hills to the sea, and consequently to leave the heights to his foes; and, finally, his scanty troops contained many recruits whom he was only making into veterans by daily skirmishes.

COIN OF ACHILLA.²COIN OF
THYDRUS.³

He at last, however, made ready to strike some decisive blow. An attempt upon Thydrus failed; but by skilful manœuvres he succeeded in investing Thapsus, an important place, the harbor of which, added to those of Ruspina and Leptis, would give him a great stretch of coast, and consequently facilitate the arrival of supplies. Situated between the sea and a salt lake, Thapsus communicated with the mainland by a single road. In a few hours Caesar cut through this isthmus, and the ancients were so powerless to batter intrenchments, that a ditch and an earthwork executed in one night were sufficient to stop an army. Scipio could not abandon Thapsus without incurring both shame and danger: he hastened thither as soon as he was informed of the enemy's march, but halted before the lines, and decided to accept battle. A somewhat remarkable event signaled the opening of the engagement. Caesar's lieutenants were begging him to give the sign of battle, and he was hesitating, and striving

¹ Zeta and Sarsura were taken by Caesar. Thabena asked him for a new garrison, after having massacred that placed there by the king; Vacca wished to do the same; but Juba, being warned of it, slew the population.

² P. QVINCTII VARI ACHVLLA; head of the proconsul Varus. Bronze coin of Achulla, Acholla, or Achilla.

³ Veiled head of Astarte with the cruciform sceptre, and a Punic inscription. Bronze coin of Thydrus.

to repress their eagerness within the limits of duty, when suddenly a trumpet in the right wing, without his leave, and compelled by the soldiers, sounded a charge. On this all the cohorts ran to battle in spite of the endeavors of the centurions to restrain them by force. Then Caesar, perceiving that the ardor of his soldiers would admit of no restraint, gave them Good Luck (*Felicitas*) for the word, and charged the enemy's front. The day

ELEPHANT.¹RUINS OF BULLA REGIA.²

was indeed a fortunate one. The elephants in Scipio's army caused some alarm; but the archers and slingers of the fifth legion so terrified the animals, that they turned upon their own men, treading them down in heaps, and even rushed into the camp in their fright. From that day forward, says a writer of the second century of our era, this legion has always borne on its standards the elephant, which may still be seen there.³ Notwithstanding their

¹ CAESAR; elephant trampling on a serpent. On a silver coin of Julius Caesar, Spartianus (*Uel. Ver.* 2) says that *caesar* was in the Punic language the name of the elephant.

² Bulla Regia stood four days' journey from Carthage, on the banks of a tributary of the Bagradas. The engraving is taken from a learned memoir by the French minister at Constantinople, M. Tissot, who himself sketched these ruins.

³ App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 96. [There are other instances of this emblem in history. The great

numbers, the Pompeians were defeated, their three camps taken, and they left thirty thousand men on the field (6th of April—6th of February). All that remained of the Republican army broke up. Thapsus, Hadrumetum, and Thysdrus opened their gates; Zama, the capital of the Numidian king, refused to admit him; Bulla Regia, another of his residences, seems to have done the like. In this general rout Caesar's clemency seemed to the soldiers to be their surest refuge: the secondary officers and almost the whole of Juba's cavalry gave themselves up to him.

But the leaders could not do this. After Pharsalia, no one amongst them had as yet thought of taking any desperate resolution. The war which was then closing had been an honorable one; and the cruelties of Bibulus and Labienus, having only fallen upon sailors and soldiers, had been forgotten, so that no one feared reprisals. On the morrow of the battle, Brutus had gone over to Caesar's camp, and a few days later Cassius had surrendered his fleet to him. The African war had a totally different character: it was a merciless struggle, which the Pompeians waged by atrocities. On neither side did the leaders hope that the victor would pardon: it only remained for the vanquished generals, therefore, to seek other battlefields if they could find them, or else to die. Labienus, Varus, and Sextus took refuge in Spain, whither Pompey's eldest son had already repaired after a vain attempt on the coasts of Mauretania. Scipio also set sail for that province; but the vessel which carried him was driven by a storm into the port of Bona, into the midst of the squadron of Sittius, which surrounded him. "Where is the general?" cried the assailants. "The general is in safety," answered Scipio,² and fell upon his sword. Almost all the others perished: Considius was slain in his flight

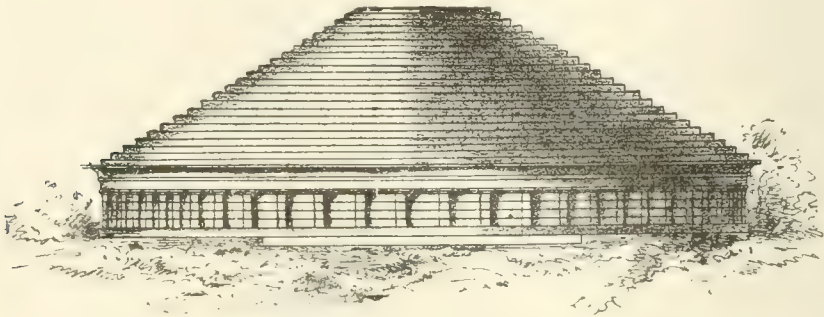
SEXTUS POMPEIUS.¹

victory of the first Antiochus over the Galatians was celebrated by a medal stamped with an elephant, having been the arm which had brought victory. In our own army, the regiments which fought at the battle of Assaye have likewise an elephant on their colors. — *Ed.*]

¹ From an engraved gem in the Gallery of Florence. It bears the engraver's name, ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΥΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. Brunn (*Geschichte der griech. Künstl.*) contends against the attribution of this head to Pompey's second son.

² Livy, *Epit.* cxiv.

by his escort of Gaetulian horse; Afranius and Faustus Sylla fell into the hands of Sittius and were slain in a riot among the soldiers.¹ Juba and Petreius, repulsed from every town, resolved to put an end to their miseries. After a sumptuous feast, each took his sword, and they fought together. Juba easily killed Petreius, who was an old man, and then himself perished by the hand of a slave. His ashes were taken to Madras'en to rest with those of the Numidian kings. The duel between the younger Marius and Telesinus, in the vaults at Praeneste, had brought this kind of death into fashion. Cato introduced another, which illustrious men afterwards imitated, and of which history speaks with respect.



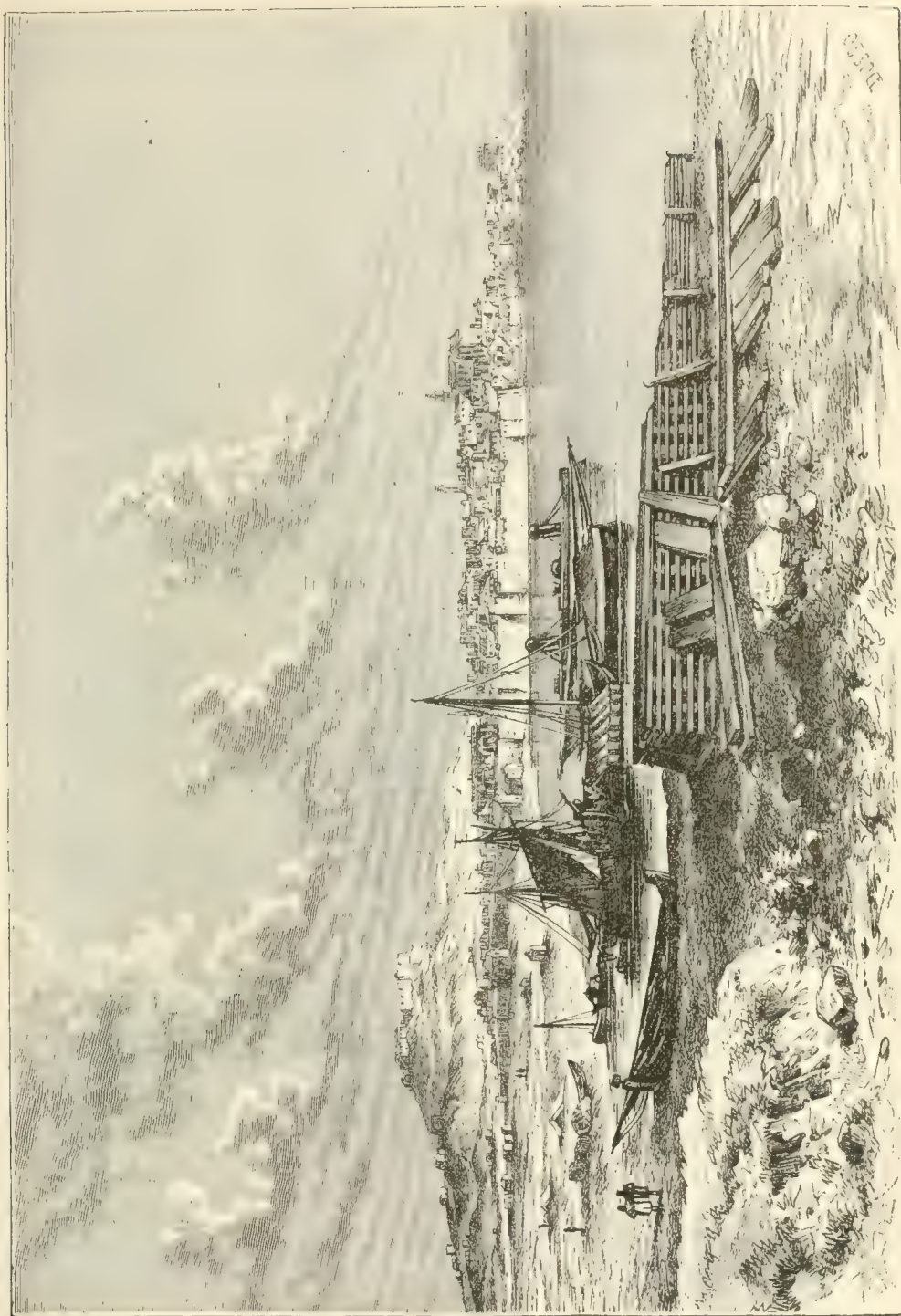
TOMB OF THE KINGS OF NUMIDIA: THE MADRAS'EN (RESTORATION).²

Cato was in command at Utica: he there received the news of the defeat on the evening of the 8th of April; the next morning he assembled the senators who had remained with him, as well as the three hundred Roman citizens settled in that town for purposes of business, commerce, and money-lending.³ He advised them to defend

¹ Sylla's widow was the sister of Cnaeus: Caesar sent her back to her brother with her two children (*App., Bell. civ. ii. 100*).

² There exist in Algeria some gigantic tumuli: in the province of Oran are the *Djedars*, three massive erections crowning three offsets of the Djebel-Akhdar; in the province of Algiers, the *Kebeur Roumia* (tomb of the Christian woman), the sepulchre of Juba II., of Cleopatra his wife, and of Ptolemy, the last of the kings of Mauretania; and in the province of Constantine, the *Madras'en*, or tomb of the kings of Numidia (Madres, patronymic of the family of Masinissa). The ashes of the vanquished of Thapsus were most probably borne thither. The basement is 192½ feet by 14½ feet high: the truncated cone, formed of twenty-four steps, is raised to a height of 45½ feet: sixty engaged pillars without bases, the capitals of which recall those of Egypt rather than the Tuscan order, surround the monument, which was rifled long ago. The explorations of 1873 led to no discoveries in the sepulchral chamber. (See in vol. xvi. of the *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Constantine*, the report of Colonel Brunon on these researches.)

³ According to Appian (*Bell. civ. ii. 95*) these three hundred constituted the Pompeian



BONA (ALGERIA), NEAR THE SITE OF UTICA.

the place, and at first his energy infused itself into every heart ; but a proposal was made to begin by freeing and arming their slaves. This first sacrifice stopped them, and they ended by abandoning all idea of resistance. Much confusion prevailed in the city, still further increased by the arrival of a considerable body of horse, fugitives from the late battle. By aid of this force Cato hoped to be able to defend the city ; but the dissensions prevailing between the different factions rendered it impossible, and he therefore occupied himself with making arrangements for the safety of all. "Never, perhaps, had

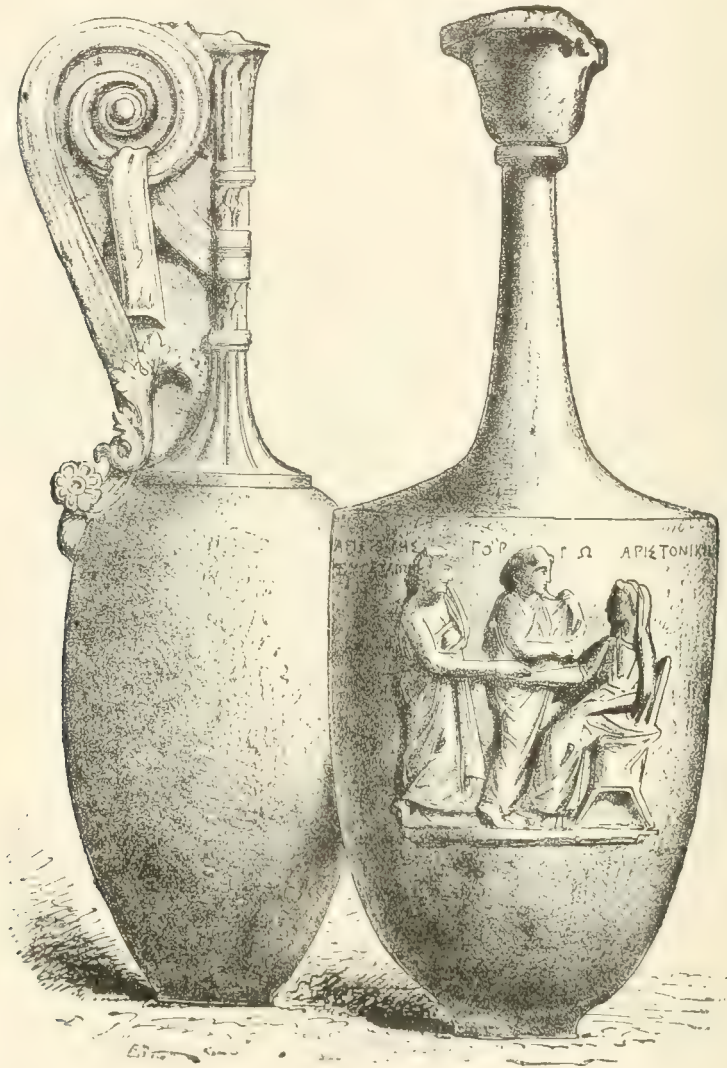


TOMB OF THE KINGS OF NUMIDIA : THE MADRAS'EN (PRESENT STATE).

there been a time," says Plutarch, "when Cato's virtue appeared more manifestly ; and every class of men in Utica could clearly see with sorrow and admiration how entirely free was everything that he was doing from any secret motives, or any mixture of self-regard ; he, namely, who had long before resolved on his own death, was taking such extreme pains, toil, and care, for the sake of others, that, when he had secured their lives, he might put an end to his own." When he heard that the dictator was marching with his whole army upon Utica, "Ah !" said he, "Caesar expects to find us brave men." He then urged the senators to delay no longer.

Senate : the author of the *De Bell. Afric.* (90) only calls them the CCC who had furnished money to Scipio and Juba ; but he distinguishes them from the other Roman merchants settled in the town. Some of them were put to death.

caused all the gates to be shut except that towards the harbor. furnished vessels, and gave money and provisions to those who needed them, and saw that everything was done with great order and exactness. L. Caesar, a relative of the conqueror, whom the

FUNERAL URNS.¹

three hundred had charged to entreat his clemency for them, besought Cato to compose a speech for him, and declared that he should specially intercede in the latter's behalf. Cato forbade him

¹ Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, etc. pl. 81.

to do so. "If I were willing to owe him my life, I would myself go to him," he said; "but I will be beholden for nothing to a tyrant."

After having taken a bath that evening, he supped with a numerous company, and they held a long discussion on the theme that the good man alone is free, and all the wicked slaves. When he had dismissed his guests, he retired and read in bed Plato's dialogue ["Phaedo"] upon the immortality of the soul. Having read more than half the book, he looked around him, and missing his sword, which his son had taken away, he called for it, and then continued his reading, that he might not display any impatience. When he had ended the book, observing that his sword had not been brought, he sent for all his slaves, loudly demanded his sword, and struck one of them so violently that his own hand was hurt by the blow. His son entered in tears with his friends. Then Cato, raising himself up, said to him in a severe tone, "When and how did I become deranged, that no one tries to persuade me by reason, or show me what is better, if I am supposed to be ill advised? Must I be disarmed, and hindered from using my own reason? And you, young man, why do you not bind your father's hands behind him, that when Caesar comes he may find me unable to defend myself? To despatch myself I need no sword: I should but hold my breath awhile, or strike my head against the wall." Finally his sword was brought to him by a child: he took it and examined the point. "Now I am my own master," he said; and he took up the "Phaedo" again, read it through the second time, after which he fell into such a deep sleep that the sound of his breathing was heard outside.

Towards midnight he sent one of his freedmen to the harbor to make sure that all his friends had embarked, and summoned another to dress the wound which he had made on his hand, at which they all rejoiced, hoping he now designed to live. As the birds were beginning to sing, he fell asleep again for a few moments; then waking, and drawing his sword, he plunged it into his body below the breast. His wounded hand prevented him striking a sure blow, and, struggling against the anguish, he fell from his bed. At the noise of the fall his friends and servants hastened into the room. The wound was not a mortal one. The

physician bandaged it up; but, as soon as Cato recovered consciousness, he tore off the dressing, re-opened the wound, and expired.

Cato was a Stoic, and his conduct was in accordance with his doctrine, when, according to the precepts of the school, he practised "the reasonable exit," *εύλογος έξαγωγή*. He did it quite simply, though the effect may have been theatrical, and he deprived the victor of his noblest conquest. "O Cato!" exclaimed Caesar, on hearing of his end, "you have grudged me the preservation of your life!" Yet when Cicero, who admired the courage which he did not possess, composed a eulogy on the illustrious dead, the dictator, who wielded the pen as well as the sword, replied to it with the "Anti-Cato," a witty and mocking satire, in which the rigid praetor was represented as sifting the ashes of his brother in order to recover the gold melted on the funeral-pyre, and yielding his beautiful young wife to Hortensius that he might take her back again, old but wealthy, after the orator's death. It is a singular thing that Cato has against him both the Caesars, the ancient and the modern. The one exposes to the derision of his courtiers the too rigid virtue of the last of the Republicans: the other, whom death so often passed by, accuses him of having basely deserted his post.¹ Neither of them was far wrong; but we love the self-devotion which clings to all great things when they are perishing. Cato and the Republic depart together: the death of the one is a worthy ending to the funeral ceremonies of the other.

The great and true Republic of former days, which had inspired so many obscure and silent acts of devotion, had long since disappeared, and the false liberty for which Cato died was not worthy of the sacrifice. But he believed he was giving his life for the right, and we must needs honor, even though it be mistaken, the

¹ In his reflections upon Caesar's "Commentaries," Montesquieu agrees with his opinion; and Marcus Aurelius, the great Stoic, condemns voluntary death as a shrinking from duty. "The servant who flees," says he, "is a deserter." A recent historian of Caesar, Mr. Froude, says of Cato, "His character had given respectability to a cause, which, if left to its proper defenders, would have appeared in its natural baseness, and thus on him rested the responsibility for the color of justice in which it was disguised" (*Caesar*, p. 421, 1879). The same writer, recalling Lucan's famous verse, *Victor causa dei placuit, sed victa Catoni*, adds, "Was Cato right, or were the gods right? Perhaps both." And we agree with him.

sense of duty which leads a man to suffer death. From that day, the Republican party had its martyr: the blood of Cato endowed it with a virtue which kept it alive long after its defeat, and was the cause of the terrible tragedies witnessed under the Empire. Cato did not kill himself only: by his example and the legend which gathered around his name, he drew after him to the tomb many a man of the like narrow mind and the like fierce virtue. Nevertheless, he is still the first of these heroes of civil life who have protested by grand stoic deaths against the cruelty of fate or the degradation of men.

¹ Engraved gem, from the *Cabinet de France*.



WOUNDED HERO.¹

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE MONARCHY.

I. — CAESAR AGAIN IN ROME (46 B.C.). TRIUMPHS, FESTIVITIES, AND REFORMS.

WHEN Caius Gracchus, taking refuge in the Temple of Diana, upon the Aventine, saw his followers massacred by the mercenaries of Opimius, “he fell upon his knees, and, lifting his hands towards the goddess, implored her to punish the Romans for their ingratitude by giving them a master.” But it was not a thought of vengeance which occupied at that supreme moment the mind of the reforming and pacific tribune. It would seem that he had a prophetic glimpse of the future; he perceived that Rome could only be saved if she were snatched out of the hands of an aristocratic minority who refused to make the most necessary reforms, and without right or justice murdered those who had called for them.

If, now, in order to study the history of Rome from the time of the Gracchi, we lay aside the prejudices of the schools and the declamations of an ignorant rhetoric, we see clearly that the Romans, in conquering the world, had lost their liberty, and that the Republic, once every man’s affair, had now become the property of a narrow and jealous oligarchy, proposing to live in luxury at the expense of the whole world. Against this greedy and incompetent faction had risen up, at last, popular leaders, who took the part of the people, the allies, and the subject races. This was the era of attempts at reform. Reforms not having succeeded, revolution became inevitable,—the ever-recurring story of those governments which shut their eyes to the future. In France, monarchy being the past which men sought to destroy, the republic very naturally succeeded it:

in Rome, the insurrectionary movement being directed against a republican aristocracy, a monarchy of course followed. The logic of history demanded this, and that logic, being the outcome of facts, proves correct in the end.

As the popular leaders had perished by violence, the direction of affairs passed over to the military leaders. At first they united to consolidate the sway of Rome, Pompey in the East, Caesar in the West; and to the brilliancy of their services they owed a special position in the State. Pompey was only a soldier, from whom the oligarchy had nothing to fear if his puerile vanity were but satisfied. In Caesar they foresaw a statesman akin to the Gracchi, one of those men who hoped for a new State built on the ruins of the old: Caesar was therefore their mortal enemy. In order to overthrow him, they granted Pompey, contrary to the constitution, that show of royalty which contented the man whose intelligence could not conceive a new order of things. For nearly a century the word "republic" had meant nothing but murders and proscriptions, civil wars, and the overthrow of fortunes; on all sides insecurity; nowhere and for no one any comfort in living. To this state of things Caesar wished to put an end, and we take his side against the incompetent men who sat in the curia, styled themselves the law, and daily violated it. After having thus provoked the civil war, they were incompetent to carry it on. The battle of Pharsalia had driven them out of Greece; that of Thapsus expelled them from Africa; and for the moment Caesar no longer saw, throughout the whole Roman world, a single foe in arms against him. He was thus at length free to commence his reforms. Let us see whether he deserved his fortune.

When Caesar had levied two hundred million sesterces² in the

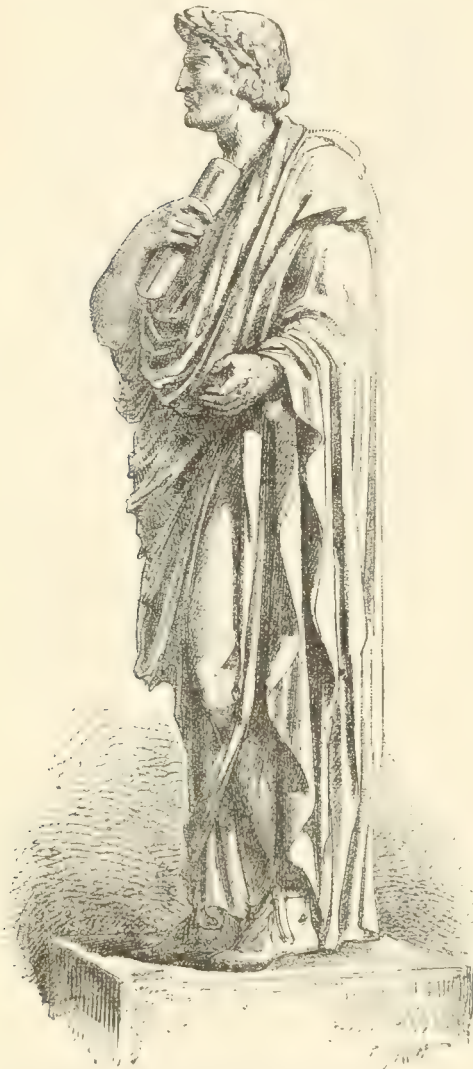


SALLUST.¹

¹ SALVSTIVS (*sic*) AVTOR; head of Sallust; a palm, sunk in the field. Medallion (*Cabinet de France*), struck after Constantine, but giving the portrait of Sallust, whose bust in the Vatican (*Braccio nuovo*) does not appear to be authentic.

² Caesar sold by auction at Zama the property of Juba and of those of the Roman citizens settled in Numidia who had sided with the king: at Utica he confiscated the possessions of all who had held commands in the Pompeian army. Thapsus paid five million sesterces: Hadrumetum, eight million. Leptis was condemned to furnish yearly three million pounds of oil: Thysdrus supplied wheat. (*Bell. Afric.* 97.)

province, united Eastern Numidia to Africa under the government of Sallust the historian, and divided the remainder of that kingdom



JULIUS CAESAR WITH THE LAUREL CROWN.

between Bocchus, who had the country of Setif, and Sittius, who obtained Cirta with its dependencies,¹ he returned to Rome towards the end of July, 46 B.C. The Senate had already decreed forty days of thanksgiving for his victory. His triumphal car was to be drawn by white horses, like that of Camillus, the second founder of Rome, and was afterwards to be placed in the Capitol, in front of the altar of Jupiter. A brazen statue was to be erected to him, the orb of the world under his feet, with this inscription, "Caesar, demi-god;" and at the Circus he was to give the signal for the races to commence. "In order to reconstruct the Republic," *reipublicae constituendae causae*, he was to hold the dictatorship for ten years, which gave him the initiative in proposing laws, together with the military *imperium*, or command of the armies in the city and in the provinces: for three years he was to have the censorship with-

out a colleague, under the new name of *praefectus morum*, that is to say, the right of revising the list of the Senate and the equestrian order, which gave him the means of rewarding and punishing a great many men. With the exception of the consulship, which was given him for the year 45, without a colleague, he was to have the

¹ Many inscriptions found near Constantine record Sittius and his establishment there.

right of appointment to half the curule offices;¹ he was to determine which should be the praetorian provinces;² and he was to decide upon peace or war: that is to say, the people surrendered to him their elective power and the Senate their administrative sway. In the Senate he was to sit between the two consuls on a curule chair raised higher than the rest, as a symbol of his higher authority, and to give his opinion first, that is, he was to direct as it pleased him the deliberations of the body, which, since the troublous times began, had concentrated in its hands almost all the legislative power.

He celebrated four triumphs at intervals of several days. The first triumph was over the Gauls, the second over the Egyptians, the third over Pharnaces, and the fourth over Juba. Neither Pharsalia nor Thapsus were mentioned; and before his chariot were seen only the images of conquered kings and generals, those representing captured towns, and the rivers and the ocean which he had crossed. Among the captives there was not one Roman; but Cleopatra's sister, Arsinoë, was there, and Juba's son, and Vercingetorix, the great Gallic chief, whom the triumvirs were awaiting at the Tullianum to slay.³ Nothing recalled Pompey to men's minds. He showed less consideration for the vanquished in Africa, who were in a manner degraded from their title of citizens by their alliance with a barbarian king, causing Cato, Scipio, Petreius and the others, to be represented in the manner of their death. At that sight, doubtless, many hearts felt a sting; but sadness was lost in the brilliance of the festival. And the crowd were little inclined to think of all those dead men, when beneath their dazzled eyes there passed a spectacle of great promise, — sixty thousand talents in coined money (more than fifty-six million dollars), and twenty-eight hun-

¹ He did not make use of this prerogative for eight months: until the month of September in the year 45, the first of his decennial dictatorship, he was sole consul. Lepidus, his master of horse, and six (or, according to others, eight) prefects whom he appointed, took the places of the curule magistrates. In September he resigned the consulship, which he bestowed upon two of his generals, Fabius Maximus and Trebonius. The principal affairs of the government were really in the hands of his two agents, Oppius and Balbus. (Dion, xliii. 28, 48, and Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 76.)

² Dion, xliii. 51; Suet., *Ibid.* 41.

³ Arsinoë retired into the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, where her sister caused her to be put to death, after the battle of Philippi. Juba became a valued historian, and Augustus gave him back part of his father's possessions.

dred and twenty-two golden crowns.¹ What cared the people for a poverty-stricken and counterfeit liberty when their master promised them splendid festivals? Only the soldiers, making use of their ancient right, rallied their commander with coarse jests and songs as they marched. Dion relates, that in order to avert by an act of humility the anger of Nemesis, the goddess hostile to great fortunes, Caesar ascended the steps of the Capitol on his knees.²

In this city filled with memories of the murders by which the oligarchy had sought to make their power secure, and where the sons of the men proscribed by Marius and Sylla yet lived, not a single head fell, not even a tear was shed: on all sides there was pleasure and rejoicing. After the triumph, the whole Roman people were entertained at twenty-two thousand tables of three couches each, spread as if for the nobles: Chian wine and Falernian flowed freely, and the poorest might taste the much-vaunted lampreys and mure-



VENUS, ON A COIN OF THE YEAR
44 B.C.⁴

nas.³ If, far away from these tables of revelry, a few old Republicans stood apart, with shame on their foreheads and hatred in their hearts, they must at least have remembered, as a contrast to this domination which began with feasting, that others, not

long before, had begun with blood.

In the evening the victor traversed the city with forty elephants bearing lighted candelabra, and on the day following came the distributions, — to each citizen a hundred and five denarii, ten bushels

¹ Together they weighed twenty-four hundred and fourteen λίτρας, or pounds of twelve ounces (App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 102).

² xliii. 21. (Claudius did the same after the conquest of Britain (Dion. xl. 23), and it is still done in many places as an act of devotion; I have seen it at Passau, and it is often seen at the Scala Santa of the Lateran at Rome. "Caesar never failed, it is asserted, to repeat thrice, when he got into a carriage, a formula which should secure him against accident by the way, a precaution which, to our knowledge, is now generally adopted" (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxviii. 4). Incredulity and superstitious practices go very well together, answering to the double nature which man so often bears within him, — doubt and faith.

³ Counting, as was customary, three persons to each couch, we have a hundred and ninety-eight thousand guests, or two hundred and sixty-four thousand, if there were four.

⁴ CAES. DIC. QVAR. (Caesar, dictator for the fourth time); head of Venus with diadem. On the reverse, in a laurel wreath, COS. QVINC. (consul for the fifth time). Caesar had not yet the right, which he shortly afterwards obtained, of stamping the coinage with his effigy.

of wheat, ten pounds of oil; to all the poor the remission of a year's rent, which was no doubt paid out of the public treasury; to the legionaries five thousand denarii per man; to the centurions twice that sum; to the tribunes four times as much. The veterans received grants of land. On the succeeding days the festivals continued in the name of his daughter Julia and of Venus, the ancestress of his race. During the Gallic war he had bought for sixty million sesterces a very large piece of ground, which he had made into a new Forum, with no Republican memories, and filled with the glory of his name. He had there built a temple to Venus Genitrix, which he now dedicated, and placed in it a beautiful statue of Cleopatra,¹ which was still to be seen there two centuries later.

Festive displays of all kinds made the people willing to accept this apotheosis of the Julian house, — scenic representations, Trojan games, Pyrrhic dances, foot and chariot races, wres-



tling of athletes, hunts in which were slain wild bulls, a giraffe (the first seen at Rome), and as many as four hundred lions, a naval fight between Tyrian and Egyptian galleys, and finally a battle between two armies, each containing five hundred infantry, three hundred horse and twenty elephants. On this occasion the gladiators were eclipsed; some knights and the son of a praetor de-

¹ Κλεοπάτρας εἰκόνα καλὴν. Appian saw it. (*Bell. civ. ii. 102.*)

² Statue in the Gallery at Florence, No. 265. Several museums in Europe possess statues of Venus Genetrix in similar attitude.

scended into the arena ; and even senators would have been willing to fight there ; but Caesar was obliged to keep his Senate free from this disgrace. From all corners of Italy men flocked to these games. So great was the mass, that people camped in the streets and cross-roads under tents ; and numbers of persons, among them two senators, were suffocated in the crowd. Over the amphitheatre, to shield the spectators from the rays of the sun, was stretched a *velarium* of silk,¹ a material then almost unknown at Rome, and dearer than its weight in gold.

ATHLETES WRESTLING.²

In the midst of these festivals, wherewith the dictator paid for his royalty, he did not forget that he had to justify his power by securing order. Till his consulship he had relied chiefly on the people and the knights : during his command in Gaul, and throughout the Civil war, he had transferred this reliance to the army ; he now

¹ Dion. xliii. 24. I doubt if there could at that time have been found sufficient silk in Rome to have made this immense awning.

² Magnificent groups from the Tribune at Florence (*la Lotta*), one of the most beautiful that antiquity has left us. It is thought to have been discovered on the Esquiline, like the Niobides, and sold, as were those statues, to the Medici. The gardens of Mæcenas were on the Esquiline.

hoped to make himself secure by a wise and moderate government which should unite all parties, forget all injuries, and elicit gratitude by an able and benevolent administration. Although in Africa he had shown himself more severe than at Pharsalia, he was still determined to persevere in his clemency. He had granted to the Senate the recall of the ex-consul Marcellus, to Cicero that of Ligarius; he had destroyed the compromising papers found in the enemy's camps, and he pronounced decrees of confiscation only against those citizens who had enrolled themselves in the troops of the Numidian king, which he called treason to Rome, and against Pompeian officers, and even then he left women their dowry and children a portion of their inheritance; finally he endeavored in 44, by a general amnesty, to efface the last traces of the Civil war. But in spite of its name, ἀμνηστία, which means forgetfulness, an amnesty never caused anything to be forgotten. A few weeks after it was issued, Caesar was assassinated.

This mildness was allied with firmness. Some legionaries, thinking their reign had arrived, had cried out against the expenses of the triumph, as though the money had been stolen from them: he caused one of them to be put to death.¹ When he gave land to his veterans, he took care that their allotments were separated, in order to avoid the violences which a number of soldiers assembled at one point might have committed against their neighbors;² and, in increasing the pay of those who remained with the standards to nine hundred sesterces instead of four hundred and eighty (about forty-three dollars instead of twenty-five), he had yielded, not to seditious clamors, but to a necessity brought about by the general rise in prices.

So much for the soldiers. As for the people, three hundred and twenty thousand citizens lived in Rome at the expense of the State, and all the beggars in Italy were flocking to the city to profit by the distributions. He reduced the number of receivers to a hundred and fifty thousand by excluding from the distributions those who

¹ Dion, xliii. 24, 50. He also mentions two men who were slain, ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἱεροπρεπείας, by the pontiffs and flamen of Mars, no doubt for some religious expiation, concerning the motive of which both he and we know nothing.

² Assignavit agros, sed non continuos, ne quis possessorum expelleretur (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 38).

could do without them, and by offering to others land in the provinces.¹ Eighty thousand accepted the offer.² Thus at the same time he diminished the hungry crowd which encumbered the town, where it formed a permanent source of danger, and created centres of Roman civilization in the provinces. It was the ancient way, and no better has since been discovered, of solving by means of colonies the problem of the proletariat, which England and Germany now seek to escape by wholesale emigration. But he preserved the *annona*, a great benevolent institution for the relief of the poor, who, without being of Roman origin, represented the conquerors of the corn-producing provinces, and had inherited their right to enjoy the fruits of those victories. Every year it was the praetor's duty to replace the dead by inscribing fresh names on the list. Two aediles, *aediles cereales*, directed this administration, at the head of which Augustus afterwards placed a *praefectus annonae*. Another measure tended towards the same object, — the diminution of the number of idle beggars: Caesar required proprietors to maintain a third part of free laborers among those at work on their land. This was a law which had already been made, and had always been eluded, because Rome had no permanent power interested in seeing it carried out.

The free population was decreasing: to augment the number he brought two powerful motives into play, — interest and vanity. To the father of three children at Rome, four in Italy, or five in the provinces, he granted exemptions from certain personal taxes, and to the mother he gave the right to go about in a litter, to clothe herself in purple, and to wear a necklace of pearls.

He suppressed all associations formed since the Civil war, which served malcontents and ambitious schemers either to conceal their plots or to carry them into execution:³ henceforth none could be established but with the consent of the government. There was probably a law made restricting the right to appeal to the people.⁴

¹ He founded only six colonies in Italy, not, like Sylla, at the expense of the Italian populations, but in spots which were then almost desert, — at Veii, Lanuvium, etc.

² Perhaps he now created the *jus italicum*, which identified provincial and Italic soil, by exempting the *coloni* from *tributum*, and giving them quiritarian ownership.

³ Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 42; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 10. That of the Jews at Rome was excepted on account of the service rendered by that nation in the Alexandrian war.

⁴ At least Antony re-established such a law in 44 (Cic., *Philipp.* i. 9).

The courts were re-organized at the expense of the popular element, for he excluded the tribunes of the treasury from holding the office of judge, which he reserved for senators and knights;¹ but he had admitted a large number of new men into those two orders. The regulation respecting associations deprived the nobles of a means of disturbing the government; severe provisions were added to the laws against treason and other crimes of violence; and the duration of a governorship of a province was fixed at one year for a praetor and two for a proconsul. A sumptuary law, quite as useless, of course, as those which had preceded it, attempted to diminish the insulting ostentation of the wealthy, and Caesar began the re-organization of the finances by establishing custom-houses in Italy for foreign merchandise.

Thus the balance was kept equal among all classes; no order was raised above the others; and the State at length had a head who placed general above party interests. But these laws, as we have too often repeated, were only palliatives. Caesar had not time to make his ideas durable by embodying them in institutions. Augustus followed Caesar's example without having the same excuse, and thus, through the fault of its two founders, the Empire had innumerable laws, but no political organization.

The troubles of the last fifty years had increased to a deplorable extent the decay of agriculture and the depopulation of the country. Freemen came from all quarters to seek their fortunes at Rome, or went into the camps and provinces. Caesar forbade any citizen between the ages of twenty and forty to remain out of Italy longer than three years, save in case of military service, the duration of which he diminished. In the distribution of land he favored those who had numerous families. Three children entitled a man to the most fertile fields; we have seen that he ordered graziers to have among their shepherds at least a third of freemen,² and that he drove half her poor people out of Rome. This was the idea of the Gracchi, — to scatter the race of freemen into the country and make them multiply there. Sylla's colonists had very soon exchanged their land for a little money, which was quickly squandered, and the ruined soldiery had readily sold

¹ Dion, xliiii. 25; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 43.

² Suet., *Julius Caesar*.

themselves to faction-mongers. 'To render the appearance of a new Catiline impossible, Caesar forbade his veterans to alienate their allotments until after twenty years' possession.'¹

There existed a perpetual cause of disorder in the disagreement between the calendar, which was calculated on the lunar year of 355 days, and the solar year of 365 days. The nobles had made use of this for their own purposes, to put forward or backward as they liked the elections and dates of expiration of public farmings. In former days the college of pontiffs had maintained the agreement between the lunar and solar years by the intercalation of a month of twenty-two and twenty-three days alternately every second year; but the disturbances of the last century of the Republic had spread disorder among heavenly as well as earthly phenomena; the pontiffs had neglected the necessary precautions, and the legal year, more than two months (sixty-seven days) behind the normal one, then began in October, so that "the harvest festivals no longer fell in summer, nor those of the vintage in autumn." Caesar intrusted Sosigenes, the astronomer of Alexandria, with the task of bringing the calendar into agreement with the sun's course. It was found necessary to allow the year 45, called "the last year of the confusion," 445 days, that is to say, the sixty-seven which they were behind and the twenty-three of the usual intercalary month.²

Cato would have said—and those who were left of the oligarchical party did say—that all these excellent things became evils when accomplished by an individual and not by the Republic. But the Republic had for a century past been under obligation to carry out these reforms, and had not done so.

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 2. Cassius soon annulled this prohibition (*Ibid.* iii. 7).

² Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 40. As the Julian year contained 365 days and six hours, Sosigenes settled that the common year should consist of 365 days three times following, and the fourth year of 366 days. This Julian year was too long by eleven minutes, twelve seconds,—an error which was corrected in 1582 by the Gregorian calendar. The Russians and all nations belonging to the Greek Church still make use of the Julian calendar and are at the present time twelve days behind us in their dates.

II. — WAR IN SPAIN; MUNDA (45); CAESAR'S RETURN TO ROME.

THE news which arrived from different parts of the Empire interrupted this fruitful work. The ties of patronage, which at Rome had grown weaker, retained their force in the provinces, where the nobles, whom the chances of politics or war had made patrons of certain nations, were able to obtain from them assistance in aid of their enterprises. The Senate had everywhere strengthened the influence of the provincial aristocracy; but this aristocracy was less attached to the fortunes of Rome than to those of the proconsul who had had the office of organizing the province. The chief men of cities took the side of those who had conferred power upon them, under the idea that the opposite party would not fail to deprive them of it. Interests, therefore, and not ideas, determined with which side a man should belong. That at Rome it was a question of republic or monarchy, of liberty or of what the oligarchy called servitude, mattered little. Gaul was in favor of Caesar, because Caesar had there distributed offices and favors; for the like reason, Syria and Spain were for the Pompeians. They had been clients of Pompey: they retained the same position to his sons, so that a few mistakes on the part of Caesar's lieutenants sufficed to revive in those distant provinces the faction which had now so often been defeated.

In Syria the Pompeian Caecilius Brassus had driven out the governor appointed by Caesar, and was asserting himself independent. In Gaul an insurrection of the Bellovaci had been easily suppressed by Dec. Brutus, but Spain was on fire. During the Alexandrian war, Q. Cassius Longinus, the Caesarian lieutenant in Hispania Ulterior, had so exasperated the provincials by his harshness and exactions, that he narrowly escaped being assassinated in Hispalis (Seville); and two of his legions, composed of old Pompeian soldiers of Afranius, mutinied; and, had it not been for the intervention of the governor of the Citerior province, a civil war would have broken out. These events were of great moment.

The mutineers, though they had returned to their duty, nevertheless dreaded a severe punishment, and they thought the surest means of escape was to break the military oath a second time, and change sides as soon as an opportunity should occur. When the fugitives from Pharsalia re-assembled in Africa, the malcontents in Spain made secret overtures to Cato, and, in order to conduct these negotiations at less distance, Pompey's eldest son, Cnaeus, took possession of the Balearic Islands. After the battle of Thapsus, he landed in the peninsula; and his brother Sextus joined him, with Labienus and Varro from Africa. In a short time he had thirteen legions, and overcame all who tried to oppose his schemes.

At Pharsalia the nobles had united with Pompey for the purpose of destroying Caesar, intending later to reduce the former to obedience. In Africa they had fought on their own account; and, in order to make sure that the sons of their former "Agamemnon" should not reap the fruits of their perseverance, they had sent one away, and assigned to the other an obscure part. But in Spain it

COIN OF ULIA.¹

was the name of Pompey which had collected an army; and the watchword was no longer "Rome," or "Liberty," but "Filial Piety." Cnaeus was the general whom it had been necessary to proclaim, and it was he who, after the victory,



COIN OF ULIA.

must be master. And a stern and pitiless master he would be, ever threatening with the sword. Accordingly, many said to themselves that it was now only a question of choosing between two tyrannies, one mild, the other violent. When Caesar left Rome at the end of September, 46, he carried with him the good wishes of his former enemies.²

¹ Bare head, palm, and crescent. On the reverse VLIA and olive-branches. Bronze coin.

² See the letter of Cassius to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* xv. 19) and that of Cicero to Atticus (xii. 37), where these words occur: "It is said that Sextus fled from Corduba into Hispania Citerior; Cnaeus has also fled, but I know not whither, and care very little." During this campaign he wrote to Caesar, speaking of his immortal exploits, *immortalitati laudum tuarum* (*Ad Fam.* xiii. 15 and 16); yet, in conversing with Atticus a few days later, he thought it a shame that Caesar should be allowed to live, *cum viveret ipsum turpe sit nobis* (*Ad Att.* xiii. 28). But this may be translated: "When to live is itself disgraceful to me."

The Pompeian legions had been formed of the soldiers of Afranius, disbanded after Lerida, of the mutineers of Longinus, the remnants of the African army, and of liberated slaves and dissolute adventurers from all lands. Of these thirteen legions four only, containing the veterans, were worth anything. These raw and ill-disciplined troops might meet the enemy well in the day of battle, but were incapable of carrying out a skilful campaign. Cnaeus, therefore, dared not lead them into Hispania Citerior to dispute the passes of the Pyrenees with Caesar. He did not even defend the difficult passes leading into the valley of the Guadalquivir (Baetis), and he allowed the Caesarians to advance as far as the neighborhood of Ulia, which he was besieging, and Corduba, which he had made his headquarters. This country offered a total contrast to that in which the last campaign had taken place; but for various reasons it was quite as difficult rapidly to strike a decisive blow by forcing an unwilling enemy to accept battle. Being mountainous, and also fertile, it afforded impregnable positions, while water and provisions were to be found everywhere. Several months elapsed in sieges² and skirmishes. The cruelty of Cnaeus and the dictator's impatience at being thus detained by these Pompeians, whom he had already twice crushed, gave this war a character of ferocity which the struggle had not hitherto possessed. Cnaeus put to death all suspected persons, and Caesar returned him murder for murder. The decisive action at length took place on the 17th March, 45 B.C., under the walls of Munda. The "Commentaries" are far from indicating that lassitude among the legions, which, according to ancient writers, compelled Caesar to rush bareheaded against the enemy, crying to his veterans as they were about to flee,



COIN OF
CORDUBA.¹

¹ CORDVBA: Cupid standing, holding a torch and a cornucopia. Bronze coin.

² Caesar compelled Cnaeus to abandon the siege of Ulia by threatening the stronghold of Ategua, which he captured, and then turned towards Hispalis: he also obtained possession of Ventispontum, and would have carried Carrucca, had not Cnaeus burnt that town. Thence he continued his march towards Munda, where he was at last able to force his enemy to fight. The site of Munda is not, as has generally been believed, to the south-west of Malaga. In that direction there is no such plain as the one spoken of in the history *De Bell. Hispan.*, and, moreover, it is too far from the places where the two armies were operating. Munda was in the *conventus* of Astigi (Strabo, iii. 141, and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 1). It must be looked for near Cordova, towards which Appian's narrative (*Bell. civ.* ii. 104), as well as the events following the battle (*De Bell. Hispan.* 33, 34, and 41), lead us, probably in a spot where there are still to be seen the ruins of towers and walls, between Martos, Alcaudete, Espejo, and Boena.

"Will you, then, give up your general to boys?" He lost but a thousand men. Thirty thousand Pompeians fell, among them Labienus and Varus, and the eagles of the thirteen legions were all captured.¹ Cnaeus succeeded in reaching Carteia, whence he was soon compelled to flee. Wounded in the shoulder and in the leg, he was borne from mountain to mountain in a litter. But he at length was betrayed by his men, and slain. His brother, who had not been present at the battle, succeeded in finding an asylum in the Pyrenees: he remained there till Caesar's death, and we shall see how he afterwards for a while restored the fortunes of his house.

One of the principal Pompeian leaders, Scapula, had taken refuge at Corduba. He could not count on Caesar's clemency this time: those who had ordered so many massacres must perish. Scapula knew it; he remembered Cato, and followed his example, but he died as an Epicurean. "He assembled all his followers, ordered a funeral-pile to be erected, and a magnificent supper served up; when, putting on his richest dress, he distributed his plate and ready money among his domestics, supped cheerfully, anointed himself once and again, and, last of all, ordered one of his freedmen to despatch him, and another to set fire to the pile."² These pleasure-loving and sanguinary men, accustomed to gratify all their passions, had no longer anything to live for when adversity overtook them: they departed, accepting, according to their master's advice, a lesser evil, annihilation, to avoid suffering, which was worse.³

Of the men who, full of hopes and threats, sat in 49 in the Republican Senate at Thessalonica, but very few were left; and those who had survived so many combats invoked the clemency of Caesar. "Thus ended in a sea of blood," says an English historian, "the Civil war which the senators had undertaken against Caesar in order to escape the reforms with which his second consulship threatened them. These men had done their

¹ This was the last of Caesar's battles, which, according to Nicolaus Damascenus, were three hundred in number, and this author adds (which is not quite true) that the dictator had never once been defeated.

² *Bell. Hisp.* 33. This book is unfortunately not completed. The last act of the war which it relates is the taking of the two cities of Munda and Ursao. Of the former of these, only the name remains: of the latter, which was colonized by Caesar, nothing but a few ruins. But from these ruins there has just emerged the most precious of epigraphic monuments, the bronzes of Osuna, containing a portion of the municipal constitution of the city.

³ See vol. ii. pp. 270, 271, note 6, the *Ethics of Epicurus*.

country a service, however, by rendering forever impossible that Republican constitution in which elections were a mockery, the tribunals an insult to justice, and the provinces the feeding-grounds of a gluttonous aristocracy."

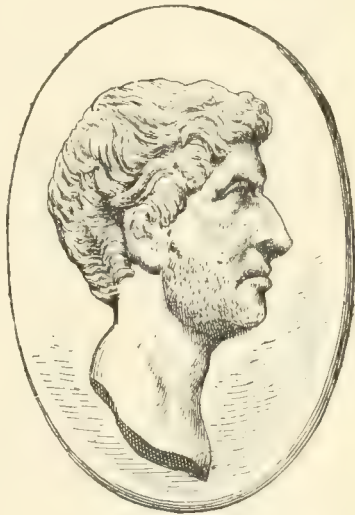
At Rome official enthusiasm burst forth anew at the tidings of these successes. The Senate decreed fifty days of thanksgivings, and



CAESAR, FATHER
OF HIS COUNTRY.¹

recognized Caesar's right to extend the pomerium, since he had extended the limits of the Empire. Decrees engraved in letters of gold upon silver tables, and deposited at the feet of the Capitoline Jupiter, declared that "the dictator shall retain in all

places the triumphal apparel and laurel wreath; he shall be called the 'father of his country,' and the day of his birth shall be celebrated by sacrifices. Every year the Republic shall offer solemn vows for him; his Fortune shall be the sanction of an oath; and every five years games shall be given in his honor." After Thapsus he was made a demi-god; after Munda he was a god outright. A statue was erected to him in the Temple of Quirinus, with the inscription, "To the invincible god;" and a college of priests, the Julii, was consecrated to him. Was it by design that his statue was also placed beside those of the kings, between Tarquin the Proud and the elder Brutus? Some saw therein a threat and a foreboding; but the greater number thought it an honor. Was not Caesar a second Romulus? The Senate at least declared so by ordaining that on the Palilia, with the anniversary of the foundation of the city, there should be celebrated that of the victory of Munda, the second birth of Rome. A new era was in fact beginning; and let us not accuse these men too freely of



THE ELDER BRUTUS.²

¹ CAESAR PARENS PATRIAE; head of Julius Caesar crowned with laurels, and veiled between the *apex* and the *lituus*. This coin is of later date than the one on p. 508.

² The elder Brutus, from a beautiful engraved amethyst of the Augustan age (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2111).

shameful baseness when we hear them calling Caesar the liberator, and dedicating a temple to Liberty. Had he not freed the world from anarchy and plunder? Repose, order, security — did not these imply, too, a needful liberty?

On the 13th September, the dictator appeared at the gates of Rome; but he did not celebrate his triumph till the beginning of October. This time there was no barbarian king or chief to veil the victories won over citizens. But Caesar thought he had no longer need to keep up such consideration: since he was now the State, his enemies, whatever name they bore, must be enemies to the State. And so the festivals, the games and feasting of the preceding year, began again with perhaps greater magnificence.¹ The people had complained of not being able to witness everything; strangers, of not hearing all. The games were divided; each quarter of the city had its own, and each nation comedies in its own language. This was only fair: was not Rome now the fatherland of all nations? Let all the tongues of the world be heard, then, in the world's capital, as the men and things of all lands are seen there. There Cleopatra now holds her court in Caesar's garden beyond the Tiber, where Cicero ventured to show himself.² There Moorish kings and Asiatic princes have their ambassadors. It is the concourse of nations at the foot of the rising throne. They come to salute the "saving god;" and their eager glances follow neither the races in the circus, nor the games in the amphitheatre, but the ancient powers, erewhile so dreaded, which now appear in their humiliation, — knights, senators, and even a tribune of the people descending into the arena. Laberius played as a mime in one of his own pieces. "Alas!" said the old poet in his prologue, "after sixty years of a spotless life, I have left my house a knight, and shall re-enter it a mime. I have lived a day too long." We need not bestow too much pity on his lot. On returning home, he found there five hundred thousand sesterces which Caesar had promised, and his gold ring which was restored to him.³

¹ In all these pleasures Caesar took part as little as possible; at the games he read despatches, and dictated answers (Suet., *Octav.* 45).

² He even begged of the queen some Egyptian curiosities, and she refused him, which stung him to the quick (*Id. Att.* xv. 15).

³ The profession of mime ranked amongst the *infames*. Laberius was a Pompeian, and had a sharp tongue: it may be that Caesar, when he asked him to play one of his own pieces,

III. — CLEMENCY OF CAESAR; HIS DICTATORSHIP; EXTENT OF HIS POWERS; CONTINUATION OF REFORMS; HIS PROJECTS.

It was expected that Caesar, having suffered so many outrages, would now punish severely; and Cicero, who had always doubted his clemency, believed that tyranny would break out as soon as the tyrant was above fear. But jealousies, recollections of party strifes, did not reach to the height whereon Caesar now stood. The conqueror of Pharsalia, the nephew of Marius, gave place to the representative of the Roman world, all whose glory became, like Rome itself, his inheritance. He restored the statues of Sylla; he replaced that of Pompey on the rostra,¹ as he had formerly set up again in the Capitol the trophies of the conqueror of the Cimbri; he pardoned Cassius, who had tried to assassinate him, and the ex-consul Marcellus who had stirred up war against him, and Quintus Ligarius who had betrayed him in Africa. As a temporary precaution, however, he forbade to the Pompeians, by a *lex Hirtia*, admission to the magistracy.³



TEMPLE ERECTED
TO CAESAR'S CLEM-
ENCY.²

For his authority, Caesar sought no new forms. Sylla, believing that the Republic could be saved by laws, had remodelled the whole constitution without making any change in the real situation of the State; Caesar, who founded a new *régime*, seemed to preserve the ancient laws intact. The Senate, the comitia, the magistracies,

wanted to revenge himself for some mischievous words. The poet retaliated in his play by these threatening words: *Necesse est multos timeat quem multi timeant* (Macrobius, *Saturn.* II. iii. 10, and vii. 3). But he also said, less haughtily, in his prologue, "I have obeyed the humble, gentle, and flattering prayer of an illustrious man. Could I refuse anything to one whom the gods have refused nothing?" When he wished to resume his seat amongst the knights, they closed up so that he could not find it; and Cicero cried, "I would gladly offer you room if I were not too crowded." To which Laberius replied, "True, you always require two stools."

¹ Plutarch, *Caesar*, 63. *Nunquam nisi honorificentissime Pompeium appellat* (Cicero, *Ad Fam.* vi. 6.)

² CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS surrounding a tetrastyle temple. Reverse of a silver coin of Julius Caesar.

³ Cic., *Philipp.* xiii. 16.

existed as before, only he centred all public action in himself alone by uniting in his own hands all the Republican offices.

The instrument which Caesar used to give to his power legal sanction was the Senate. In former times the general, after the



CAESAR,
DICTATOR
FOR LIFE.¹

triumph, laid aside his title of "Imperator" and the imperium, which included absolute authority over the army, all judicial power and the administrative functions: Caesar, by a decree of the Senate, retained both the title and the authority during life, with the right of drawing freely from the treasury.² His dictatorship and his office of *praefectus morum* were declared

perpetual: the consulship was offered him for ten years; but this he would not accept. To this executive authority the Senate sought to unite electoral power, offering him the right of appointment in all curule and plebeian offices. He reserved for himself merely the privilege of naming half the magistracy, being quite certain that no one would dare canvass the other offices against his will. The Senate had enjoined magistrates elect to swear before entering on office, that they would undertake nothing contrary to the dictator's acts, these having the force of law. Further, they gave to his person the legal inviolability of the tribunes, and, in order to insure this, knights and senators offered to serve as guards, while the whole Senate took an oath to watch over his safety.

To the reality of power were added the outward signs. In the Senate, at the theatre, in the circus, on his tribunal, he sat, dressed in royal robes, on a golden throne, and his effigy was stamped on the coins, where the Roman magistrates had never yet ventured to engrave more than their names.³ They even went as far as talking of succession, as in a regular monarchy. His title of "Imperator" and the sovereign pontificate were transmissible to his legitimate or adopted children;⁴ and, as he had neither, a hare-brained poet is said to have thought of proposing a law to allow Caesar to marry any woman who might appear able to give him

¹ CAESAR DICT. IN PERPETVO: head of Julius Caesar, veiled, and crowned with laurel.

² Cf. Dion, xliii. 55; *Ibid.* 47; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 41, 81; Dion, xliv. 6; App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 106, 145, for the facts in the text.

³ Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, vi. 7.

⁴ Dion, xliii. 44, and xliv. 5.

a son.¹ It was suggested that his image should be placed in the Temple of Quirinus, with this inscription, Θεος Ἀνίκητος ("To the invincible god"), and to raise another to Clemency, where his statue might be placed by the side of that of the goddess, each holding the other's hand. Caesar was not deceived by the secret perfidy which prompted such servilities, and he valued them as they deserved. But his enemies found therein fresh reasons for hating the great man who had saved them.



EMBLEMS OF
THE PONTIFIC-
ATE.²

To recapitulate: as dictator for life, he had the executive power, and entire command of the public funds; as imperator, he had the military authority; the tribunitian power gave him the right of veto in all cases of legislation; as prince of the Senate, he directed that assembly's debates; as *præfectus morum*, he composed it at his pleasure; as pontifex maximus, he made religion speak in accordance with his interests, and controlled its ministers. He had control, therefore, of the finances, of the army, of religion, of the executive power, of a part of the judicial authority, of half of the electoral power, and indirectly of nearly all of the legislative authority. Add to this that these prerogatives were limited neither in respect to time (for he held them for life) nor space (for he exercised them everywhere, even in Rome itself), and that he had no colleague whose action might interfere with what he chose to do.

In this concentration of all public offices in the hands of Caesar, the old magistracies resembled the images of ancestors preserved in the halls of consular houses, a fair and dignified array of empty and lifeless forms. The Senate had likewise sunk from its character of supreme council of the Republic into that of a committee of consultation, which the master often forgot to consult. The Civil war had decimated it; Caesar appointed to it

¹ *Uti uxorēs liberorum quaerendorum causa, quas et quot uellet ducere liceret* (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 85). In the first place the law was not brought forward. Only the tribune Helvius Cinna was suspected of having had the intention of doing so; secondly, divorce was very common at Rome, and Cinna had doubtless been inspired by the example of Hortensius asking Cato to give up his wife to him that he might have children by her, *liberorum quaerendorum causa*. The monstrous thing in the law proposed by Cinna was the compulsory divorce. Sylla had in a few cases carried his tyranny to this extreme; but that would have been no excuse for Caesar, who had himself refused to obey the all-powerful dictator's order on this very matter.

² *Litus*, sprinkler, axe, and *apex*. Reverse of a silver coin of the Julian family.

brave soldiers, even sons of freedmen who had served him well, and a considerable number of provincials. Spaniards, and Gauls of Gallia Narbonensis, who had long been Romans. He had so many services to reward, that his Senate reached the number of nine hundred members.¹ The pride of the nobles avenged itself by raillery. "The Gauls," said they, "have changed their *braccæ* for the laticlave;" and notices were posted up in the streets begging the people not to show the new Conscript Fathers the way to the curia. But these senators were docile; they did without a murmur all that the master wished, and even more than he wished; they were not offended when *senatus-consulta*, resolved upon by Caesar alone or by the privy council convened in his house, were published in their name. One day Cicero received the thanks of a prince of Asia, who professed to have received from the orator his title, but of whose very existence Cicero knew nothing. He laughed, for he had conformed himself to the times; and half consoled by the royalty which he always held, that of intellect, he showed his regrets only by sarcastic jests. This character of witty critic delighted Caesar; it refreshed him after the adulation. Every morning Cicero's witticisms were reported to him, and he made a collection of them. One day he invited himself to dinner at Cicero's house,³ and was delightful, his host says; but the conversation was altogether on literary subjects. Much as he loved wit, the old ex-consul, who had always considered himself a statesman, was nettled that not a word should be said of serious matters.

On one occasion the Senate came in a body to the Temple of Venus

¹ Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Afric.* 28; Dion, xlii. 51, and xliii. 27, 47: . . . μηδὲν διακρίνων, μήτ' εἴ τις στρατιώτης μήτ' εἴ τις ἀπελευθέρων πᾶσι ἦν (Cic., *Ad Fam.* vi. 12; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 76); *quosdam e semi-barbaris Gallorum*. Sylla had already brought the number of senators up to six hundred (Suet., *Ibid.* 80); *Bonum factum: ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare velit* (Dion, xliii. 27; Cic., *Ad Fam.* ix. 15).

² CAESAR IM. P(ontifex) M(aximus); a crescent behind Caesar's head crowned with laurel.

³ In the account Cicero gave to Atticus of that day (xliii. 52), he said of Caesar: *Accubuit, ἐμπικρίν ἀγεῖν: τῆναι καὶ εἶδεν καὶ βίβεν ἀδεῶς καὶ γινώσκοντες*. Many moderns are in the habit of exciting the appetite before going to table, or of stimulating it afresh by a sherbet taken in the middle of the repast. The means are different: the end is the same,—to eat more than is necessary. But the Roman proceeding is singularly disgusting: *Vomunt ut edant, edunt ut vomant* (Sen., *Cons. ad Helv.* 9). With all their elegancies, this nation combined remarkable coarseness. Cicero and his contemporaries thought the thing quite natural and a politeness to the host on the part of the guest, in order to honor the feast.

Genitrix to present to Caesar certain decrees drawn up in his honor. The demi-god, being ill, did not rise from his seat to receive them. This was imprudent, for the report spread that he had not deigned to rise. Had he treated the Senate with some respect, he would perhaps have succeeded in making it regarded as the legal representative of the people, and he would have added more authority to his own rule. This mistake Augustus never made.

He had already increased the membership of the sacerdotal colleges, and the number of praetors, quaestors, and aediles.¹ He could not appoint more than two consuls; but the new theory of substituted consuls allowed him to give this high office to several persons in one year. The consul Fabius died on the 31st of December, 45; in a few hours the year would be ended: nevertheless a successor was appointed. "What a vigilant consul!" exclaimed Cicero: "during his whole magistracy he has never slept." Caesar even went further than this, allowing persons to display consular and praetorian insignia without having held the office.

Very few patricians remained: never had consul or dictator created them; it was a kingly, almost a divine right. Caesar created some,²—a privilege apparently very important, but without real political significance, for it merely served to prevent certain religious functions, by the rapid extinction of the ancient *gentes*, from ceasing to be performed. His nephew, the young Octavius, received at this time his patent of nobility: Cicero, the burgher of Arpinum, yielded to temptation and took his. Even the triumph lost its high character. Only a general-in-chief had had the right of obtaining it: Caesar now granted it to his lieutenants. It was a religious infraction, for a lieutenant fought under the auspices of his chief. But Caesar, who believed neither in auspices nor in gods, believed in talent, and gave the reward to him who had deserved it. Nor had he more respect for the religious formalities of the Forum. One day, when the auspices had been taken for the assembling of the tribes, he convoked the centuries instead.

¹ Sixteen praetors, forty quaestors, six aediles, sixteen pontiffs, as many augurs, and as many quindecimvirs (Dion, xliii. 47). By raising the number of quaestors to forty, Caesar introduced into the Senate forty new members every year.

² Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 41. Dion (Hal. i. 85) says that in his day there were not more than fifty families of Trojan origin left.

The people still had their comitia; they made laws and conferred office: outwardly they were still the sovereign power; but life was lacking in their assemblies, for the candidates knew well that it was Caesar's favor that must be gained rather than the people's. Some of them had lately been known to go as far as Spain to canvass for the dictator's support.

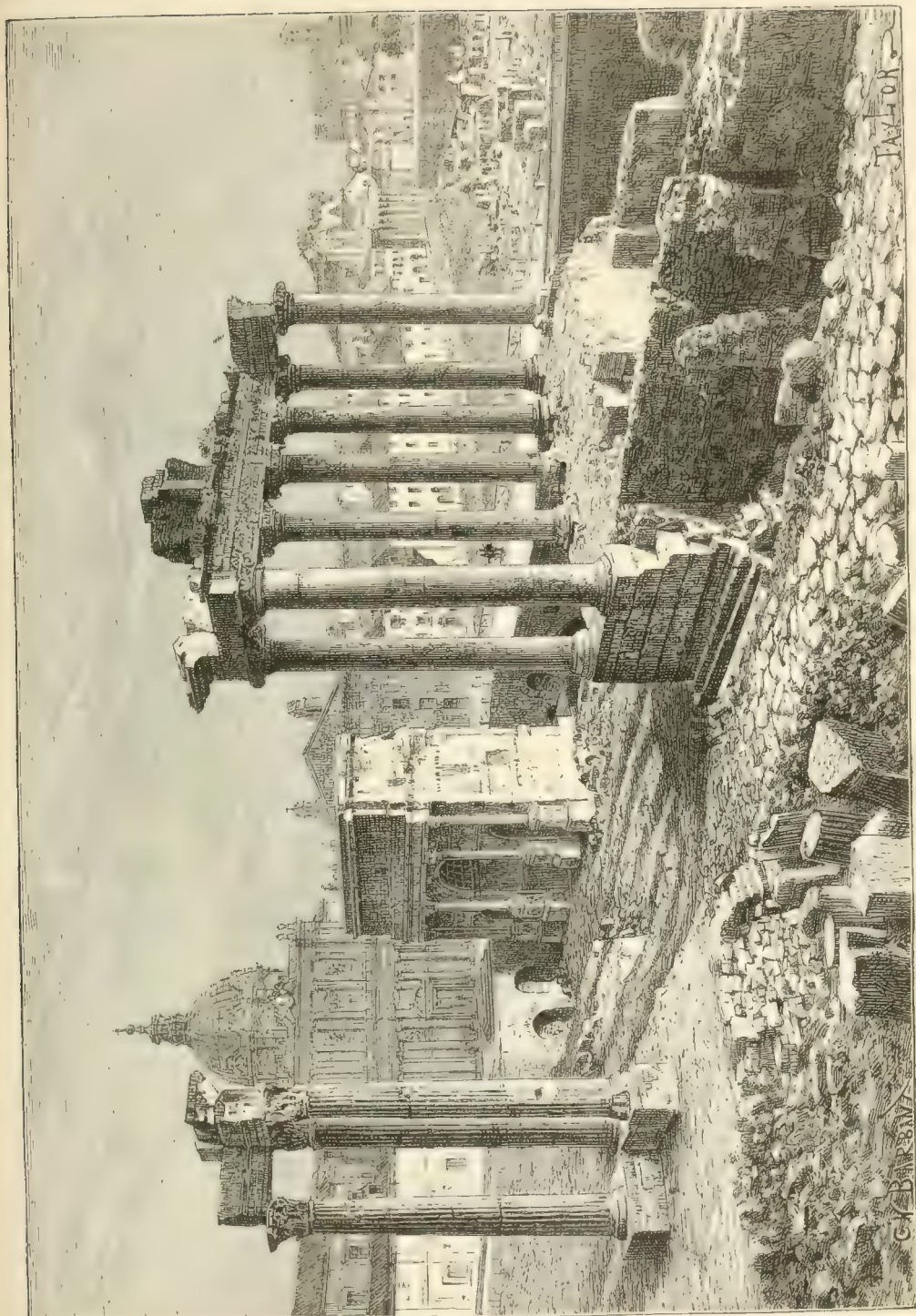
An important innovation was the institution of *legati pro pratore*. Hitherto the legionary tribunes in succession commanded the whole legion for two months each; the legate now became its permanent chief. This was a necessary concentration of command; and these legates, appointed by the Emperor, were better able to secure the execution of his orders and the discipline and fidelity of the army.¹

The Romans were great builders, and this taste their new master shared with them. The Forum, at the foot of the Capitol, was the true centre of the city; there for six centuries the heart of old Rome had throbbed, and there her most sumptuous buildings had been erected;² Caesar removed the comitia, relegating them to the *Septu Julia* in the Campus Martius, immense porticos capable of sheltering twenty-five thousand persons; and persons who had civil suits he sent to the Julian Forum, which he had built for them, placing in it a white marble temple of Venus Genitrix, the founder of his race. The Forum being thus cleared, he proposed to make it the most magnificent public place in the world; but already his days were numbered.

There remains to us an important monument of Caesar's legislation,—that municipal law whose name so often recurs in the Digest, which shows, notwithstanding its fragmentary condition, that this powerful mind perceived the need of supplying to the Italian cities the elements of a common organization in order to make of them a homogeneous whole. This law is not drawn up in the interest of any party; for to Caesar there no longer existed any party but the State. He leaves to the cities their free elections and their own jurisdiction; he excludes from their Senate

¹ This was no doubt the time of the legal suppression of the appointment of military tribunes by the people, a rule which, since the commencement of the civil wars, must have fallen into desuetude.

² The engraving (next page) gives the three columns of the Temple of Vespasian, the arch of Septimius Severus, and the eight columns of the Temple of Saturn.



THE ROMAN FORUM.

every man whose honor was tarnished, not making arbitrary decisions against persons, but indicating in advance what would be considered cases of unworthiness; he prescribes to them sanitary measures required by the public health; lastly, he orders them to make a quinquennial census which will furnish a sure basis for the allotment of local taxes. In ordering the result of this census to be sent to Rome, he gives the means of assigning to every Italian the century in which he should vote. — a measure of order; and perhaps he furnishes the municipalities with a method by which to stop the abuses arising in the administration of their finances, — a measure of justice.¹

Against the absolute power of kings in modern times we have the representative system. Against the despotism of the emperors the Romans had long possessed municipal liberties, which almost sufficed for the good administration of city affairs, because in the early Empire the ruler governed and did not administer. Caesar's law, the *lex Julia*, which has undoubtedly served as a model for much legislation in colonies and municipalities, was therefore a benefit to the nations, since it aided in the development of that strong municipal life which for more than two centuries caused the prosperity of the provinces.²

It has another character; it marks the revolution then going on. Made for Italy, it was also made for Rome, so that the city to which the oligarchy had attempted to confine the whole Republic,

¹ Under the Empire, a *magister a censibus*, or a *magister a libellis*, received the requests for reduction of taxes addressed to the prince (L. Renier, *Mélanges d'épigr.* pp. 46–70).

² The two tables of bronze found in 1732, in the bed of the Cavaus in Lucania, called the Tables of Heraclea, which date from the year 45, are unfortunately very incomplete. The first chapters which remain to us prescribe the formalities to be observed in order to participate in the distributions of the annona, the attention to be paid to the keeping in repair of the streets, the causeways, and the footpaths, for the circulation of vehicles, the removal of mud and refuse, the public leases, etc. It is, in a word, a regulation of municipal magistracy for Rome and the towns of Italy. Next come the provisions relating to the *curiae*, or municipal senates, the members of which were elected for life, like the Roman senators, and the conditions to be fulfilled in canvassing the decurionate (thirty years of age, three years' service in the cavalry, or six in the infantry), the long list of those whom the law declares incapable of holding any public office, — the herald, the undertaker or his assistant, the insolvent debtor, the man convicted of fraud, the slanderer, the *perjurator*, those who have been expelled from the army, those who have hired themselves to fight in the arena, and all those whom we afterwards find in the categories of the *humiliiores* of the Digest. Lastly, the eleventh section requires the municipal officers to send to Rome, within sixty days from the time the enumeration was made, the census of their municipality, which was to be executed according to the formula drawn up for Rome.

whence the Senate was to hold sway forever over Italy and the provinces, became itself an Italian municipality. Rome continued to be the residence of the emperor, of the magistrates and of the sacerdotal colleges, the city of marble palaces and golden statues; she remained the capital of the Empire, but she was no longer the sovereign city. The Italians had the same rights as her citizens, with analogous institutions; many of the provincials were already in the same condition; and when Caesar is in Spain, in Africa, or in Asia, the whole government is there with him. The transformation which we have set forth as necessary since the wars of Samnium and of Pyrrhus is, therefore, in course of accomplishment.

If to these laws we add another, *de Sacerdotiis*, now lost, which is mentioned in one of Cicero's letters, and of which we find one provision in the bronzes of Osuna, we shall see that Caesar had included the whole of the Roman institutions in his vast scheme of reform.

Thus in reality everything was changed, but, viewed from a distance, it seemed that very few things were new. Caesar's royalty resembled that of Pompey, of Sylla, of Marius, even of C. Gracchus. No court, no guards, surrounded the master; he dwelt in the *Regia*, the residence of the chief pontiff, living there amidst a few friends whose faithfulness he had long since proved, — Lepidus and Antony, to whom he had intrusted Rome and Italy during his first war in Spain: Hirtius, the writer of the eighth book of "The Gallic Wars;" C. Oppius and Cornelius Balbus of Gades, the confidants of his most secret thoughts; the Roman knight Mamurra, commander of the engineers (*præfectus fabrum*), and others. Freedmen drew up despatches, of which the substance had been given them in clear and exact memoranda. This government of sixty million men was carried on in a few rooms.

The old noblesse remained apart, not from honors, but from power; and they forgot neither Pharsalia nor Thapsus. They would have consented to obey on condition of having the appearance of commanding. This disguised obedience is more convenient for an able government than outward servility. A few concessions made to vanity obtain tranquil possession of power. This was the policy of Augustus; but it is not that of great ambitions or of

the true statesman. These pretences leave everything doubtful; nothing is determined, nothing established; and Caesar proposed to lay the foundations of a government which should bring a new order out of the chaos of ruins. Unless too much importance has been given to mere anecdotes, he desired the royal diadem. The consulship, the dictatorship, the office of *præfectus morum*, all this, even the life tenure of them, seemed still to belong to the Republic; the name of king would have introduced monarchy, heredity in power, order in administration, unity in law. It is difficult not to believe that Caesar considered the constituting of a monarchical power as the rational conclusion of the revolution which he was carrying out. In this way may be explained the persistence of his friends in offering him a title odious to the Romans, who were quite ready to accept the monarch, but not the monarchy.¹ One morning, a wreath of laurel with the royal diadem² attached was seen on Caesar's statue before the rostra. Two tribunes tore them down and imprisoned those who had placed them there. Another day, when he had been present at the great Latin festival on the Alban Mount, among the shouts which greeted his progress was heard the name of king. "I am not king," said he, "but Caesar." The tribunes again caused the offenders to be seized. This time Caesar was displeased with their excessive zeal; he accused them in the Senate of having anticipated his justice, and they were deposed from office notwithstanding their inviolability.

No one was deceived as to the motive of this anger. At the festival of the Lupercalia, on the 15th of February, 44, the dictator, his head encircled with a wreath of laurel, sat in his golden chair before the rostra. Antony, at this time consul-elect, drew from beneath his girdle a diadem and offered it to him, saying: "This is what the Roman people send thee." The crowd remained almost silent; Caesar thrust it aside, and then applause broke forth. Antony offered it again, and a second time he rejected it; upon which the loudest expressions of approval rang throughout all the Forum. "Jupiter," said Caesar, "is the only king of the

¹ Cic., *Philipp.* ii. 34; Dion, xliv. 11.

² [The diadem was a white linen band or fillet worn around the head,—the symbol of Oriental sovereignty. — *Ed.*]

Romans; to him this diadem belongs." Then he caused it to be carried to the Capitol and suspended in the temple of the god. In the Fasti he commanded it to be written that the Roman people by one of their consuls had offered him a diadem, and that he had refused it. But at the same time the report spread that the Sibylline Books, on being consulted, had replied that the Parthians would be conquered only by a king.

In order to attain this royal title, the culmination of all others, or rather, in order to cover the power gained in civil war by renown acquired in a national one, Caesar must go still higher, and this new greatness he would seek in the East. Grave events were taking place in the valley of the Danube. An able chief, Byrebistas, assisted by the high priest of Zalmoxis, had just effected among the Getae a political and religious revolution. He had united all their tribes into one national body, had caused all the vines of the country to be destroyed in order to condemn the inhabitants to sobriety, and had subjected to the severest discipline these men who believed that by dying in battle they were sure of a blissful immortality. Already he had crossed the Danube at the head of two hundred thousand men. Towns had been laid in ashes; multitudes of men, women, and children had been carried off to the foot of the Carpathians to cultivate the fields of their new masters; Thrace, Macedon, and Illyria trembled.² To stop this invasion was not the same thing as the mad project which has been attributed to Caesar of attempting to subjugate the whole barbarian world. It was to contend with a new Ariovistus, more formidable than the first, and by his defeat to secure the frontier of the Danube, as the defeat of the Suevi had secured that of the Rhine.

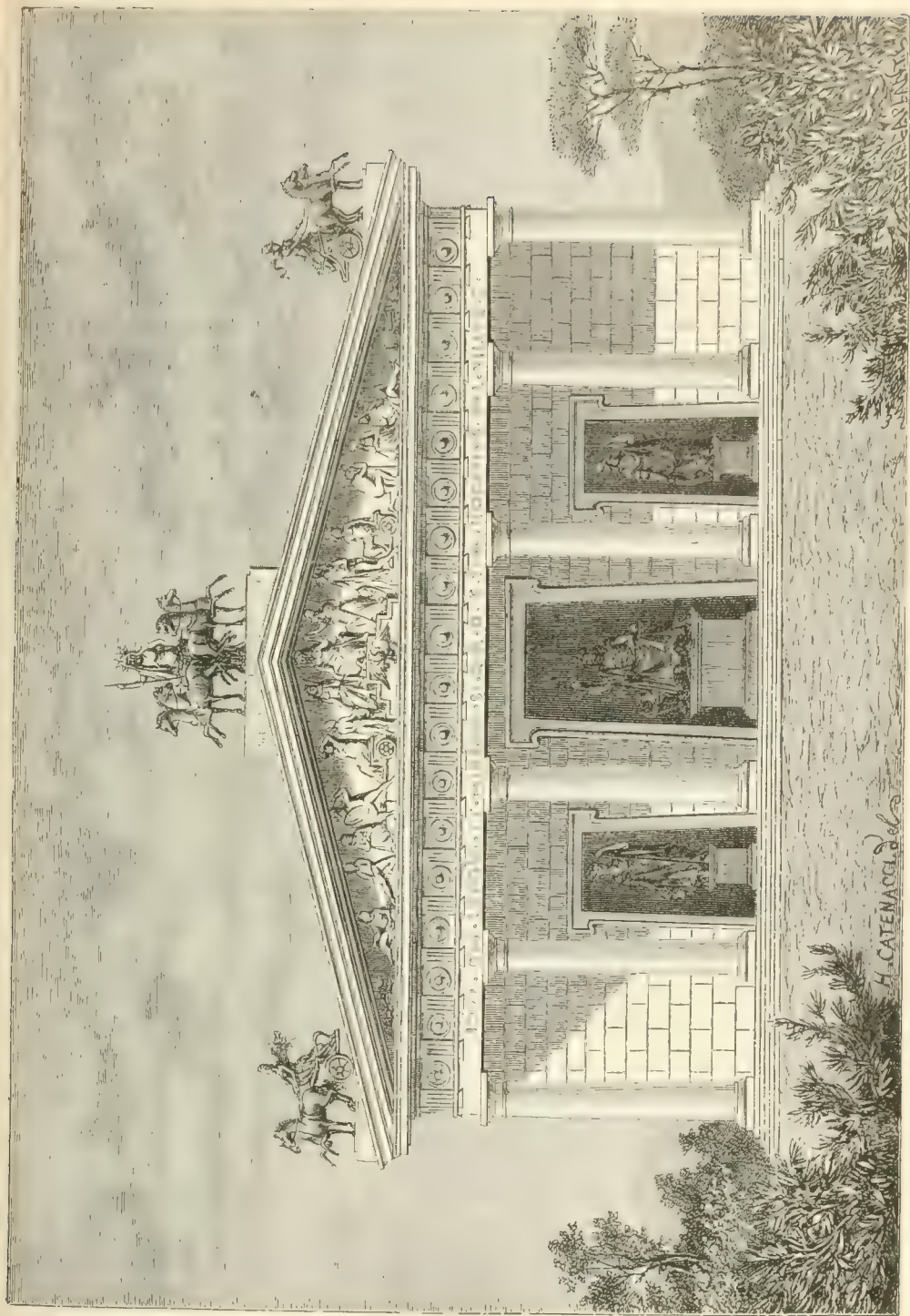


COIN OF CAESAR OF THE YEAR 44.¹

Into Asia other reasons summoned him. It was meet that he should wipe out the second military humiliation of Rome after effacing the first; that he should avenge Crassus, recapture in conquered Ctesiphon the eagles of the legions, and restore to

¹ That is to say, after Caesar had obtained the right to put his image on the coinage. CAESAR DICT. QVART.; head of Caesar crowned with laurel; behind it, the *lituus*.

² Strabo, vii. 3, 5, and 11; Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 44. Byrebistas was killed in an insurrection about the time of Caesar's death, and the Getan empire fell with him.



TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS (CANINA'S RESTORATION).

their home the Romans in captivity among barbarians. This war was popular at Rome. When Caesar returned from Munda,



MAUSOLEUM OF JULIUS (SEE ITS BAS-RELIEFS, PP. 321, 322).

Cicero, who is often an echo of public opinion, prepared a letter in which he congratulated the dictator on his successes in Spain,

and promised him still greater at the other extremity of the world.¹ The nobles approved of this expedition, during which a Parthian arrow might perhaps do what the sword of a Gaul had not done, and it is not to outrage Cicero's inmost sentiments if we suppose that this homicidal idea, which had occurred to him more than once, crept in under his brilliant panegyric, as Cleopatra's asp was hidden among flowers. But this war pleased Caesar's virile genius, his soldierly instincts, and his ideas of policy. This work accomplished, the great captain, having watered his horse at the Danube and the Tigris, as formerly at the Thames and the African rivers, could return to assume in his Babylon of the West the crown of Alexander, or, failing that, bring all men to recognize the necessity for so vast an empire, of a monarchical government, by whatever name its monarch might be called. Then, peaceful master of the world, he proposed to cut the Isthmus of Corinth, to drain the Pontine Marshes, to pierce the mountains enclosing Lake Fucinus, and throw across the Apennines a high road from the Adriatic to the Tuscan Sea. Rome, the capital of this universal empire, was to be enlarged by all the space that the Tiber would yield diverted from its bed at the Pons Milvius and flowing to the west of the Janiculum. In the Vatican plain was to be erected a colossal temple to Mars; at the foot of the Tarpeian Rock, an immense amphitheatre; at Ostia, a broad, safe harbor was to be made.²

But these were to be the least of his labors. Convinced of the need of organizing this assemblage of nations, which the sword had joined together but the law kept asunder, it was his design to collect and arrange all the Roman laws in a single code, in order to facilitate and to spread the knowledge of them everywhere. Already one of his intimate friends, the learned jurisconsult Aulus Ofilius, had undertaken a codification of the praetorian edicts,³ and he himself had caused to be prepared for Italy the municipal law which all the provincial cities were to copy. To

¹ *Ad Att.* xiii. 27 and 30.

² *Plut., Caesar*, 58; *Dion.* xliii. 50; xliv. 5; *Suet., Julius Caesar*, 44.

³ *Is fuit Caesari familiarissimus libros de jure civili plurimos reliquit. . . . Edictum praetoris primus diligenter composuit* (*Dig.* i. 2, 2, 44). Salvius Julianus resumed this work under Hadrian.

secure the provinces against senatorial exactions, he forbade the senators to visit them without an official commission, and he paid the governors, that they might not pay themselves by continuing the extortions of former times.¹ He remembered that a consul of his name and his race gave the Roman citizenship to Italians; and though the time had not come for bestowing the same right on all subjects, he at least increased the Roman element amongst them, sending eighty thousand colonists to carry across the seas the customs and language of Rome. The whole of Sicily was about to obtain the *jus Latii*; the right of citizenship was conferred on the Transpadani,² on the legion of "the Lark,"³ on all who had served him faithfully, even on Jews.

On the banks of the Loire, the Seine, and the Rhone numbers of Gauls bore his name, and perhaps before this time one of these families had erected in his honor a beautiful building, the mausoleum of the Julii, recalling their gratitude and his battles.

AUREUS OF CAESAR.⁴

He had rewards for those who had been useful to him in time of war, admitting to his Senate many provincials; he had rewards too for those who were useful in peace, he gave the citizenship to foreign physicians and professors of the liberal arts settled at Rome, that is to say, to the aristocracy of intellect, as the Senate had

¹ Dion, lii. 15.

² He gave them the right of citizenship and a municipal constitution (Dion, xli. 36). In 42 the Transpadane obtained the *jus italicum*, that is to say, exemption from the land-tax and from military service. It still retained, however, its character of province for some time, for Manius reproaches Octavius with having taken it away from Antony by declaring it free (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 3, and 22; Dion, xlviii. 12). The number of citizens, which was only, according to *Epit.* xeviii. of Livy, four hundred and fifty thousand in the year 70, had increased tenfold in the year 28. Some writers double the figure of the year 70; still the increase is enormous, and must be attributed to Caesar for the most part.

³ The soldiers of this legion were called *Alaudae*, the Larks, *ex legione Alaudarum*, says Cicero (*Philipp.* i. 8, etc.).

⁴ The *aureus* of Caesar was worth \$5.18, and was coined in enormous quantities. It was of pure metal, exact weight, and was put in circulation for its real value, which fact, after the monetary disturbances of recent times, caused it to be received with great favor. We say the *aureus* was worth \$5.18 because it contained 121.26 grains of fine metal. Only one estimate of the value of coins is really possible, that of their intrinsic value found by aid of weighing and chemical analyses which make known the quantity of fine metal they contain. As to their exchange value, it is very difficult to fix, seeing that the proportion of value between metals is constantly changing in consequence of the abundance of one and the rarity of another, and because the power of exchange, that is to say, the quantity of merchandise one can obtain with a certain sum, is not the same, either in all ages or even all the localities of a country.

formerly granted it to the aristocracy of the Latin cities. A fragment of Gaius (I. 33) tells us that the *jus quiritium* was guaranteed to the provincial who devoted a part of his patrimony

to the construction of a public edifice. This law, which covered the Roman world with monuments, appears to be borrowed from Caesar's *lex Julia*.

During the African war the dictator had seen in a dream a large army weeping and demanding back from him their fatherland; on his awakening he wrote on his tablets the names of Corinth and Carthage. These two ruined cities testified to the vengeance of the Senate; and he restored them. Thus great injustices were repaired, ties multiplied, reconciliations effected. Long ago the Hellenic divinities had received citizenship at Rome; the writers who had made the glory of foreign nations



LEPIDUS.¹

were now in their turn to obtain it. Varro was charged to collect in a public library all the productions of human thought, in order that Rome might be also the metropolis of intellect. After their gods and their great men, would come the people's turn.

With this noble design of reparation and unity were connected: a monetary reform, which made the *aureus* of Caesar the most convenient coin for commerce, and the standard of value under the

¹ Bust of the triumvir Lepidus found at Tor Sapienza. (Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, No. 106.)

Empire; a reform of the calendar so thoroughly accomplished that, with a slight modification, the Julian calendar is still used by us;¹ lastly, the order given to three Greek geometers to make a measurement of the whole Roman world, and draw up a register of the survey, — a work preliminary to the re-organization of the provincial and financial administration.²

To accomplish things like these, time was necessary, and Caesar had lost more than a quarter of a century in rising to the first rank. But he was now only fifty-seven. He might, therefore, hope that years enough yet lay before him to enable him to complete his great designs.

His preparations for the Parthian war were finished; he had distributed the offices and provinces for three years (44–42): Antonius was his colleague in the consulship, and he had promised Dolabella to resign to him his own consulship when he should set out for Asia; Hirtius and Pansa were to have the fasces in 43; Decimus Brutus and Numatius Plancus in 42. Brutus and Cassius were praetors; Lepidus was to resign to Domitius Calvinus the office of master of the horse in order



VICTORY OF APOLLONIA.³

to take the government of Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior; Asinius Pollio received that of Hispania Ulterior; the other provinces were also distributed. Sixteen legions had crossed the Adriatic, and the young Octavius, his adopted son, awaited him at Apollonia; a few days more and Caesar would have been in the midst of his faithful veterans. A report spread that before leaving Rome he

¹ See p. 514.

² This work, continued after Caesar's time, was employed in preparing the famous chart of Agrippa (pl. lii. 3) and to assess the taxes in a much fairer way according to the nature of the lands. (See vol. iv. chapter lxvii. 2.)

³ Museum of the Louvre.

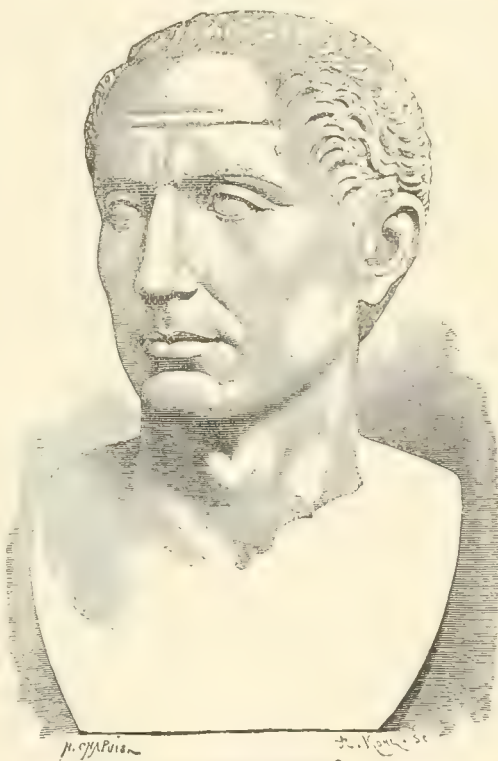
would make a last effort with the Senate, and that, at the session announced for the ides of March, it would be discussed whether Caesar, while remaining dictator in Italy, could not, in the provinces, wear the diadem as king of the conquered nations. This day of the ides, which was destined in the opinion of the last of the republicans to establish tyranny forever, they fixed upon for the day of expiation.

IV.—CONSPIRACY; ASSASSINATION OF CAESAR.

THE swords broken at Pharsalia, at Thapsus, and at Munda were about to be exchanged for daggers. For several months a conspiracy had been in existence; all the republicans had not fallen in the battles of the Civil war, and there were some of them surrounding Caesar and even among his friends.

The party was composed of malecontents whose services had not been rewarded according to their wishes, and of men sated with wealth and honors, who had nothing more to expect from Caesar and who thought it desirable to be rid of a chief who, himself alone, occupied so great a space. Along with these men were enthusiasts to whom the Republic was a religion, and theorists who gave themselves up to empty speculations instead of observing facts. Then came the brawlers of the Forum, who could no longer arrive at power by seditious harangues, and the conservatives whose interests and habits resented every innovation, even the most necessary. Resigned beforehand to be the booty of the conqueror, they were none the less Republican at heart, like Atticus, the perfect type of an egotist, who from Sylla to Augustus was able to live through so many of the Civil wars and proscriptions without losing fortune or life. Others, who had been consuls, praetors, and governors of provinces, and had each enjoyed his two or three years of sovereignty, could not reconcile themselves—to the idea of falling into the condition of those servile Oriental nations, always prostrate at the feet of one man. Among them were very honest men, Cicero, for example, who had made his fortune by speeches and whom silence

exasperated.¹ Deprived of the opportunity of speaking, he wrote gloomy books, such as the first *Tusculan* on the contempt of death, which implied that it was not possible to live under the government of Caesar. Other persons appointed to high offices showed in private the same displeasure, while all the time they were in liberal enjoyment of the master's favor. Such were Turfanius, commander in Sicily, Cornificius in Africa, Servilius Isauricus in Asia, Sulpicius in Greece. They discussed confidentially the misfortunes of the Republic, and one of them, to console Cicero on the death of his daughter, wrote to him: "Fortune has deprived us of the possessions which we ought to love as much as our children,—fatherland, dignity, and all our honors. What signifies a fresh disgrace added to all our misfortunes? In the sad times in which we live they are the happiest who, without pain, exchange their life for death." To love one's fatherland as much as one's children is well; but in Caesar's hands the country was in no peril; one thing only was in danger,—and they themselves say it,—their honors and their dignities.² They were right in regretting that grand life, and those fine harangues that were now no longer heard in the Forum, grown so quiet; but less eloquence and more security at this moment suited the world better, and we should do wrong to side with that old *régime* which, having done all it could that was useful,

JULIUS CAESAR.³

¹ Cicero, far more than Lucan, is the originator of the legend about Roman liberty being killed by Caesar.

² . . . *Honestatem, dignitatem, honores omnes* (Sulpicius to Cicero, *Ad Fam.* iv. 5).

³ Museum of Naples. A colossal bust belonging to the Farnese collection, considered one of the authentic portraits of Caesar.

henceforth continued to produce nothing but harm,—like those worn-out implements which must be replaced by new ones. In history new machines come into use by means of reforms, or else of revolutions.

At Pharsalia it was possible still to indulge the hope that the struggle was the conflict of two ambitions which would be extinguished like that of Sylla in the enjoyment of constitutional powers; after Thapsus and Munda, no one could doubt that monarchy would be established. Since the foundation of the Republic the Roman aristocracy had skilfully fostered among the people a horror of the name of king. With this word they had rid themselves of Sp. Cassius, of Manlius, of Maelius, and of the first of the Gracchi; with it again they succeeded in freeing themselves from Caesar. “It was you,” exclaimed Cicero afterwards in one of his Philippics against Antony,—“it was you who killed Caesar at the festival of the Lupercalia when you offered him the royal diadem.” And Cicero spoke truly. Though the monarchical solution answered to the needs of the times, it was almost inevitable that the first monarch should pay for his royalty, like Henry IV. of France, with his life.

The chief of the conspiracy was C. Cassius Longinus,¹ the general who had saved the army of Crassus, and, almost without troops, had defended Syria against the Parthians. After the battle of Pharsalia, he had been pardoned, and Caesar had just given him the praetorship with the government of Syria; but this ambitious and malignant man did not forgive the dictator for



COIN OF
MEGARA²



COIN OF
MEGARA.

having appointed M. Junius Brutus to the urban praetorship before him. He had older grievances. Before his aedileship he had kept lions at Megara; Caesar had taken them from him; besides, he believed himself designed by nature to play some high part; all at this time depended upon one man, and he was conscious of being only second in the master's favor. He resolved to overthrow him by assassination, since open war had not succeeded. Accomplices were

¹ He must not be confounded with Q. Cassius Longinus, one of Caesar's lieutenants.

² Head of Apollo crowned with laurel. On the reverse, ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ, and a seven-stringed lyre. Bronze coin of Megara.

necessary ; he naturally sought them in the Pompeian party, where the ranks were so cleared that he saw no one who could prove an obstacle to him. He sounded Brutus.

As nephew and son-in-law of Cato,¹ Brutus seemed to be the inheritor of his virtues, and ended in becoming the inheritor of his passion for that oligarchical government which restricted equality to a small number, but gave to those few men a singular greatness. He remained a long time without taking any side. Though during the first Civil war he had declared for Pompey, the assassin of his father,² it was with very little ardor, for on the eve of Pharsalia, when all the camp was in commotion, he was reading and annotating Polybius. His mother, Servilia, had been the object of the most ardent and lasting of Caesar's affections, and before the battle he gave orders that care should be taken to spare young Brutus. From Larissa the latter sent his submission to the conqueror, was received by him with kindness, and obtained from him the government of Gallia Cisalpina, although he had not before held any great office. He showed himself grateful, did not rejoin the Pompeians either in Africa or in Spain ; and when the ex-consul Marcellus, recalled by the dictator, fell in Athens by an assassin's hand, Brutus composed a pamphlet exonerating Caesar, who was accused of the murder. Thus it was said : "Cassius hates only the tyrant ; Brutus loves him, but detests the tyranny." This was not quite true, for we see him without scruple solicit offices from Caesar, who gave him the urban praetorship and the important governorship of Macedon. But the conspirators besieged this soul, feeble under its apparent strength. Cassius represented to him that Rome would soon be replaced as capital of the Empire by Ilion and Alexandria, where their master would hold his royal court. Atticus forged a genealogy for him which, notwithstanding the famous story of the execution of the sons of the first Brutus, made him out to be descended from the avenger of the aristocratic privileges.³ In order to urge him, to win him over

¹ Cato had two daughters named Portia. Th. Mommsen does not believe that the wife of Brutus was one of the two. (Cf. *Hermes*, vol. xv, p. 29.)

² See vol. iii. p. 70.

³ It has been said that Caesar believed him to be his son ; their respective ages are an objection to this, but not an insuperable one. Caesar was seventeen years older than Brutus, who was born in 85.

to the conspiracy, it was represented to him that the nobles, the Senate, and the populace had no hope but in him; and he was fascinated, intoxicated with the fierce doctrine of tyrannicide. At

BRUTUS.¹

the foot of the statue of the elder Brutus; and on the tribunal where he himself sat as praetor, he found written: "O Brutus, would to heaven thou wert still alive!" — "If thy spirit but breathed in one of thy descendants!" And, again, "Sleepest thou, Brutus?" "Nay, thou art not Brutus!"

It was not without long struggles that Caesar's friend yielded to temptation. During his sleepless nights he recalled what he had heard chanted in Athens in the midst of religious solemnities: "Under the myrtle-branch, I will bear the sword, like Harmodius and Aristogiton, who slew the tyrant at the festival of Athena." He repeated to himself, "Our ancestors also did not believe it

possible to endure a master." In a very noble and very haughty letter written later, we read these hard words: "If my father rose from his tomb to assume an authority superior to the laws and the Senate, I would not suffer it." He yielded to those sophisms of the schools wherein politics had no place, and, for the sake of preserving to the Senate a power which he confounded with liberty, he decided on the murder of the man who had been to him as a father. Like all fanatics possessed with one idea, he believed himself the instrument of a necessary vengeance, and celebrated as the day of his deliverance that in which his resolution was taken.²

¹ Bust from the Museum of Naples, No. 876. It was found at Pompeii in November, 1869, in the house of Popidius.

² *Neque incolomis Cæsare vivo fui, nisi postea quam illud conscrivi facinus.* (Cic., *Ad Brut.*

His name gained others: Ligarius, who forgot Caesar's clemency; Pontius Aquila, a tribune, who had recently taken his office in earnest, to the great displeasure of the dictator and his friends;¹ Sextius Naso, Rubrius Ruga, Caecilius Bucilianus and his brother; Decimus Brutus, one of the best lieutenants of Caesar, who had richly rewarded him,² and L. Tillius Cimber, whom Caesar had also loaded with favors; the two Cascas; Trebonius, a general unfortunate in Spain, who did not now consider the promise of an early consulship sufficient for his merits; Sulpicius Galba, irritated at having been refused a consulship; Minucius Basilus, one of the dictator's favorite officers, who had not yet obtained a province; Cassius of Parma, Antistius Labeo, Petronius, Turullius: in all about sixty men; far more than was necessary to assassinate Caesar, who took no care of himself. Favonius, the imitator of Cato, had not forgotten the experience of the last four years; sounded by Brutus, he replied that the most unjust monarchy was preferable to civil war. Cicero, though connected with the chief conspirators, knew nothing; nevertheless, he thoroughly deserved to be in the plot, for he had, even before Pharsalia, deemed the death of Caesar necessary.³ But the others doubted his courage, and they were right. The brilliant advocate remaining, in spite of Caesar's favors, the enemy of a government where speech was no longer everything, would have hesitated at the moment of action, and hindered the men whose ambition or fanaticism knew no scruples.

Caesar received ample warnings. Some came from heaven, which men told after the event: fires seen in mid-air; sounds at

16; cf. *ibid.* 17.) We have seen (vol. ii. p. 652) that Brutus had no pity for the provincials, extorting from them enormous usury. Montesquieu says (*Grand. et déc. des Rom.* chap. xi.): "There was a certain law of nations in the Republics of Greece and Italy which led people to regard the assassin of one who had usurped sovereign power as a virtuous man." I cannot concede this law in the case of Rome. Tarquin the Proud was expelled less as a tyrant than as a foreign ruler (vol. i. p. 254). Cassius (*ibid.* p. 172), Maelius (*ibid.* 237), Manlius (*ibid.* 279), and the Gracchi (vol. ii. chap. xxxviii.) were victims of the aristocracy and not usurpers or men who wished to be such. I find among ancient authors no one but Cicero who glorified the murder of Caesar; Suetonius merely says (*Julius Caesar*, 76): *Praegravant cetera facta dictaque ejus, ut . . . jure caesus existimetur.*

¹ When Caesar's chariot, in his triumphal procession, had passed by the tribune's bench, this man had not risen with the rest. Afterwards, in granting a favor, the dictator would say ironically: "I confer it by permission of the tribune Pontius" (Suet. *Jul.* 78).

² He possessed more than half a million of money (*Ad Fam.* xi. 10).

³ See above, p. 431, the Second Philippic (*passim*), and a letter to Decimus Brutus (*Ad Fam.* xi. 5).

night; birds of prey perching in the Forum; his favorite horses refusing to eat and shedding tears; a diviner who warned him to beware of the ides of March, etc. He had more serious revelations: he was warned of a conspiracy prepared by Brutus. "Brutus," said he, "will wait till I am dead." But on another occasion, when some one directed his suspicions towards Dolabella and Antony, "It is not good luxurious fellows like these that I dread," he rejoined, "but men of lean and pallid aspect," indicating Brutus and Cassius. Antony was a faithful lieutenant; but Caesar treated Dolabella with a favor which neither his age nor his services explained. The latter was a young noble of turbulent character, overwhelmed with debts, longing for proscriptions to pay them, and displeased with the dictator, who made none. He was justly suspected, for on the day which followed the ides of March he joined the murderers. Caesar, without fearing him, kept a watch on him. When he rode past the house of Dolabella, outside of Rome, the soldiers of the praetorian cohort, instead of following him, surrounded his horse.

Caesar grew impatient of these whispered threats, and refused to believe them, or at least to think of them. "Rome," he said, "is more interested in my life than I;" and he had dismissed his Spanish guard.¹ On the night before the ides, supping at the house of Lepidus with Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, the conversation turned on death: "The best," he said, "is the least expected."

The conspirators were uneasy and undecided. Cassius wished to kill Antony and Lepidus, together with their chief. Brutus insisted that only one blow should be struck; in his delusion he imagined that, the tyrant once dead, liberty would revive of itself, and he was unwilling to stain his triumph with needless blood. In public his demeanor was calm, his mind made up; but in solitude, especially at night, his trouble and agitation revealed the struggles of this diseased soul with its false heroism. His wife Portia saw that he meditated some great design; to prove her courage and strength, before asking him the secret, it is said she wounded herself severely in the thigh.

¹ He appears, however, to have retained his praetorian cohort or a body of troops. When he travelled to Campania in December, 69, going from villa to villa, he was accompanied by two thousand soldiers (*Id. Alt.* xiii. 52)

On the day of the ides (the 15th March, 44) the conspirators repaired early to the Senate; several of them, being obliged as praetors to dispense justice, held court while awaiting Caesar. He was late; Calpurnia, disturbed by a frightful dream, had desired that he should consult by sacrifices, and the augurs had forbidden him to go out. He determined to postpone the session to another day; but at that moment Decimus Brutus entered; he spoke scoffingly of the diviners, and assured Caesar that the Senate, being assembled in accordance with his summons, were ready to vote that he should be declared king in the provinces, and might wear the diadem by sea and land, save only in Italy. Caesar had scarcely passed the threshold when a servant, who had not been able to speak to him on account of the crowd, came and delivered himself up into the hands of Calpurnia, begging her to keep him safe until the return of Caesar, as he had a matter of great importance to communicate to the dictator. Artemidorus of Cnidus, a teacher of Greek literature at Rome, approached Caesar in the street and gave him a small paper with the general outline of the conspiracy.

“Read this,” the philosopher said to him, “alone and quickly, for it contains matter of great importance and nearly concerning you.” But Caesar could not find time for it. The conspirators had other

BRUTUS HOLDING THE DAGGER.¹

¹ Statue from the villa Albani. (Guattani, 1786, and Clarac, pl. 911, No. 2319.)

grounds for uneasiness. One man said to Casca: "You made your secret a mystery to me, but Brutus has told me the matter." Casca, much astonished and troubled, was about to reveal everything, when the other added, laughing: "And how could you become in so short a time rich enough to canvass the aedileship?" A senator, Popilius Laenas, saluting Brutus and Cassius more eagerly than usual, whispered to them: "I pray the gods to give a favorable issue to the scheme you meditate, but I advise you not to lose a moment, for it is no longer a secret." He departed, leaving in their minds great misgivings that the conspiracy was discovered.

Meanwhile Portia had not been able to endure the anguish of suspense; she swooned, and those around her thought that she was dead; a slave ran to announce it to Brutus, but subduing his grief, he entered the Senate, where Caesar at last arrived. "At the doors of the curia the same Popilius Laenas, who knew everything, had a long conversation with Caesar, to which the dictator seemed to give the greatest attention. The conspirators, who could not hear what he said, feared he was denouncing them; they glanced at each other, and warned each other by a stern look not to wait until they were seized, but to forestall the lictors by a voluntary death. Cassius and some others had already put their hands under their robes to draw out a dagger, when Brutus perceived by the gestures of Laenas that the point in question between him and Caesar was a very earnest petition. He said nothing to the conspirators, for there were amongst them many senators who were not in the secret, but by the cheerfulness he exhibited, he re-assured Cassius; and soon afterwards Laenas, kissing Caesar's hand, withdrew.

"The place which was destined for the scene of the murder, in which the Senate met that day, was the same in which Pompey's statue stood, and was one of the edifices which Pompey had raised and dedicated with his theatre to the use of the public, plainly showing that there was something supernatural which guided the action, and ordered it to that particular place. Cassius, just before the act, is said to have looked towards Pompey's statue, and silently implored his assistance, though he had been inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus. But this occasion, and the instant danger, carried him away out of all his reasonings, and filled him for the time with a sort of inspiration. As for Antony, who was

firm to Caesar, and a strong man, Brutus Albinus kept him outside the house, and delayed him with a long conversation, contrived on purpose. When Caesar entered, the Senate stood up, to show their respect to him; and of Brutus' confederates some came about his chair, and stood behind it; others met him, pretending to add their petitions to those of Tillius Cimber, in behalf of his brother who was in exile; and they followed him with their joint supplications till he came to his seat. When he was sat down, he refused to comply with their requests, and, upon their urging him further, began to reproach them severally for their importunities; when Tillius, laying hold of his robe with both hands, pulled it down from his neck, which was the signal for the assault. Casca gave him the first cut, in the neck, which was not mortal nor dangerous, as coming from one who, at the beginning of such a bold action, was probably very much disturbed. Caesar immediately turned about, and laid his hand upon the dagger, and kept hold of it; and both of them, at the same time, cried out, he that received the blow, in Latin: 'Vile Casca, what does this mean?' and he that gave it, in Greek, to his brother: 'Brother, help!' Upon this first onset, those who were not privy to the design were astonished, and their horror and amazement at what they saw were so great that they durst not fly nor assist Caesar, nor so much as speak a word. But those who came prepared for the business enclosed him on every side with their naked daggers in their hands. Which way soever he turned, he met with blows, and saw their blades levelled at his face and eyes, and was encompassed like a wild beast in the toils on every side. . . . Some say that he fought and resisted with the rest, but that when he saw Brutus' sword drawn, he covered his face with his robe and submitted, — letting himself fall, whether it were by chance or that he was pushed in that direction by his murderers, at the post of the pedestal on which Pompey's statue stood, and which was thus wetted with his blood. . . . The conspirators themselves were many of them wounded by each other, while they all levelled their blows at the same person."¹

¹ Plut., *Caesar*. Of twenty-three wounds only one was mortal (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 86). Nicolaus Damascenus reckons them at thirty-five. Only two senators made any attempt to defend him; their names deserve to be remembered, — Sabinus Calvisius and Censorinus.

V. — ESTIMATE OF CAESAR'S POLICY.

CAESAR was the most complete man that Rome ever produced, — the one in whom appears the most harmonious development of all faculties: an orator of manly utterance;¹ a sober writer, free from all false glitter; an intrepid soldier as soon as it became necessary, and a general equal to the greatest from the moment when he took command of the armies. His mind, open to the lessons of life, forgot none of the counsels which life gives,² and his judgment, always calm amidst the wildest tumults, was obscured neither by anger nor emotion.³ Accordingly he saw things in their true light and aimed at what was possible, going beyond this limit only just so far as was needful to make the possible success a certain one. His vices did not disturb his strong intellect, his pleasures never interfered with his business.⁴ Even his victories never dazzled him. Founder as he was of a military monarchy, he by no means gave the first place to the army; he continued master of his soldiers as of himself, and dominating from the summit of his fortune the world as it lay stretched at his feet, he never gave way to the intoxication of pride which has more than once clouded the intellect of superior men.

He had the greatest of advantages: favorable circumstances and mediocrity in his opponents;⁵ but he found another advantage in himself: the talent of transforming the men and the things of his time into instruments suitable to his plans. As in the midst of

¹ Cicero says of Caesar's style: *Nudi omni oratu orationis, tanquam veste detracta*; and Mr. Froude adds: "Like an undraped human figure perfect in all its lines as nature made it" (*Caesar*, p. 489).

² He used to say that experience was a great master: *est rerum omnium magister usus* (*Bell. civ. ii. 8*).

³ *Moderate solebat irasci* (Seneca, *De Ira*, ii. 23). "He never gave way to passion" (Dion, xxxviii. 11).

⁴ See, on Cleopatra and on Caesar's stay in Alexandria, p. 474.

⁵ "Caesar had not overthrown the oligarchy; their own incapacity, their own selfishness, their own baseness had overthrown them. Caesar had been but the reluctant instrument of the power which metes out to men the inevitable penalties of their own misdeeds" (Froude, *Caesar*, p. 171). Merivale (*History of the Romans under the Empire*) and Arnold (*The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, 1879) are of nearly the same opinion as Mr. Froude.

blunderers he alone had a fixed purpose, his powerful and tranquil will made everything converge to a single end, and he attained it. What does the astonishing fidelity of the Gauls during the Civil war indicate but that skill in appropriating to himself living forces, which is the highest gift of a commander? More than once he did violence to fortune,—in his youth by enormous debts; later by military rashness; but his audacity was intentional and his temerity prudent; for these qualities, combined with his indomitable will, gave him a vast ascendancy over men's minds, and enabled him to demand every effort from his friends and soldiers. His army was his family, and loved him with the most entire devotion. One of his centurions having fallen into the hands of the Pompeians in Africa, refused, though threatened with death, to enroll himself in the enemy's ranks; "Give me ten of my comrades," he said to Scipio, "send five hundred of your men against us, and see what we shall do with them."¹ Throughout his entire military career Caesar was only twice defeated,² and for those two defeats he very quickly and brilliantly made amends.

Even his enemies felt the charm, for he employed against them

CLEMENTIA.³

¹ *De Bell. Afric.* 45.

² Before Gergovia and at Dyrrachium.

³ Statue in the Vatican (*Braccio Nuovo*, No. 74).

a weapon new to Rome, clemency; and it was so natural to him that we find it in his writings, where there is not an offensive word concerning his enemies. The fame of the great man who fell under the dagger of Brutus is not alone made up of military successes and political wisdom, but of kindness also. Between two reigns of terror, — one which had preceded him, the other which followed him, — he repudiated the savage customs of the Romans of that time and was unwilling to confiscate or to proscribe. Suetonius, who bears him neither hatred nor affection, concludes his portrait of Caesar thus: “He was gentle and good, *lenissimus*.”

He reigned five years, during which he made seven campaigns, and he was not in Rome more than fifteen months during that time. But between battles his thoughts were of the reforms needed by the State; the mere enumeration of those he undertook would seem to imply a long life of repose and meditation.

Pledged by his family traditions to the defence of popular interests, he looked higher, fixing his attention upon the interests of the State, without hatred to the aristocracy or servility towards the people. The struggle in which the oligarchy engaged him enlarged his horizon; he saw that the safety of the Republic demanded something more than merely relieving the poverty of the plebeians of Rome, as the Gracchi had endeavored to do, or punishing extortioners in the provinces, which Sylla had attempted. He understood that out of the municipal constitution of Rome must be developed the constitution of a State, and to this end the right of citizenship must be largely bestowed, the Senate transformed into a representative assembly of the whole Empire, and the provincial governors placed under the power of a permanent chief, for whose interest it would be to make justice prevail in order thus to secure the prevalence of peace.

The Romans had an admirable State council in the old Republican Senate, but their two great statesmen, Sylla and Caesar, both recognized that the popular assembly was, and must be, incapable of managing the interests of sixty millions of men. The one, a workman of the past, constituted an aristocratic government, which, had it lasted, would have been in ancient times what Venice might have become in the Middle Ages if she had had neither the Council of Ten nor the Three Inquisitors of State, who

kept in check the nobility of the Golden Book. The other, a workman of the future, overthrew an oligarchy greedy of gain and of pleasure, and having neither the right to govern the Empire alone nor the intelligence necessary to preserve this government.

The same words often designate very different things. The Republic of the Romans had nothing in common with what we call by that name. By a republic, the moderns understand a society in which the citizen has the largest possible share of liberty and the government the least share of power. In Rome the citizen was the serf of the State, and the most forcible word in the Latin language, *imperium*, marked the extent of the executive power.¹ Even in the comitia the sovereign assembly voted only upon the propositions of the magistrates presiding, and these presidents still further had the power of putting a stop to the voting after it had begun. The idea of political liberty was so foreign to the mind of the Romans, that they never had an image of it;² among the

¹ As to guarantees, the citizen had but one, the *appellatio* and *intercessio*, that is, the appeal from one magistrate to another of equal or higher rank; and the latter's interference, putting a stop to proceedings; and the former could not be exercised beyond the first mile.

² At least I have sought in vain for it. It is true that Clodius, the man of all kinds of violence, made the statue of a courtesan into a goddess of Liberty, *ut esset indicium oppressi senatus ad memoriam sempiternam turpitudinis* (see Cic., *pro Domo*, 43, and above, p. 361), that Caesar promised a temple to her, and that we see her image on the coins of Claudius, of Nero, and of Commodus, and her name in the inscriptions of Tiberius and Constantine. At the end of the first Punic war a temple had been erected on the Aventine *Jovi Libertati*. When Gracchus freed the eight thousand slaves who had fought so well for Rome against Hannibal, he caused the scene to be painted in this temple (Livy, xxiv. 16; xxxiv. 44). In the *Atrium Libertatis* which was erected where afterwards stood the Basilica Ulpia(?) slaves were set free (Sid. Apoll., *Epig.* 2); lots were drawn to see in which of the urban tribes freedmen were to vote (*Ibid.* xlv. 15); and there the slaves who gave evidence in the trial of Milo were put to the torture (*pro Milone*, 22). Finally this sanctuary of Liberty was used as a prison; the Tarentine hostages were confined there (Livy, xxv. 7). Rebuilt by Asinius Pollio, and used as a public library, it well deserved its name, *Atrium Libertatis*, the place where minds are set free by the wisdom of the ancients; and Augustus restored the temple of Jupiter Libertas, who had delivered the Republic from its misfortunes. After the defeat of the republicans at Munda, which inaugurated the monarchy, the Senate vowed another temple to Liberty. Ultimately, however, this goddess really had a statue in Rome. At the death of Sejanus the senators decreed that there should be set up in the Forum *Ἐλευθερίας ἄγαλμα* (Dion, lviii. 12).

This enumeration shows that by the word *liberty* the Romans understood something quite different from what we mean by it. It was the act of setting free from an inferior social condition, from the caprice of a master, and from the arbitrary power which an absolute prince could promise to renounce without abdicating: it was for the citizens the hope of living in peace under the law, whatever might be the authority which made it, and not the expression of a combination of institutions insuring them political liberty and participation in government.

innumerable statues which they have left us, we seek in vain for one representing it. They deified everything except that which would be our most popular divinity, had we still goddesses. The dispute between the Senate and Caesar had no bearing, then, on this question; the point to be decided was simply whether sixty millions of men should have one master or three hundred. Brutus killed Caesar because he wished to continue one of these three hundred, and to save the oligarchy was what he called Virtue. His view of this matter has long been accepted. An attentive study of the transformations of Roman society has diminished the authority of the tradition without causing it to disappear.¹ so that even in the present day Caesar has his enemies. In the eyes of impartial history, if he was the most ambitious of men, he was also the ablest instrument of an historic necessity. He originated that unity of command by which were rendered identical the interests of the head of the State and those of the people thus delivered from the rapacity of a hundred families. He created a monarchy of a character new to the ancients, which, instead of being, like Oriental monarchies, an indolent royalty, living in the midst of pleasures by the travail of its subjects, was in its principle and often in reality a royalty protecting the greatest number, thinking and acting for those

Quid est libertas? writes Cicero (*Parat.* v. 1). *Potestas circuli ut colis*, a rescript of Alexander Severus, gives us the Roman sense of Liberty. "*Tantum mihi cura est eorum qui reputant libertatis, quantum et humane voluntatis eorum et obedientiar.*" Dig. xlix. 1, 25. Mamertinus (*Paneg.*, *Vet.* pp. 698, 699) says of Julian that he watches night and day over the liberty, that is, the security of the citizens. Amm. Marcell., xiv. 6, calls the imperial constitution *fundamenta libertatis*. As for the word *republic*, it signifies the State and not a condition of liberty and equality; accordingly it was made use of under the empire in the same way as the motto, S.P.Q.R. (*Senatus populusque Romanus*). I have given, in vol. i. p. 524, a head of Liberty on a coin of Lollus Palikanus. This coin commemorates a particular liberty, the right of speaking to the people accorded to the tribunes by the *lex Pompeia*. That on the coin of Servilius Isauricus, represented on p. 114 of this volume, is a memento of the numerous captives set at liberty by the conqueror of the pirates.

¹ This tradition still exists in France in many minds, but faith in it is very much shaken in Caesarian Germany and free England. I beg that it may be noticed that I have not in any way changed, in the course of the present publication, the opinion I expressed in 1844 in the second volume of my first edition. I could have wished, as so many others have done, that the great Republic which had for centuries shown unexampled wisdom might have endured. But was it possible? M. Fustel de Coulanges says very truly: "The men of this period loved the empire because they found interest and profit in loving it" (*Histoire des Institutions de l'ancienne France*, vol. i. p. 92). He adds, "In the history of the world we find few political systems which have lasted five centuries, like the Roman empire; we find few which have been so little questioned and attacked in principle; we find none which were so long and so universally applauded by the populations whom they governed" (*Op. cit.* pp. 93, 94).

who could neither think nor act for themselves. The basis of the imperial power at Rome was the tribunitian power, and in spite of the follies and crimes of the Caligulas, of the Neros, and of the Commodi, the emperors worthy of the name were the true tribunes of the people, concerned doubtless with their personal greatness, but also with the general interests of the empire; believing in merit rather than in birth; effacing the harsh and injurious distinctions established by the Republic; mitigating the law and making it each generation more humane, even for the slave, and going even as far as to conceive the great poor-law institution of Trajan; in a word, carrying out a good social policy without acting after the manner of demagogues. Now, this character the imperial monarchy owes to Caesar, and it has bequeathed the same to modern royalties, in which the ruler considers himself not as a son of heaven, but as the first of the country's servants. Augustus, Vespasian, the Antonines, Severus, Aurelian, Probus, and even Tiberius, Claudius and Domitian were in their turn great or skilful administrators, to whom millions of men owed, for more than two centuries, a prosperity which before their time the world had never seen.

Philosophers had foreseen this government, peoples desired it, and juriconsults framed its theory. Tacitus, in the time of Nerva,¹ greeted its advent, which he ought to have placed earlier; and it was realized by the Antonines. It was an imperfect form, since it contained no safeguard against the incapacity or folly of the ruler; but it was better than the one which it superseded, while not as good as a system would have been in which the monarch, free to do well, was not free to do ill. Unfortunately humanity is very poor in political ideas, and very slow in the transition from one to another; it required eighteen centuries to advance from absolute to representative governments. A superior man can hasten the hour of great reforms;² Caesar, who had so many forms of genius, lacked this one, or lacked the time to manifest it. There

¹ *Quamquam res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum et libertatem* (Agric. 3).

² We have seen (vol. ii. p. 250 *seq.*) that the elements of a representative organization existed everywhere, and we shall see (chap. lxxii.) that Augustus knew no better than Caesar or the Senate how to utilize them, whereas the Church, imitating those institutions which had remained useless for politics, made them the instrument of her unity and her power.

remains, however, to the founder of Caesarism a fame that is grand enough; had he lived he would have been a Trajan or a Hadrian, and greater than both.

¹ LIB. AVG. P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunitia) P(otestas) XVII COS VIII P(ater) P(atriae) The reverse of an *aureus* of Commodus set in the patera of Rennes, one of the jewels of our *Cabinet des Antiques*.



LIBERTY.¹

CHAPTER LIX.

FROM THE DEATH OF CAESAR TO THE FORMATION OF THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE (44-43).

I. — FUNERAL OF CAESAR (MARCH, 44).

“IN the moments of amazement which follow an unexpected action anything can be done that a man has the courage to attempt.”¹ But the conspirators, says Cicero, “though men in heart, were children in head.”² They had formed a plan for the murder only, and they had none for what was to follow. Indeed, had they made any, the course of events would not have been altered thereby. Political crimes ruin the cause they claim to serve; Brutus and his friends had assassinated the Republic, or, at least, what remained of it.



COIN OF BRUTUS.³

When the work of deliverance had been accomplished and the murderers prepared to harangue the Senate, the terror-struck senators had disappeared. They themselves, instead of uttering shouts of victory and liberty, remain gloomy, undecided, and, as it were, startled by the blow they have struck. They are alone in the curia with their murdered victim, and yet they huddle together like criminals. No man threatens them, yet they make ready to defend themselves; they roll their togas round their left arms, and grasp their daggers. Finally they go forth; they cross the Forum with a freedman's cap carried in front of them;⁴ they display their blood-stained

¹ Montesquieu, *Grandeur et décadence des Romains*, chap. xii.

² *Ad Att.* xiv. 21.

³ BRVT. IMP. L. PLAET. CEST.; uncovered head of Brutus. On the reverse, EID. MAR. (ides of March); cap between two daggers. Silver coin of Brutus

⁴ App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 118. A coin of Brutus bears these words: *Lib. P. R. restitu*, with

weapons; they cry out that the tyrant is dead, and the crowd remains silent. Rome's liberators, repelled by the people's indifference, are compelled to seek an asylum; they hasten to the Capitol, which Dec. Brutus has occupied with his gladiators. But upon the steps of the temple they recognize the spot where Tiberius Gracchus fell in a better cause, beneath the hands of their fathers. He, too, had incited the people to liberty, and the people had already ceased to comprehend him. Would they make any better response to-day to the appeal of a few nobles who in the interests of a condemned caste had just committed a parricide?

Antony, Lepidus, and Caesar's other friends, believing that the conspirators had considerable forces ready at hand, had taken flight and hidden themselves. This affright among the Caesarians emboldened a few senators: Cinna, Lentulus Spinther, and Favonius went up to the Capitol. In the evening Cicero came thither, complaining that he had not been invited to the joyful feast of the ides.¹ Caesar's death had raised his illusions again; he began to have fresh hope, and displayed an activity and a decision with which he was no longer credited. He was anxious that the Senate should at once be assembled in the Capitol; Brutus and Cassius being praetors could legally convoke it. He thought that by acting with energy and promptitude between the two affrighted parties the senators would become masters of the situation.

Brutus hesitated; he wished once more to attempt to persuade the people, and on the following day (16th of March) he went down into the Forum. His speech, a grave and moderate one, was quietly listened to; but the praetor Corn. Cinna, a relative of the dictator, speaking after him and attacking Caesar, the crowd broke forth into cries and threats, and the conspirators, intimidated, hastily retired to the Capitol, which was defended by their gladiators.

a *pilus* or freedman's cap between two daggers (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.* vi. 20 and 24). On one of the coins of Cassius there is the same legend, and the Caesarian Vibius Pansa put it upon his.

¹ So at least he afterwards wrote to Trebonius: . . . *quam vellem ut illas pulcherrimas epulas in Idibus Martiis caritasses! reliquum a nihil habereus* (*Ad Fam.* x. 28; xii. 1). But he would have wished it to be more complete; *Quem quam* (Antonium) *praeterea oportuisse tangi* (*Ad Att.* xv. 11; cf. *De Off.* ii. 8, 27; iii. 6 and 21). By what a moderate man like Cicero dared to say we can judge of what the others could do, and would have done, had they not from the very first day encountered the resistance of the Caesarians and the populace.

During this indecision, Caesar's friends were making good use of their time; Lepidus, his master of the horse, had called out the veterans encamped on the island in the Tiber and had introduced them into the city; Antony had obtained from Calpurnia Caesar's papers and ready money, four thousand talents; he had also laid hands on the public treasure in the temple of Ops, seven hundred million sesterces,¹ which he carried off to his house. The common danger drew these two leaders together, and they united, less to avenge their dead master than to take advantage of circumstances. Antony gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Lepidus, and promised the latter the high pontificate which Caesar had held, together with the two provinces, Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior, which had been assigned to Lepidus shortly before.

The conspirators had among them a consul-elect, Dolabella, who proposed that thenceforth the ides of March should be celebrated as the second birthday of the Republic; some great personages went over to their side, and Decimus Brutus had command of a large body of troops in his government of Cisalpine Gaul, whence he could summon them. The Caesarians had only the legion of Lepidus, with a few veterans, and there was no reliance to be placed on the multitude at Rome. This situation demanded prudence. Antony, who had hitherto been known only as a headstrong soldier, displayed superior ability; he outwitted all men. In spite of Cicero the murderers entered into negotiations with him. It was agreed that in virtue of his office of consul, he should assemble the Senate on the following day, March 17. He convoked it, but in the temple of Tellus far from the Capitol, and he surrounded the place of deliberation with the armed cohorts of Lepidus. The assassins dared not attend the session; the people hastened thither crying to Antony to take care of himself; upon which he raised his toga and displayed a cuirass. The discussion was a stormy one. The proposition was made that Caesar should be declared a tyrant, and that his body should be cast into the Tiber. Antony represented that that would be to abolish his acts; and as all the appointments had been made for five years, magistracies at Rome, governorships of provinces, and command of armies, too many persons, beginning with the murderers themselves,

¹ Cic., *Philipp.* iii. 37.

were interested in the maintenance of the *status quo* to allow the proposition to pass.¹ Cicero urged the Senate to ratify all the acts of Caesar and confirm all his appointments; finally a decree was passed that no inquiry should be made in respect to the murder of Caesar, and that all his enactments and dispositions should remain valid *for the welfare of the Republic*.² The murderers had insisted that this last phrase should be added to the decree. The welfare of the Republic was the pass-word which served to justify the assassins in retaining the benefits conferred upon them by their victim. Later, those citizens who had obtained from Caesar appointments to the provinces, claimed in their turn the confirmation of their rights, and a second *senatus-consultum* gave them satisfaction. What a strange spectacle! They had slain the tyrant, but all men agreed in maintaining the acts of the tyranny "in the interests of the Republic." The amnesty was a natural consequence of this touching harmony; it was proclaimed, and no one thought of the results which had followed that of Caesar. The next day the people were called together in the Forum; Cicero still spoke of peace and union. His voice, which had regained its power, seemed to take hold of all hearts. The people invited the conspirators to descend from the Capitol; Lepidus and Antony sent their children thither as hostages, and when the two leaders of the conspirators arrived in the Forum, applause broke forth. The two consuls embraced;³ Cassius dined with Antony, Brutus with Lepidus; the enthusiasm was general, and honest Cicero was triumphant. But in politics he had always been equally short-sighted; and now he was dreaming an idyl amid raging wolves.

The matter was not, indeed, at an end, and beneath an exterior of official friendship each retained his fierce passions. Since Caesar was not a tyrant, since his acts had been maintained, his fortune could not be confiscated, his will remained valid, and it was necessary to pay him the honor of a public funeral. L. Piso, his father-

¹ One of the most eager for this course was Dolabella, who in spite of his being only twenty-six was consul-elect, and who would have had to wait fifteen years to regain that office had the proposal passed. Many had similar reasons (App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 129). I must say I have great doubts about the age usually attributed to Dolabella. The phrase used by Caelius to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* viii. 13) respecting him in the year 50 B.C. could not be applied to a youth of twenty; he had been tribune at twenty-two, another difficulty, etc.

² App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 135.

³ Dolabella as consul-elect had taken Caesar's place as the colleague of Antony.

in-law, read his last wishes to the people. He adopted as his son his grand-nephew Octavius, and bequeathed to him the larger part of his possessions.¹ In case Calpurnia should have borne him a son, he named certain guardians for the infant, among them several of his murderers; to others he left considerable legacies, and Decimus Brutus was one of the number on whom he destined his inheritance to devolve, in case of the death of Octavius. These gifts from the victim to his assassins awoke the anger of the multitude; when Piso added that the dictator left to the people his palace and gardens beyond the Tiber,² and to every citizen three hundred sesterces (about \$14), there was a universal outburst of gratitude and threats.³

Another scene, carefully arranged, gave the whole city completely into Antony's hands. A funeral pile was erected in the Campus Martius. But the funeral panegyric was to be pronounced in the Forum. Thither the corpse was borne in rich apparel on an ivory couch, which was set down close to the rostra, and Antony took his place beside the dead. "It is not fitting," said he, "that so great a man should be praised by me alone. Listen to the voice of the country itself." And he slowly read the decrees of the Senate according divine honors to Caesar, declaring him consecrated, inviolable, father of his country. As he pronounced these last words he added, turning towards the funeral couch: "And behold here is the proof of their clemency! With him all had found refuge, and he himself could not escape; they assassinated him. Yet they had sworn to defend him; they had devoted to the gods whosoever should not shield him with his

THE DIOSCURI.⁴

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* ii. 143. See, in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, the admirable scene in the third act where Antony reads the will aloud.

² This villa of Caesar's seems to have occupied the site of the Pamfili Palace. It was made into a museum.

³ In this will, in which so many people had been named, there was no mention of either Cleopatra or Caesarion, whom she passed off as the dictator's son and who very probably was so. This omission shows the falsity of the reports which had been spread touching the queen's influence with Caesar and the projects foolishly attributed to the dictator of transporting the seat of empire to Alexandria. The great man has been credited with Antony's folly; with all due respect to romantic historians, these royal amours must be reduced to the proportions of a common liaison, without any influence on political matters.

⁴ Engraved gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1788 in the Catalogue.

body!" Then stretching his hand toward the Capitol: "O thou Jupiter, guardian of this city, and all you, ye gods of heaven, I call you to witness; I am ready to keep my oath, I am ready to avenge him." Then turning towards the body, he began a hymn, as if in honor of a god, in a rapid and excited voice recalling his wars, his



YOUNG OCTAVIUS.¹

battles, his conquests: "O thou invincible hero, thou didst escape in so many battles only to come and fall in the midst of us!" and with these words he tore off the toga which covered the body, and holding it up to the people showed the blood which stained it, and the wounds wherewith it was pierced. Sobs broke forth from the multitude and mingled with his own; but this was not enough yet. The body of Caesar stretched upon the couch was hidden from their eyes.

Suddenly the corpse

was seen to rise, with the twenty-three wounds on the breast and face;² and at the same time the funeral choir sang: "I have saved them, then, only to die by them."

It seemed to the people that Caesar himself was rising from his funeral couch to demand vengeance of them. They hastened to the curia where he had been struck down, and set fire to it; they sought for the murderers, and, deceived by his name, tore

¹ Head found at Ostia (Vatican, *Charamonti Museum*, No. 416.)

² This was the waxen effigy, of which Polybius speaks, made to resemble the dead, and which represented him at the funeral ceremonies. Antony had it arranged in such a manner that it could be raised into an upright posture and made to face about to all parts of the Forum, that the gaping wounds might be seen.

to pieces a tribune whom they took for Cinna, the praetor. From the glowing ruins of the curia they seized brands and hurled them against the houses of the conspirators; then they returned and took the body, and would have burnt it in the very temple of Jupiter. On being opposed by the priests they bore it back to the Forum to the spot where stood the palace of the kings. To make a funeral pile for it, they broke up the judgment seats and benches; the soldiers cast in their javelins, the veterans their crowns, their arms, their military gifts; the women their ornaments; and men thought they saw the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, themselves apply the first flaming torch to it. The people passed the whole night round the pyre. A comet which appeared in the heavens about that time seemed to justify the apotheosis. They cried that Caesar was received among the gods, and to the multitude it was an article of faith.² In order to consecrate this popular belief and render it more lasting by a tangible image, Octavius raised a brazen statue to his

CAESAR DEIFIED.¹

¹ Mattei Collection, pl. 75, and Clarac, pl. 910, No. 2318B.

² *In deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decernentium, sed et persuasione vulgi* (Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 88). The comet which appeared at that time was Halley's (See, in Vergil, the magnificent description which ends the first book of the *Georgics*.) *Hac de causa, says Suetonius (Julius Caesar, 88), simulacro ejus in vertice additur stella.* The month of Quintilis took Caesar's name *Julius* and still retains it as *July*.

adopted father in the Temple of Venus, with a golden star on its head; coins represent the new god thus.

To this mourning among the populace answered from afar the lamentation of the nations. Caesar, like Alexander, was bewailed by all whom he had conquered; the representatives of the provinces at Rome distinguished themselves by the liveliness of their grief. Each nation came in turn, says Suetonius, and made the Forum re-echo with its lamentations, and bewailed in its own way the protection it had lost; the Jews especially displayed unbounded regret;¹ for several nights they remained round the funeral pile. It has been asked whether there was not some secret community of ideas between the people from which religious unity was about to take its rise and the man who had desired to establish political unity. The Jews were only paying the debt they owed to him who, after having avenged them on the profaner of their temple, had allowed them to establish a synagogue at Rome, and to omit paying tribute during the Sabbatical year.²

Antony had succeeded; the murderers fled; but the Senate was deeply irritated at this treatment of the amnesty which had been passed on the previous day. The consul, who was very anxious to keep up appearances of legality, at a time when every one was talking about the avenged constitution, had need of that body to obtain dominion over it. First he brought it back to his side by instigating the recall of Sextus Pompeius and the abolition of the dictatorship; and still more surely by putting a stop to the popular movement which a certain Amatius wished to prolong for his own profit. This man, who said he was a relative of Marius and Caesar, had erected on the very site of the funeral pile an altar with this inscription: "To the Father of his Country," and every day sacrifices and libations were offered there; suits were settled before it as in the temples. Antony allowed his colleague Dolabella to overthrow the altar and put to death the demagogue, with a few of his partisans.

He even consented to have an interview outside Rome with

¹ Suet., *Julius Caesar*, 84. We have seen (p. 471) the motives of Caesar's friendship for the Jews. They were already numerous at Rome. (See the *Pro Flacco*, where Cicero shows that they made common cause with the popular party.)

² Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 3, 5. They had had a colony in Rome since the year 139 B. C.

Brutus and Cassius, who had retired before the popular indignation to Lanuvium. He guaranteed them all safety, and as they dared not venture into Rome, where in virtue of their office they should have resided, he caused them to be invested with the care of provisioning the city, to legalize their absence.¹ The other conspirators made arrangements to go and take possession of their governments; Decimus Brutus was allowed to set off for Cisalpine Gaul, Cimber for Bithynia, and Trebonius for Asia. Finally he did not oppose the restoration to Sextus Pompeius of those of his estates which had not yet been sold, with an indemnity of fifty million drachmae for those which had, and the proconsulship of the seas.² Never had the Senate found a more docile consul. Accordingly, when Antony, complaining of being pursued like a traitor by the hatred of the people, demanded a guard for his personal safety, the Senate did not refuse to grant him one. He soon raised it to six thousand men. This was an army sufficient to allow of his throwing off the mask.

The Senate had confirmed Caesar's acts. Antony extended this sanction to the projected acts of the dictator; and as he possessed all his books and had in his employ Faberius, one of Caesar's secretaries, he found in these documents, or caused to be written in them, all that it was to his interest to read there. Thus the Republic, the treasury, and the public offices were at his disposal, and Caesar dead was more powerful than he had been when alive, for what he would not have dared to do, Antony did in his name;³ he sold appointments, honors, and even provinces, as Lesser Armenia, which Dejotarus bought from him, and Crete, which paid ready money for its independence,⁴ but only threw

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 2. This writer says that Brutus and Cassius, in order to gain the veterans, had instigated the abolition of one of Caesar's best laws, — that which forbade soldiers to sell their allotment of land till they had held it twenty years.

² After Caesar's death, Sextus, who had taken refuge in the Pyrenees, had commenced war against the governor of Further Spain, Asinius Pollio, and had recovered the two provinces, where he had raised six legions. When he received the decree here mentioned granting him an indemnity, no part of which, however, was paid, together with what was more profitable to him, a command of the sea, like that which Pompey had held (App., *ibid.* iii. 4), he repaired to Marseilles, where he assembled some vessels (Dion, xlv. 9; xlv. 40; App., *ibid.* iv. 84, 96).

³ *Ita ne vero? . . . ut omnia facta, scripta, promissa, cogitata Caesaris, plus valerent quam si ipse viveret?* (Cic., *Ad Att.* xiv. 10; cf. *Philipp.* i. 7, 8).

⁴ *Philipp.* ii. 37.

away the money. These scandalous bargains swelled his fortune; on the ides of March his debts amounted to over a million and a half of our money; before the kalends of April he had paid it all, and invested nearly seven times the amount, which served him to bribe soldiers, senators, and his colleague Dolabella, thenceforth one of the most dangerous foes to his former party. To gain the Sicilians Antony gave them the citizenship; perhaps this was really one of the dictator's ideas. But he did not scruple to abrogate at need Caesar's most important laws. He established a third decuria of judges, composing it of centurions and common soldiers of the Gallic legion Alauda. He abolished the laws respecting the appeal to the people and the governorship of the consular provinces, the prolongation of which for six years he authorized, in order to secure for himself after his consulship a retreat whence he could long defy his enemies.¹ When by all these measures Antony thought he had made himself sufficiently strong, he broke the truce made with the murderers, causing Brutus and Cassius to be despoiled of their rich governments of Syria and Macedon, and giving them in exchange the two poorer ones of Crete and Cyrene;² Dolabella, his colleague, appropriated to himself the first named, and he took the second, wherein were stationed considerable forces. "The tyrant is dead," sadly exclaimed Cicero,³ "but tyranny still lives!"

II. — OCTAVIUS AND ANTONY (APRIL, 44).

IN the mean while there had arrived at Rome a young man hitherto little noticed. Octavius, great-nephew of Caesar through his mother Atia, who was the daughter of one of the dictator's sisters. At four years old he had lost his father, a wealthy Roman knight of a plebeian family coming from Velletri. Caesar, having no sons of his own, had taken charge of him. At fifteen he received the laticlave, the sign of senatorial dignity;

¹ Cic., *Philipp.* i. 8, 9; v. 3, 6; Aseon., ad Cic., in *Pison.* 39.

² There is some uncertainty as to the designation of the two provinces.

³ *Ad Fam.* xii. 1. and *Philipp.* v. 4.

later on a pontificate, and after the African war military rewards, though he had taken no part in the expedition. An illness prevented his arriving in Spain in time to be present at the battle



PALLAS OF VELLETRI ¹

of Munda; but Caesar intended to take him with him against the Parthians, and had sent him to Apollonia in the midst of the legions which were assembling there.² The squadrons of the army

¹ Museum of the Louvre. This statue, the most beautiful of the antique Minervas which have come down to us, was found, in 1737, a mile from Velletri, amid the ruins of a Roman villa which perhaps belonged to Octavius.

² Suet., *Octav.* 9; Dion, xlv. 2; Nicolaus Damascenus, 4; Vell. Paterc., ii. 59. Appian (*Bell. civ.* iii. 9) even says that he gave him the title of Master of Horse for a year.

of Macedon in turn were reviewed beneath the young man's eye, and by his uncle's orders he took part in their exercises. This precaution saved the fortune of Octavius, for with that marvellous address of which he soon afterwards gave so many proofs, he attached the soldiers to himself, and when tidings came of the death of the dictator, the tribunes invited him to put himself under the protection of these devoted legions. His



GABLE ORNAMENT IN MARBLE FOUND AT APOLLONIA.¹

friends Salvidienus and Agrippa advised him to accept the offer.² This would have been tantamount to a declaration of war against the Senate and the murderers; and Octavius, a man of reserved mind, who inclined to prudence as much as Caesar did to boldness, rejected the scheme; but daring in his own way, he resolved, notwithstanding the warnings of his kin, to go to Rome alone and

¹ Henzey, *Mission*, etc., pl. 34, No. 1.

² Vell. Patere., ii. 59. This Salvidienus was the son of a poor peasant, and had himself been a herdsman in his youth; he had raised himself step by step under Caesar, and had taken his place among that general's highest officers (App., *ibid.* v. 66). The Apollonians offered Octavius all their goods; he afterwards rewarded them by declaring their city free and exempt from taxation.

there lay claim to his dangerous heritage. He quite understood that he could only escape proscription by rendering himself formidable, and that there was no alternative for his destiny but the fate or the fortune of Caesar.

Being uncertain as to the disposition of the garrison of Brundisium, he landed at the little port of Lupia, where the scene at the funeral ceremonies had already been heard of, as well as the decrees of the Senate confirming the dictator's acts. From that time Octavius took the name of Caesar, which was greeted with acclamations by the first soldiers whom he met. To him flocked the freedmen and friends of his adopted father, and the veterans from the colonies who came to offer him their swords, if he designed to avenge that father's death. But he, advancing no pretension but that of fulfilling the last wishes of the illustrious victim, travelled without noise or ostentation. Near Cumae he learned that Cicero was in the neighborhood; he went and paid him a visit, and won the old man's heart by his urbanity and pretended simplicity.² At the end of April he entered Rome.³ Antony was absent; he was scouring Italy to recruit friends, and especially to secure veterans.



THE YOUNG OCTAVIUS.¹



OCTAVIUS IN MOURNING.⁴

Octavius was at that time scarcely nineteen; in vain did his friends renew their entreaties that he would lay aside the name of Caesar; on the second day after his arrival he presented himself before the praetor and declared that he accepted the heritage and the adoption; then he ascended the rostra and promised the assembled people that he would pay all the legacies left them by the will.⁵ Antony did not return till the end of May;

¹ IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. IIIVIR ITER; R(ei) P(ublicae) C(onstituendae) (Caesar, *imperator*, son of the god Caesar, for the second time triumvir, charged with the reconstitution of the Republic).

² Cic., *Ad Att.* xiv. 10 and 11 (19th of April, 44).

³ In the fragments of Nicolaus Damascenus, found forty years ago in the Escorial, the order of events is different. According to him Octavius, who had taken all the money sent to Greece for Caesar's double expedition, arrived in Campania with large sums, visited the colonies founded by the dictator, harangued the soldiers and populace in the towns, distributed money, and induced two legions to follow him to Rome. This story is more probable.

⁴ DIVI IVLI F.; head of Octavius bearded in sign of mourning. Coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

⁵ Cic., *Ad Att.* xiv. 20; Dion, xlv. 6.

Octavius asked an interview with him, and it took place in Pompey's gardens. After protestations of gratitude and devotion, Octavius reproached him with the amnesty granted to the murderers, and his forgetfulness of the vengeance due to the manes of Caesar. He ended by demanding the money left by the dictator, to enable him to pay the legacies due to the people. Antony was quite determined not to restore anything, and thought he could easily dispose of the claims of this inexperienced boy. He answered that "as consul of the Roman people he had no account to render to a young man; that it must be known that but for his efforts Caesar would have been declared a tyrant, and consequently the will would have been annulled; that as for the money, the little Caesar had left had served to obtain the passing of the decrees which saved his memory; that, moreover, Octavius was entering upon an evil road in wishing to flatter the people, a changeful multitude, less sure in its constancy than the waves. He ought to have learned this much in the school which he had just quitted."¹

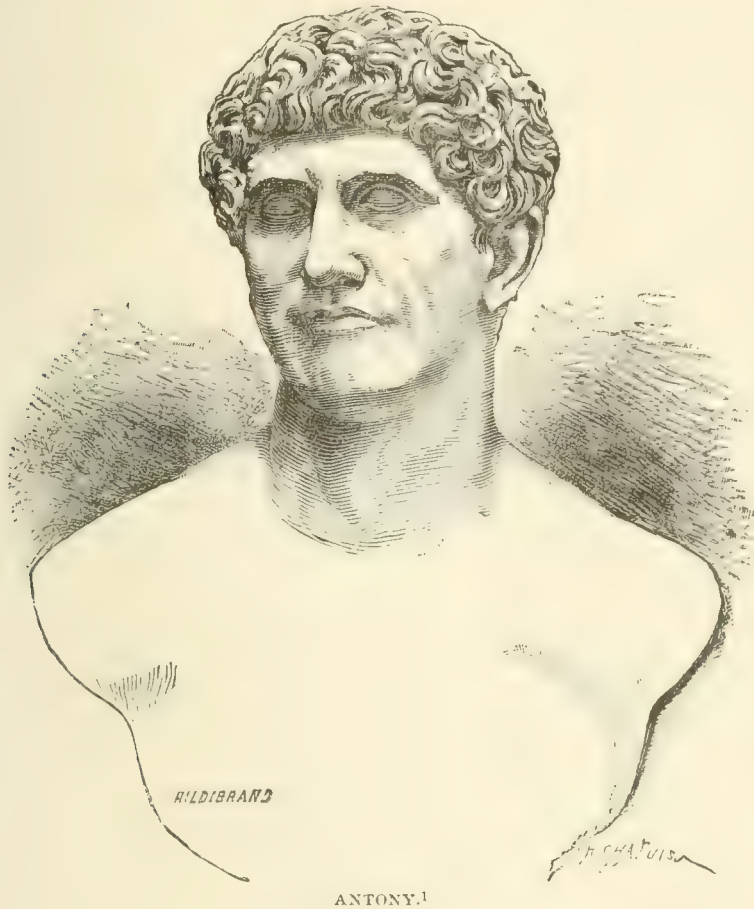
Octavius departed deeply wounded at this bitter irony. For he lacked everything; his relatives and advisers urged him to remain in obscurity, and Antony was desirous of keeping him there. Another man might have yielded, but behind his trembling family and friends he had seen that the people and the soldiers applauded and encouraged him; and so with a boldness worthy of the bravest in the battle-field, he still persisted. Caesar's treasures being refused him, he sold the dictator's estates and villas, and as these domains did not suffice, he sold his own property also, and borrowed of his friends, beginning, according to Caesar's example, by ruining himself, and, like him, pledging the present for future advantage. Antony, after turning the claimant into ridicule, ended by keeping a serious watch over his movements. He placed an increasing number of obstacles in his way; he prevented the ratification by a curiate law of the adoption; he raked up against him endless suits with men laying claim to the inheritance or demanding the payment of debts. One day when the youthful Caesar was haranguing the people, he caused him to be dragged from the rostra by his lictors.² But this unfair kind of warfare,

¹ App., *Bel. civ.* iii. 29.

² Dion., xlv. 6, 7.

these acts of violence, served the cause of his adversary, whose popularity gathered all the credit that Antony lost.

Antony perceived it, however, and stopped. Indeed, he had need of the people for a new scheme. His province of Macedon seemed to him to be too far from Rome; he therefore sought to obtain Cisalpine Gaul, intending then to summon to him the six



legions of veterans whom Caesar had destined for the war in the East, to cause them to pass through Italy, and perhaps to employ them against his enemies. For different reasons the young Caesar approved of this plan: Decimus Brutus commanded in Cisalpine Gaul; it was for the interest of Octavius not to leave one of the conspirators in that fortress which commands Italy and Rome. He had many friends in the army of Dalmatia; if it landed

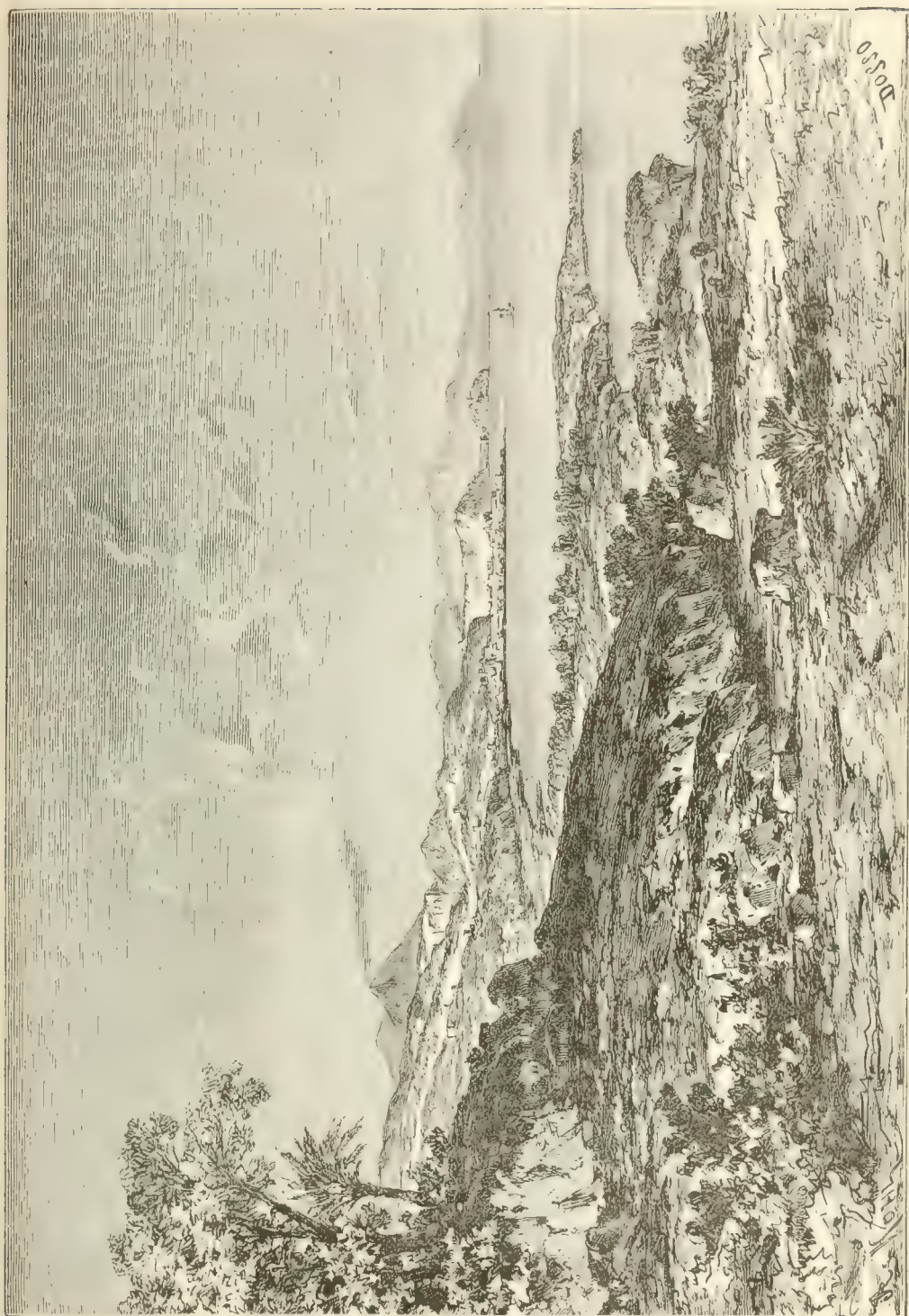
¹ Bust in the Vatican. (*Braccio Nuovo*, A 96.)

Antony might perhaps be less its master than he thought. The two leaders of the Caesarians were thus for the moment drawn together; they became reconciled, and Octavius used his influence in obtaining the passing of the law, which was opposed by the Senate and accepted by the tribes (June or July, 44 B.C.).¹ Octavius hoped Antony would return him service for service. The people wished to give him the tribunate, though his adoption into the family of the Julii rendered him incapable of holding that office; but Antony thwarted his demand by promulgating an edict threatening with the consular displeasure any man who should canvass contrary to the laws. Evidently Octavius was not of age. As the people threatened to become violent, the consul broke up the assembly.

Notwithstanding this defeat the young Caesar had in a few weeks made great progress; the people were for him, but power was no longer to be found in the Forum; he sought it where it existed; his emissaries secretly traversed the colonies of veterans, whilst others went to meet the legions who were coming from Macedonia. These tactics succeeded. One day some military tribunes came to the house of Antony, who reminded him that there was but one interest common to all Caesar's friends, vengeance for his death and the maintenance of his institutions, that this end would not be attained till they ceased to divide their forces, and that he ought therefore to effect a reconciliation as quickly as possible with the dictator's adopted son. These entreaties were equivalent to a command; the two leaders allowed themselves to be led by the tribunes to the Capitol, there to swear eternal friendship. A few days later the consul publicly upbraided the young Caesar with having hired assassins against him, and Octavius returned the accusation. Octavius could never have thought of using these extreme means, for he had need of the ablest of his father's generals, and he only wished at first to compel Antony to share with him.

At Rome, however, a strong opposition was springing up against the latter; and the malecontents were encouraged by the division

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 25-37; Dion, xlv. 9. Several senators had declared that they would rather restore the Gauls to independence than give up that province to Antony. Others had proposed to unite Cisalpine Gaul with Italy, which would have suppressed the government, proconsul, and army maintained there.



BAY OF POZZUOLI.

1050

which had broken out in the Caesarian camp, the progress of Sextus Pompeius, who was assembling a fleet, and the news from the East that Trebonius had seized upon Asia Minor, and that the legions of Syria were calling for Cassius. Brutus had let his colleague start; and, hesitating what line of conduct to pursue, had remained at anchor in the bay of Puteoli, whence he had sent orders for celebrating with rare magnificence the games which he owed the people of Rome for his praetorship, without, however, daring to appear there in person. Cicero entreated him not to quit Italy, so that he might be in a position to profit by the misunderstanding between Antony and Octavius. But the threats of some and the weakness of others, the legions at Brundisium, the veterans in the colonies, the Senate itself, which failed to support Piso when, in an energetic speech, he broke with the consul, — everything, in fact, frightened him, and he departed. His fears infected Cicero, who embarked for Greece with the intention of there awaiting the end of Antony's consulship. He went as far as Syracuse; there indecision again overcame him, and the memory of his first flight from Italy stopped him. At sixty-three it was too late to begin camp life again; it was better to remain on the battle-field, fight there, and, if need be, die; he returned to Rome (31st August).

Antony had convoked the Senate for the 1st of September; Cicero avoided repairing to it, excusing himself on the ground of fatigue and the state of his health. The consul took his absence as a tacit reproof, and giving way to violent invectives, he went as far as to say that he should send soldiers to bring him by force or burn his house if he did not come. On the following day the Senate again met; Antony did not appear, leaving his colleague Dolabella, son-in-law of Cicero, to preside. Upon this, emboldened by the circumstances, Cicero himself came and took his seat, and delivered the first of those harangues which in memory of Demosthenes he called *Philippics*. While still retaining some consideration for the man, he energetically attacked his acts. Antony, furious at this, remained fifteen days at his Tiburine villa composing his reply, and on the 19th of September he summoned the Senate to hear it. Naturally in this bill of accusation Cicero was represented as guilty of a host of crimes: of the

illegal execution of Catiline's accomplices, of the murder of Clodius, of the rupture between Pompey and Caesar, and of the assassination of the dictator. Antony seems to have hoped to unite all parties against Cicero by proving that each of them had a mistake or a crime to reproach him with; above all he desired to point him out to the veterans as the victim demanded by the manes of Caesar.¹ Cicero affirms that he had intended to be present in the Senate on this occasion, but that his friends prevented him; he would certainly have incurred some danger, for the consul had the entrances to the curia guarded by soldiers.² But he dared not even remain in Rome; he retired to one of his villas near Naples, where he composed the second Philippic, — a divine work, says Juvenal,³ — which was never delivered, and not even made public until after Antony's departure for Cisalpine Gaul.

During this war of words and these transports of eloquence, Octavius, with much less noise, was far more seriously undermining the consul's power; he was enticing his soldiers away from him. Antony heard that secret agents were at work among the legions which had landed at Brundisium, and he set out in great haste (3d of October) to arrest the defection. The man who was already his rival also left the city, made a round among the colonists of Caesar in Campania and Umbria, and brought back ten thousand men, promising each veteran who should follow him two thousand sesterces. He strove also to win over Cicero, and through him the Senate, in order to obtain from that assembly a title which might seem to confer upon him legal authority. Every day he wrote to the old ex-consul, urging him to return to Rome and place himself at the head of affairs, to fight the common enemy, and once more save the Republic. He promised him confidence and respect; he called him his father; and Cicero was persuaded.

At Brundisium Antony, forgetting that soldiers recognize no discipline when their leaders no longer recognize the laws, had severely reproved the legionaries for their affection for a *rash boy*.⁴

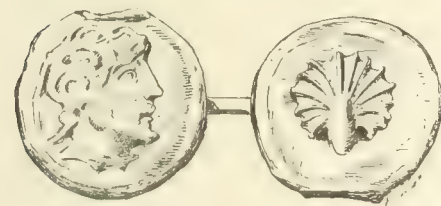
¹ Cic., *Ad Att.* xiv. 13; *Ad Fam.* xii. 2.

² *Philipp.* v. 7; *Ad Fam.* xii. 25.

³ *Divina Philippica* (x. 125). Cicero sent it to Atticus about the end of October, asking him whether he should publish it (*Ad Att.* xv. 13).

⁴ Παρὰ μετράκιον προπετοῦς (*App.*, *Bell. civ.* iii. 43).

They had not, said he, denounced the agents of discord who had introduced themselves into the camp. But he should know how to discover and punish these men; as for themselves, he promised them a gratuity of four hundred sesterces. These threats and his parsimony, two things to which the soldiers were no longer accustomed, were received with derisive laughter. He replied savagely by causing them to be decimated; some centurions were even slain in his own house, at the feet of his wife Fulvia, who was covered with their blood.² A few days later he put to death several other suspected persons whom he had at first forgotten; he then sent his troops along the Adriatic towards Ariminum, while he himself, with a picked escort, repaired to Rome (October, 44). He immediately summoned the Senate with the intention of accusing Octavius of treason for having raised troops without an official commission. But he heard that two of the legions of Brundisium had just gone over to his rival, and the Senate was hostile to him. He felt that at Rome he should be defeated; that like Sylla and Caesar he must seek in the camps the means of re-entering the city as its master; and he set out for Ariminum. Decimus Brutus had not submitted to the plebiscitum depriving him of Cisalpine Gaul, and to legalize his refusal he appealed to the Senate's ratification of Caesar's acts. Antony intended to

COIN OF BRUNDISIUM.¹COIN OF ARIMINUM.⁴

remove him from that province,³ and then himself to enter into a closer alliance with Lepidus the governor of Gallia Narbonensis and Hither Spain; and with Plancus who commanded three legions in Transalpine Gaul; thus being master in person or through his two friends of the provinces which his former general had held, he would recross the Rubicon and repeat

¹ BRVN; Arion on a dolphin, holding the lyre and cantharus; scalloped shell beneath. Coin of Brundisium. (See vol. i. p. 493, a coin on which Arion is holding a Victory.)

² Such is the exaggerated account of Cicero (*Philipp.* iii. 4, and xii. 6), who speaks of three hundred executions. According to Appian there were only a few soldiers put to death.

³ App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 46.

⁴ Head of man, uncovered, with a mustache and wearing the *torquis*. On the reverse, a shell. Coin of Ariminum.

the story of the dictator, but with a different ending, renouncing the clemency which had ruined Caesar.

III. — OCTAVIUS, THE SENATE'S GENERAL (JANUARY, 43). .

CICERO returned to Rome almost immediately (December 9). The situation appeared better; the chiefs of the two parties had abandoned the city: the murderers, that is to say, the faction of the nobles, were in the East; Antony and Lepidus, the representatives of the soldiery, in the two Gauls. It seemed reasonable to think that the "honest folk" who were left in possession of Rome and the government might with skill and energy obtain the ascendancy again. Cicero put himself resolutely at their head, and believed that the glorious times of his consulship were about to return. He perceived, however, that the sword and not eloquence would decide the victory; and the Senate had no army.

But the young man who had just expelled Antony had one. Would it be difficult to win him over to the good cause? He was as yet only a name, a standard, which served the veterans as a rallying point. But what was there to prevent Cicero from obtaining possession of this standard? Animated with pious zeal, the young Octavius had no other ambition save to carry out Caesar's last wishes. When he had ruined himself by doing this he would relapse into obscurity. A few praises, a few honors, would satisfy the vanity of a youth of twenty; his age would secure his docility. Octavius would furnish the senators with the army they lacked, and after the victory the instrument used in securing it could be broken. Would it not be a curious sight and a legitimate expiation to make Caesar's veterans serve to consolidate liberty? Such were the hopes with which Cicero lulled himself, notwithstanding the warnings of those who pointed out to him that this youth had already displayed a prudence and a boldness beyond his years. Only ten days after returning to Rome, the old orator had publicly eulogized Octavius in the Senate and in the presence of the people;¹

¹ Third and Fourth Philippics. See on this subject the severe words of Brutus in epistles sixteen and seventeen of the book of letters of Brutus and Cicero. [These letters to Brutus

he congratulated the legions who had deserted to him from the consul's standards, and also the governor of Cisalpine Gaul, who was bravely resisting the unjust attack of the man whose title still made him lawful head of the Republic.

Antony was in fact already besieging Decimus Brutus in Mutina (Modena). Cicero, repeating the useless tactics of Marcellus against Caesar, wished to have the consul called upon to lay down his arms, leave his province, and await the decisions of the Senate, on penalty of being declared a public enemy. He further demanded levies, the suspension of civil affairs, the assumption of the war-dress, and the declaration of a *tumultus* (state of siege). And he also demanded for Lepidus, whom he hoped to detach from Antony by a puerile gratification of vanity, a gilded equestrian statue to be erected in the Forum; and for Octavius an exemption from the *leges Annales*, so that he might receive a seat in the Senate, and the title of propraetor. In order that no objection might be raised to the latter's youth, Cicero quoted the early commands held by the victors of Zama and Cynoscephalae; he recalled to mind that Alexander had conquered Asia ten years before he reached the age requisite at Rome for canvassing the consulship; and he guaranteed the patriotism of the young Caesar;

he knew, he said, even the innermost thoughts of this young man; and he pledged his word that Octavius would never cease to be what he then was, that is to say, such as they would always wish him to be. The Senate, more timid than the enthusiastic old



COIN OF
HIRTIVS.¹



COIN OF
HIRTIVS.

man, who on recovering his speech became so valiant, granted what was asked for the dictator's heir, adding thereto the erection of an equestrian statue,² a seat in the Senate among those of consular rank, and the ratification of what Octavius had promised to the

are probably a compilation made in the time of Augustus or Tiberius. (Cf. P. Meyer, *Über die Echtheit des Briefwechsels Cic. ad Brut.* 1881.)—*Ed.*]

¹ C. CAESAR COS. TER. ; veiled head of Julius Caesar. On the reverse, A. HIRTIVS PR., with the *lituus*, *praefericulum*, and axe.

² Velleius Paterculus (ii. 61) remarks that hitherto only Sylla and Pompey had obtained an equestrian statue. For the like honor to be granted to a youth of nineteen there must have been many partisans of Caesar in the Senate.

soldiers, while the public treasury was charged with the payment of his debt.¹

Meanwhile the two new consuls, Hirtius and Pansa,² former friends of Caesar, succeeded in having one more attempt made to preserve peace. The deputies sent to Antony returned at the end of January with a reply that could not be accepted; he wished to have the consulship for Brutus and Cassius, in order to make his peace with them; for his legionaries he required money and land, which had always been, since Sylla's time, the first condition in a treaty of peace; for himself the command of Transalpine Gaul for five years, with six legions, and the ratification of all his acts like those of Caesar. Cicero could not yet, however, force on a declaration of war; the decree charging Octavius and the two consuls to raise the blockade of Modena only spoke of a tumult to be appeased.³ Octavius had for this campaign received the title of *propraetor* together with the *imperium* and an authority equal to that of the two consuls in office. Another *senatus-consultum* forbade him to be called a boy.⁴

Antony had numerous friends⁵ at Rome who obtained the despatch of a second embassy to him; and in order to get rid of Cicero, he had been appointed one of the deputies. He perceived the snare in time, and by his twelfth Philippic he caused the reversal of a decision which would have allowed Antony time to take Modena by famine. The letters of Sextus Pompeius, who was assembling an army at Massilia and offered his services, and the news from the East, where Brutus and Cassius had taken possession of their governments of Syria and Macedonia, seconded his efforts and determined the Senate.

¹ Cic., *Philipp.* v. 17; App., *Bel. civ.* iii. 51; Dion, xlv. 29.

² Vibius Pansa was the son of a man proscribed by Sylla (Dion, xlv. 17.) Even before restoring their rights to the children of the proscribed, Caesar had obtained the election of Pansa to the tribuneship in 51 (Cic., *Ad Fam.* viii. 8, 6 and 7).

³ The word *tumultus* had two meanings: it signified a formidable war [especially a Gallic war], demanding the efforts of all the citizens, or a disturbance not worthy of the name of a war. Cicero took it in the former of these senses, the Senate in the second; all the citizens, however, donned the *sagum* of the soldiers. The citizens were taxed 5 per cent on their property; the senators paid in addition to this four obols for each tile on their houses, a duty resembling the modern window-tax (Dion, xlv. 31).

⁴ *Ne quis cum parvum dixerit, in corpore suo tantum imperii minuetur* (Serv., *Ad Eclog.* i.)

⁵ Dion (xlv. 1-28) puts into the mouth of one of them named Calenus a violent speech against Cicero, reproducing the accusations and calumnies of his adversaries. The famous consulship of 63 is there very roughly handled.

In the course of March, 43, Hirtius and Octavius entered on the campaign, and were joined at the end of the month by Vibius Pansa with new levies. Antony sought to induce them to unite with him, reminding them that they too were Caesarians; that the man he was besieging had been one of Caesar's murderers, and that they would themselves be the first victims of the party whose passions they served. The consul Hirtius sent on the letter to Cicero, who read it aloud in the Senate with an eloquent commentary.²

COIN OF VIBIUS PANS.¹

These last days of the orator are splendid; he now carried into public affairs the activity which, being devoted after Pharsalia to his literary labors, had rapidly produced so many masterpieces.³ The rostra, silent for fifteen years, he now seized, and restored to all its early power and glory. An old man, who might have been supposed broken down with years and varying fortune, became in himself the whole government. In the Senate he restored confidence to the timid and courage to cowards; in the city, clad in war-dress in order to make evident the imminence of the peril, he called out voluntary gifts to supply the exhausted treasury, and excited the devotion of the poor, who labored without wages to fill the empty arsenals. In the provinces his letters sustained the constancy of the besieged in Modena, restrained Plancus and Lepidus, confirmed Sextus Pompeius in his favorable intentions, and summoned to the Senate's aid Pollio from Spain, Brutus from Macedonia, and Cassius from Syria. The latter wrote to him: "I am astonished at your surpassing yourself; the *consularis* is greater than the consul, and your toga has done more than our arms."⁴

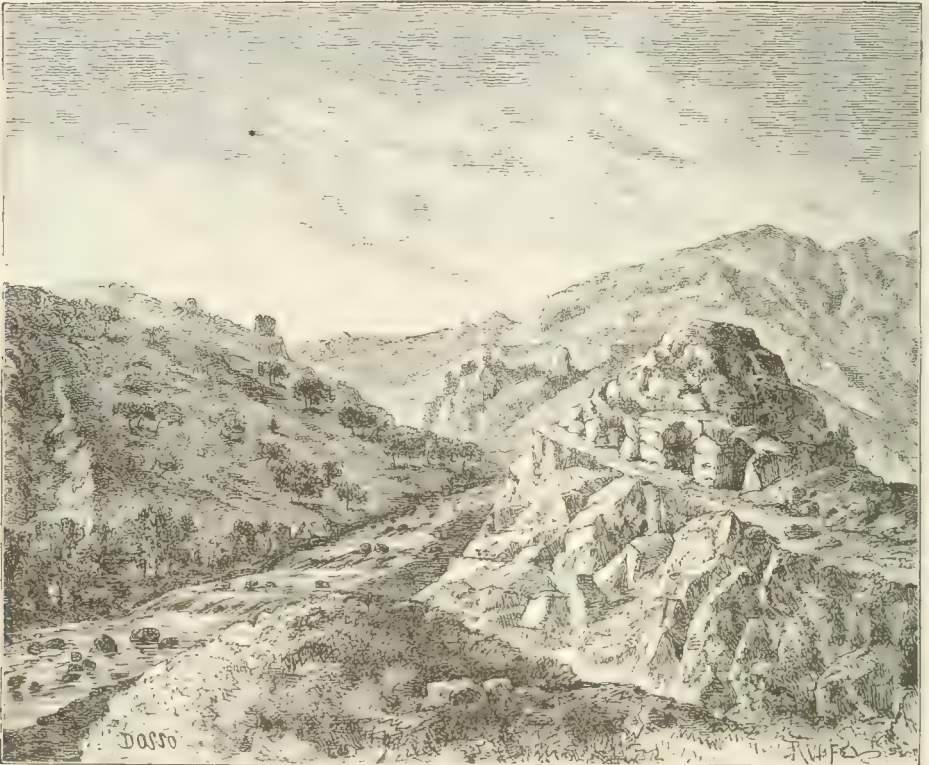
¹ PANSÆ; mask of Pan. On the reverse, C. VIBIVS. C. F. C. N. IOVIS AXVR: Jupiter with rays round his head, holding a patera and a spear. This god was worshipped at Terracina (Anxur) under the form of youthful Jupiter with his divine partner Feronia, who was assimilated to Juno (Serv., *Ad Aen.* vii. 799).

² Philippic xiii.

³ *Plura brevi tempore eversa, quam multis annis stante republica scripsimus* (*De Off.* iii. 1); the *De Partit. Orat.*, the *Brutus*, the *Paradoxa*, the *Orator*, the *Acad. Quaest.*, the *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, the *Tusc. Quaest.*, the treatises *De Senect.*, *De Amicis*, *De Fato*, *De Gloria*, *De Off.*, and the *Topica*.

⁴ *Ad Fam.* iii. 13.

But Lepidus did not vouchsafe any reply to the advances of Cicero; he urged the Senate to treat with Antony; and he drew Plancus and Pollio into his crafty or at least very unsenatorial policy; the son of the man proscribed in 78, and himself master of horse under Caesar, had interests which Cicero's rhetoric could not make him forget. As for the tyrannicides, they were far distant, and in no position to intervene in the conflict which must be decided



VALLEY CALLED HOMER'S GROTTOS, NEAR SMYRNA.¹

so near Rome. Already one of them, Trebonius, had paid the debt with his blood; Dolabella had surprised him in Smyrna and put him to death. Later it was told how threatening portents had announced the public misfortunes: the Mother of the Gods, whose statue in the Palatine looked towards the rising sun, suddenly turned her face towards the west, as though unwilling to see the places occupied by the murderers; the statue of Minerva at Mutina bled.² The gods became Caesarian, so at least thought the

¹ Delaborde, *Voyage dans l'Asie mineure*, pl. 6B.

² Dion, xlv. 33.

multitude to whom these miracles were related, for prodigies always take place for those who are ready to believe in them.

A slight advantage gained by Antony's troops before the junction of the three senatorial generals spread uneasiness in the city. On the 15th of April, 43, Pansa arrived in the neighborhood of Bologna, where his colleagues were, and on the following days the battle raged fiercely in three places at once. Pansa had been mortally wounded, and his troops were retiring in disorder upon the Forum Gallorum (Castel-Franco), when Hir-tius appearing at the head of twenty cohorts again turned the tide of victory. During this double action Octavius had defended the camp against Antony's brother. The latter asserted that the young Caesar, terrified at the very first onset, had fled without his insignia, and that for two days he had not been seen again. Other narratives on the contrary spoke highly of his courage; he had seized, it was said,



THE MOTHER OF THE GODS.¹

a standard and had long carried it in the thickest of the fray.² The soldiers conferred the title of Imperator on their three leaders.

The two armies re-entered their lines; it was necessary,

¹ Statue in the Vatican (*Musco Pio-Clementino*, i. pl. 39).

² App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 67. That writer shows a strange partiality for Antony. (Cf. *Dion.* xvi. 37; *Suet.*, *Octav.* 10; *Cic.*, *Philipp.* xiv.; *Ad Fam.* x. 11, 30, 33.)

however, to make haste in relieving the place unless they wished famine to open the gates. Antony pressed it closely; nothing could enter or leave it; nets spread in the Secchia and Panaro intercepted the communications which bold swimmers had at first established. "But," says Pliny, "Antony was not master of the air;" carrier-pigeons bore the messages of Decimus Brutus



MEDALLION REPRESENTING NUMATIUS PLANCUS AND THE GENIUS OF LYONS.¹

into the consuls' camp.² Hirtius and Octavius, urged by him to throw aid into the town, attacked and broke through the enemy's lines (27th of April). Hirtius fell in this combat; his colleague Pansa died next day of the wounds he had received in the first action.³

Before the engagement, a report had spread at Rome that one of the consuls had been defeated, and some of Antony's friends, in order to prepare for a movement against Cicero, set on foot the

¹ M. de Witte, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires*, 1877. The word *Felicitè* is the consecrating word pronounced by Plancus that his offering may bring good fortune to the new colony. As for the name of *Lugdunum*, it has been derived from two Gallic words, *lug dun*, rock or hill of the raven. Thus the medallion shows a raven upon a rock. But Baron Raverat and M. d'Arbois de Jubainville dispute this etymology.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* x. 53; Dion, xlv. 36.

³ The death of the two consuls was an event too favorable to Octavius for him not to have been accused of having caused it. He was said to have himself struck Hirtius in the mêlée and caused poison to be spread on Pansa's wounds (Suet., *Octav.* 11; Tac., *Ann.* i. 10).

report that on the 22d of April the old ex-consul would cause himself to be elected dictator. On that very day the news of the first battle arrived; Cicero forthwith obtained a vote of thanksgiving to the gods, of rewards to the troops, and a monument to consecrate the memory of those who had fallen in defending their country.¹ When the result of the second battle was heard the people flocked to his house and led him to the Capitol with great acclamations. One would have said that the real victor was the eloquent old man who had forced the Senate to fight and win. "This day," he wrote to Brutus, "has repaid me for all my troubles."² The war indeed seemed at an end; Antony fled towards the Alps, throwing open the prisons along his way to recruit his army with all the miscreants therein.³ But Decimus, now set free, was in full pursuit; Plancus, restored to the Senate's party, and having just founded the Colony of Lugdunum (Lyons), was on his way across the Alps with an army to close Gaul against him, and Lepidus had renewed his protestations of fidelity. All reserve was now abandoned, and ten senators, under the presidency of Cicero, were appointed to examine the acts of Antony; this was a first step towards the abolition of even Caesar's acts.⁴ The friends of the fugitive proconsul were troubled; his wife Fulvia was called to account for his ill-gotten wealth, and the prudent Atticus hastened to tender his services to her.⁵

IV. — FORMATION OF THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE; THE PROSCRIPTIONS; DEATH OF CICERO (43 B.C.).

AMID this rejoicing and festivity Octavius was almost forgotten. It was in the name of Decimus Brutus that fifty days of thanksgiving⁶ were decreed; the conduct of the war was even taken from Octavius and intrusted to the general whom he had just saved, although Brutus had, as he himself said, only shadows

¹ This Philippic was the fourteenth and last.

² *Ad Brut.* 3.

³ *Cic., Ad Fam.* xi. 10; *App., Bell. civ.* iv. 78.

⁴ Πρόσχημα δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἐς ἀκέρωσιν τῶν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος διατεταγμένων. (*App., Bell. civ.* iii. 82.)

⁵ *Corn. Nepos, Att.* 9.

⁶ *Cic., Ad Fam.* xi. 18; *App., Bell. civ.* iii. 74; *Dion.* xlv. 39.

and phantoms rather than soldiers. The successes of Cassius in Asia, of Brutus in Macedon, and of Sextus Pompeius on the sea, increased the general confidence; moreover two legions were about to arrive from Africa; what need had the Senate of that *boy*?

ANTONY.¹

Upon his death-bed, the consul Pansa, it is said, had sent for Octavius to come to him; and after speaking of his gratitude to Caesar, and of the desire which he had constantly cherished some day to avenge the murdered dictator, he had added that, in his judgment, there remained for Octavius, hated as he was by the Senate, but one path of safety open, namely, a reconciliation with Antony.² These warnings were not needed by the young aspirant. When Brutus came to thank him for the safety which he owed him: "It is not for your sake," he replied, "that I have taken up arms; the murder of my father was an execrable crime: I fought only to humble the pride and ambition of Antony."

From that day Decimus wrote to Cicero to mistrust this zealous son. Octavius, indeed, satisfied with having shown the world that he must

COIN OF
ANTONY'S
FIRST
LEGION.³LEGIONARY COIN OF ANTONY.⁴

be taken account of, was unwilling to crush Caesar's old lieutenant altogether; he allowed Ventidius to lead to him across the Apennines two legions raised in Lower Italy. And Antony being tamely pursued, reached unhindered the town of Frejus, where he put an end to the indecision of Lepidus by gaining over his troops (29th of May). Juventus Laterensis, a zealous republican, and a friend of that general, had hitherto dissuaded him from this alliance; when he now saw the two leaders embrace one another, he stabbed himself with his sword. Decimus Brutus was too weak to contend with his raw levies against this imposing force, which was further augmented shortly after, by the defection of Asinius Pollio, the governor of Spain, and of Plan-

LEGIONARY
COIN OF
ANTONY.⁵

¹ Head of Antony, from a coin.

² App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 78.

³ LEG. PRI; eagle between two standards. Silver coin.

⁴ ANT(oni)us AVG(ur) IIIVIR R(ei) P(ublice) C(onstituendae), and a galley. On the reverse, CHORTIS SPECVLATORVM; three military standards surmounted by crowns.

⁵ CHORTIVM PRAETORIARVM; eagle between two standards.

cus, governor of Gallia Comata; and Antony found himself at the head of twenty-three legions.

Then it became absolutely necessary to remember Octavius. To detain him until the arrival of Cassius and Brutus, whose return was ordered by a decree of the Senate, Cicero wished to load him, to overwhelm him with honors.¹ He caused an ovation to be decreed him; this was a means to separate him from his legions, for it was usual, after the triumph, for the general to



ROMAN RUINS AT FREJUS — THE AMPHITHEATRE.

disband his troops. An attempt was also made to work upon his soldiers; lands were offered them, and money, and especially discharges from the army, and the effort was made to sow discord in their ranks by giving to some and refusing others. Finally, Octavius, having left his camp for a few days, deputies from the Senate appeared therein. The soldiers refused to listen to them, but themselves sent to Rome a deputation of four hundred veterans who declared in the curia that their chief, being exempted by a *senatus-consultum* from the *lex Annalis*, desired to come and canvass

¹ *Cæsarem Laudandum et tollendum.* The last word has two meanings, of which one is sinister (Vell. Paterc., ii. 62; Suet., *Octav.* 12).

the consulship. The permission to do so was refused: "If you do not grant it," said one of them, laying his hand on his sword, "this will obtain it for him;"¹ and they returned to Octavius, who forthwith crossed the Rubicon with eight legions.

The Senate tried to stop him by a humble embassy, which granted everything, even to a largess of twenty-five hundred drachmae apiece for the soldiers, a reward for their insolent bravado. As these humiliating concessions proved ineffectual, they assumed the grand courage of former days: they put on the garb of war; all the citizens were armed, and some earth was disturbed on the Janiculum in order to raise fortifications there. The praetor Cornutus, a zealous republican, manifested warlike ardor; he reckoned on the two legions which had just landed from Africa; but as soon as the young Caesar appeared they went over to him. The same day he entered the city amid the plaudits of the populace, and the senators hastened to pay their court to him. Cicero arrived late: "What," said Octavius ironically, "you appear last among my friends?" On the following night Cicero fled from Rome, whilst Cornutus slew himself.

A popular assembly proclaimed Octavius consul, giving him the colleague whom he himself had selected, his relative Pedius (22d of September, 43), together with the right of choosing the praefect of the city; and he had not yet completed his twentieth year!² He at once obtained the ratification of his adoption, the repeal of the proscription pronounced against Dolabella, and the distribution among his troops,³ at the expense of the public treasury, of the promised rewards. Pedius on his side proposed an inquiry into the murder of Caesar; in order to reach Sextus Pompeius he included in the accusation the murderers and their accomplices, even those who had been absent from Rome at the time when the deed was committed. The trial commenced immediately, M. Junius Brutus being accused by Cornificius, and Cassius by Agrippa. They were all condemned to banishment and the loss of their

¹ This is the same speech already attributed to one of Caesar's centurions, and is perhaps no more authentic than the other.

² *Consulatum habuit Caesar publicum quam viginti annos implevit* (Vell. Patere., ii. 65).

³ Twenty-five hundred drachmae to each soldier. "Hence the custom of giving the like sum to the soldiers of every legion which enters Rome in arms after having proclaimed an imperator" (Dion, xl. 46).

property.¹ Among the senators only one had dared to defend them; a few months later he paid for his boldness with his life.²

Octavius was now in a position to treat with Antony without fearing to be eclipsed by him. He was consul, he had an army, he was master of Rome, and round him had gathered all those among the Caesarians whom Antony's violence or unsteadiness had driven from him. The interest of Octavius enforced this alliance upon him, for alone he could not have contended against the twenty legions which Brutus and Cassius had already assembled in the East. Pedius made the first advances; he caused the repeal of the sentence of outlawry pronounced against Lepidus and Antony.³ It was this news which had decided the defection of Plancus. Decimus, abandoned by him, and shortly afterwards by all his soldiers, endeavored to escape into Macedonia in disguise; being recognized and seized near Aquileia by a Gallic chief, he solicited an interview with his former companion in arms. Antony replied by ordering the head of the fugitive to be sent to him; and he then announced to Octavius that he had just sacrificed this victim to the manes of Caesar. This was the second who fell.⁴ After such an exchange of courtesies, Lepidus had little trouble in arranging a settlement, which secret emissaries had doubtless been preparing since the battle of Modena.

At the end of October the three leaders met near Bologna, in an island of the Reno,⁵ the banks of which were lined on each side by five legions. The strictest precautions were taken, as afterwards in the Middle Ages, against treachery. They passed three days in drawing up the plan of the second triumvirate and arranging the division of the Roman world among them. Octavius was to resign the consulship and to be replaced in that office for the remainder of the year by Ventidius, Antony's lieutenant.



VENTIDIUS.⁶

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 95; Dion, xlv. 45.

² Livy, *Epit.* cxx.; Dion, xlv. 48; Vell. Paterc., ii. 69.

³ App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 96.

⁴ Trebonius had been the first. A third tyrannicide, Basilus, was about this time slain by his slaves, whom he treated cruelly (App., *ibid.* 98). A fourth, Aquila, had perished before Modena (Mutina).

⁵ Probably at Crocetta del Trebbio, two miles west of Bologna, where an islet five hundred yards long is to be seen (Cramer, *Ancient Italy*, i. 88).

⁶ P. VENTIDI PONT. IMP.; soldier standing. Reverse of a silver coin of Antony.

A new magistracy was created, under the name of *triumviri rei publicae constituendae*. Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius¹ assumed to themselves the consular power for five years, with the right of disposing of all offices for the same period; their decrees

were to have the force of law, without needing the confirmation of either the Senate or the people; and finally, each reserved for himself two provinces near Italy: Lepidus took Narbonensis and Hither Spain; Antony, the two Gauls; Octavius, Africa with Sicily and Sardinia. The East, being occupied by

Brutus and Cassius, remained undivided, as did Italy; but Octavius and Antony were to go and fight the murderers, whilst Lepidus remained at Rome and watched over the interests of the association. The triumvirs had forty-three legions; in order to secure the fidelity of their soldiers, they pledged themselves to give them five thousand drachmae apiece after the war, with the lands of eighteen of the finest cities in Italy, among others Rhegium, Beneventum, Venusia, Nuceria, Capua, Ariminum, and Vibona.³ When these conditions had been drawn up in writing, and each had sworn to observe them, Octavius read aloud to the troops the conditions of the treaty; to cement the alliance, the soldiery required him to marry one of Fulvia's daughters.⁵ The army, in fact, had inherited the sovereignty of the people; it deliberated, approved, or rejected. The camp replaced the Forum, — to the great danger of discipline and order, not to say of liberty. Of late, since the great event of the ides, the word, if not the thing itself, had often reappeared. But the last of Rome's citizens, the man who had just made a free voice heard, was already proscribed.

By that inexorable fatality of historic expiations which we have so often pointed out, the senatorial party was about to suffer by the law it had made for its opponents. The proscriptions and



ANTONY
TRIUMVIR.²



LEPIDVS TRIUM-
VIR.⁴

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 2; Dion, xlv. 55.

² M. ANTONIVS III. VIR. R. P. C.; head of Antony; behind it the augur's *lituus*. Gold coin.

³ App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 3; Tac., *Ann.* i. 10.

⁴ M. LEPIDVS III. VIR. R. P. C.; head of Lepidus; behind it, a *simpulum* and sprinkler. Gold coin.

⁵ Clodia, born of a former marriage of Fulvia with the turbulent Clodius.

confiscations of Sylla were to begin again; but it was now the nobility who were to pay with their lives and fortunes for the crime of the ides of March and for the torrents of blood with which forty years before the oligarchy had deluged Rome and Italy.

In later times it was related that many prodigies had announced the triumvirs' fury. One of these may well be called true: vultures, it was said, came and alighted on the temple consecrated to the genius of the Roman people. Birds of prey were indeed gathering together, greedy for carnage.

Before reaching Rome the triumvirs sent an order in advance to the consul Pedius to put to death seventeen of the most considerable men in the State, Cicero being among the number. Then they arrived one after another. Octavius entered first; on the following day Antony appeared; Lepidus came third. Each man was surrounded by a legion and his praetorian cohort. The inhabitants beheld with terror these silent soldiers taking possession of every point commanding the city. Rome seemed like a place conquered and given over to the sword. One more day passed in cruel anxiety; a few men, assembled in the Forum by a tribune, passed a plebiscitum which confirmed the usurpation by legalizing the triumvirate (November 27).¹ On the following night this edict was posted throughout the city: "M. Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Caesar, chosen triumvirs for the reconstitution of the Republic, thus declare: ² Had not the perfidy of the wicked answered benefits by hatred; had not those whom Caesar in his clemency spared after their defeat, enriched, and loaded with honors, become his murderers, we too should disregard those who have declared us public enemies. But perceiving that their malignity can be conquered by no benefits, we have chosen to forestall our enemies rather than be taken unawares by them. Some have already been punished; with the help of the gods we shall bring the rest to justice. Being ready to undertake an expedition against the parricides beyond the seas, it has seemed to us and will appear to you necessary that we should not leave other enemies behind us. Yet we will be more merciful than a former Emperor, who also restored the ruined Republic, and whom you hailed with the name of Felix.

¹ *C. I. L.*, i. 466: *Fast. coisidiani*.

² Οὕτω λέγουσιν (*Arr.*, *Bell. civ.* iv. 8).

Not all the wealthy, not all who have held office, will perish, but only the most dangerous evil-doers. These offenders we might have seized unawares; but for your sakes we have preferred to draw up



GENIUS OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.¹

a list of proscribed persons rather than to order an execution by the troops, in which harm might have come to the innocent. This then is our order: Let no one hide any of those whose names follow; who-soever shall aid in the escape of a proscribed man shall be himself proscribed. Let the heads be brought to us. As a reward, a man of free condition shall receive twenty-five thousand Attic drachmae, a slave ten thousand, together with freedom and the name of citizen. The names of persons receiving these rewards shall be kept secret."

Then followed the list of one hundred and thirty names; a second, containing one hundred and fifty, appeared almost immediately afterwards; and this was succeeded by others. Senators received the honor of a separate list. Their names were not, as in Sylla's time, mingled with those of common *proscripti*; and it is not certain that some did not value this distinction even in death.²

Before daybreak guards had been posted at the gates and in all places which might serve for refuge. To deprive the condemned of all hope of pardon, at the head of the first list stood the names of the brother of Lepidus, of L. Caesar, Antony's uncle,³

¹ Statue in the National Museum at Naples; it comes from the Farnese Collection.

² Dion, xlvii. 4.

³ This Lepidus and L. Caesar, cousin of the dictator, had been the first to vote for the *senatus-consultum* which declared the brother of one and the nephew of the other public enemies (App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 12).

of a brother of Plancus, of Pollio's father-in-law, and of C. Toranius, one of the guardians of Octavius. Each of the triumvirs had given up one of his relatives to gain the right of indulging his own vengeance without stint. They kept their accounts with scrupulous exactness; such or such a head claimed by one appeared to the others to be worth two or three; they bargained, they agreed,

THE TRIUMVIRS.¹

and the three heads were given to balance the account. As in the fatal days of Marius and Sylla, the rostra had its hideous trophies: thither the heads must be carried to receive the blood-money. Hatred, envy, greed, all evil passions were let loose, and it was easy to get a name inserted in the fatal list or to hide the corpse of a murdered enemy amid those of the proscribed. The toga was given to children in order to release their property from tutelage before the time, and then they were condemned. A head was brought to Antony. "I do not know it," he said; "let it be taken to my wife." It was that of a wealthy private individual who had refused to sell one

FULVIA.²FULVIA³

of his villas to Fulvia. One woman, in order to marry a friend of Antony, caused her husband to be proscribed, and gave him up herself. A son revealed the hiding-place of his father, a praetor in office, and was rewarded with the aedileship. C. Toranius asked the assassins for a respite of a few moments to send his son to entreat Antony's clemency. "But it is your son," they answered.

¹ Heads of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus side by side on a bronze coin of Ephesus.

² Head of Fulvia as Victory. On the reverse, C. NYMONIVS VAALA: soldier attacking an intrenchment.

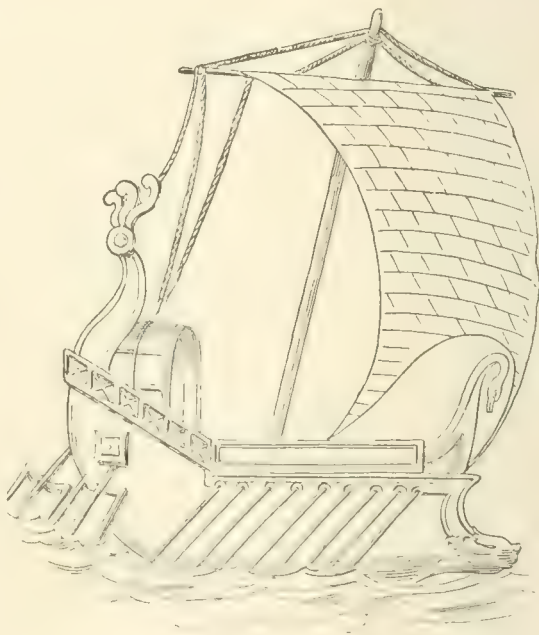
³ Fulvia, Antony's first wife, with the attributes of victory, the wings and shield. From a very rare bronze coin bearing the inscription, ΦΥΛΑΟΥΙΑΝΩΝ [Fulvianorum] (*Revue Numism.*, 1853, pl. x. No. 5).

“who demanded your death.” The tribune Salvius was killed at table, and the murderers obliged the guests to continue the banquet.¹ Verres perished at this time; Antony wished to have his Corinthian bronzes. Plancus had hidden himself near Salernum; but he could not give up the delicacies of life and the perfumes which disclosed his retreat, and in order to save his slaves, who were put to torture, he gave himself up.

SEXTUS POMPEIUS.²

There were, however, some noble instances of devotion, — Varro was saved by his friends, others by their slaves;

Appius by his son, whose filial piety the people afterwards rewarded by giving him the aedileship. Antony's mother, the sister of L. Caesar, threw herself before the murderers, crying: “You shall not slay Lucius Caesar till you have first killed me, — me, the mother of your general.” He had time to flee and hide himself, and a decree of the consul erased his name from the list of the proscribed. Many escaped, thanks to the ships of Sextus Pompeius, who had just taken possession of Sicily, and whose fleet was cruising along the coasts. He had caused a notice to be posted in Rome itself, where the triumvirs promised one hundred thousand sesterces for a head,

A VESSEL.³

¹ Dion, xlvii. 5, 6; App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 12-51. The latter speaks of three hundred senators and two thousand knights being proscribed. The numbers are less in Livy (*Epit. exx.*); there mention is only made of one hundred and thirty senators.

² From a cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 384.

³ Ship with lifts, sail, and ram (Rich. *Diet. des Antiq.*, etc., under the word *Coruchi*).

that he would give two hundred thousand for each proscribed man saved. Several succeeded in reaching Africa, Syria, and Macedon. Cicero was less fortunate; Octavius had abandoned him to Antony's rancor, — with regret, however, for it was a useless murder. Since they were about to impose silence in the Forum, what was an orator without a platform? A voice without echo, which would grow silent of its own accord. But Antony and Fulvia would have the hand which had written and the tongue which had spoken the Philippics, and Octavius had called to mind the joyful cry uttered by Cicero at the news of the murder of Caesar, his homicidal regret at not having been able to strike too. By a just retribution, he who, except in one instance, was more distinguished for humanity than any other Roman, was about to meet the fate which he had wished to inflict on a greater man than himself: *pati legem quam fecit*.¹

Cicero was at Tusculum with his brother Quintus. At the first news of the proscriptions they hastened to Astura, where stood another of his villas, situated on a little island which was so near the mainland that it has since become united to it. Thence they proposed to embark for Greece; but they lacked means for the journey, and Quintus returned to obtain what was necessary. He reached the city, but was at once seized by the assassins and slain, together with his son, who had vainly striven to save his father's life. At Astura Cicero found a vessel which carried him to Circeii. There despair seized him; he went ashore exclaiming: "I will die in this country which I have so often saved."² He formed a design of returning to Rome, secretly penetrating into the house of Octavius, and there killing himself, that he might attach an avenging fury to the young Caesar's life. His servants, however, persuaded him to go on as far as his house at Formiae,

¹ Livy says of Cicero's death: *Quae vere existimanti minus indigna videri potuit, quod a victore inimico nil crudelius passus erat, quam quod ejusdem fortunae compos item fecisset* (Fragm. of Book cxx.).

² *Moriar in patria saepe servata* (Livy, *Fragm.* cxx.). The historian adds: *Omnium adversorum nihil, ut viro dignum erat, tulit praeter mortem* (cf. Quintil., *Inst.* xii. 1, and Lucan, *Phars.* vii. 65, who is very hostile to him). On the other hand, Velleius Paterculus (ii. 66), under Tiberius, and Juvenal (viii. 237), under Trajan, are very favorable to him. It is strange that Tacitus never mentions his name except in the *Dialogue of Orators* (40), and incidentally in the speech of Crennatus Cordus (*Ann.* iv. 34).

where he landed to repose for a short time after the fatigues of the voyage.¹

Scarcely had he got into his litter again, to return to the vessel, when the assassins arrived, led by a centurion named Herennius, and Popillius, a legionary tribune whom he had formerly saved from an accusation of parricide. They burst in the doors; but as all in the house asserted that they had seen nothing of their master, the assassins were undecided what to do; when a young man named Philologus, whom Cicero had himself instructed in literature, told the tribune that the litter was being carried towards the sea through the shady walks behind the house. Popillius, with a few soldiers, ran down to reach the shore before it, whilst the rest of the band, with Herennius, hastened along the passage. The noise of their steps warned Cicero that he was discovered; he stopped his litter, and stroking his chin with his left hand as he was wont to do, looked steadily at the murderers. His disordered hair and his pale and wasted countenance made the soldiers hesitate, and they covered their faces while Herennius struck. He had put his head out of the litter and presented his throat to the murderer (4th of December, 43). "Of all his misfortunes," says Livy, "he bore none of them as a man should, except his death."

In accordance with Antony's orders, his head and hands were cut off and brought to the triumvir while he was at table. At sight of them he expressed a savage satisfaction; and when he had satiated himself with the cruel spectacle, ordered them to be fastened above the rostra. Crowds flocked to see them, as they had lately done to hear the great orator, but with tears and groans. Octavius himself was secretly grieved at the death of Cicero; and although during his reign none ever dared pronounce that great name, as a reparation he gave the consulship to the son of his former enemy.

On one occasion he even bore witness to Cicero's virtues. "I have been told," relates Plutarch, "that, several years afterwards, Augustus, visiting one of his nephews, found him with a work of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, for fear, hid the book under his

¹ Formiæ (*Mola di Gaeta*) is four miles from Gaëta. There may still be seen there, about a mile from the shore, some remains of Cicero's villa, and the inhabitants point out an obelisk which they assert is his tomb (Eustace, *Classical Tour*, ii. 313). He lacked but twenty-nine days of completing his sixty-fourth year.

robe; which Caesar perceiving, took it from him, and turning over a great part of the book standing, gave it him again and said: 'My child, this was a learned man and a lover of his country.'"¹

Thus perished, in the splendor of his talent, the prince of Roman orators and one of the most honorable men who ever adorned literature, — one of those whose writings have most contributed to the moral development of humanity.

Doubtless Cicero cannot be counted among really great minds. As a philosopher his part is small; he expounds and discusses, without advancing views of his own, the opinions of the different schools. He says this himself in one of his letters to Atticus: "I have little trouble about it, for I only furnish the words, of which I have an abundance."² His treatise *De Officiis* is a Latin gospel; but he copied Panaetios. Part of his works on rhetoric are translated or imitated from the Greeks. His treatises on laws are rather a brilliant summary of Roman legislation than a theory in the style of Aristotle or Plato; and his mind has such difficulty in rising above present things, that in the Republic, the most original of his works, he shows the ideal of the best government fully realized in the constitution of Rome. Possessing a supple and brilliant intellect, he lacks depth and breadth; he is above all things an artist in language.

As a philosopher, he may be blamed for many contradictions; as a consul, for many errors; as an individual, for many weaknesses.

His philosophy was like Janus, double-faced, — having one doctrine for the profane, the other for the initiated. In the peroration of the Verrine Orations he retains the gods and the old beliefs as oratorical properties; in his political treatises as a useful instrument of government; in the Tusculan Questions and in the treatise concerning the Nature of the Gods paganism is no longer aught but a tissue of fables and symbols; and in the two books on Divination the public religion is so completely destroyed with

¹ Atticus, Cicero's great friend, did not perish with him. We have seen how he took his precautions with Antony by aiding with his wealth the triumvir's wife, who during the siege of Modena had remained at Rome without any resources. This clever man, the friend of the tyrannicide, married his only daughter to Agrippa and his granddaughter to Tiberius. Accordingly, he had taken great care to destroy all his correspondence with Cicero, in which the new rulers might have read his homicidal wishes against Caesar.

² *Ad Att.* xii. 52: *Verba tantum affero, quibus abundo.*

deadly irony that those who still honored the old faith demanded the burning of that work. The conclusion naturally reached by himself and his readers from these contradictory data is that men must doubt, because certain problems are insoluble.

In politics his view did not extend beyond a limited horizon. He knew better than any other man the vices of the nobles and of their government; but as a *novus homo* he served their interests in order to induce them to accept him. A great orator, he grew intoxicated with his own eloquence, and dreamed of governing an empire with speeches. Had he possessed the master quality of the statesman, the art of discovering the real wants of his times, he would have placed his fine abilities at the service of the new ideas, and aided Caesar in carrying out a pacific reform which would have averted the bloody revolution of the second triumvirate; but with Caesar he would have occupied only a second place, and he wished to be first in everything.

His correspondence reveals serious faults. — a feminine vanity,¹ skill in compromises, and an inconstancy which made him pass in a few days from one belief to the very opposite;² but what man seen as he is, — the secrecy of his inmost feelings revealed as it were in the full glare of day — would preserve that reputation for austere gravity which is sometimes only the mask of a clever schemer?

Finally, if he created nothing, at least his marvellous facility in appropriating the ideas of others has put in circulation an infinite number of grand and beautiful thoughts which we should otherwise have lost; and these ideas, collected in his works, have made him one of the great teachers of the human race.³

When he boasted of having snatched from Greece, now falling into decrepitude, her philosophic glory, he deceived himself. But Greek civilization had travelled towards the East. Cicero concen-

¹ The proof of this is found everywhere throughout his correspondence. See his curious letter to Lucceius, whom he urges to write the history of his famous consulship, "favoring friendship a little more than truth."

² At the end of October Cato was his dearest friend; at the beginning of November he would have willingly made him out to be a dishonest man, and that, too, for the very same matter: *Amicissimus meus qui honorificentissimam in me sententiam dixit (Ad Att. vii. 1) . . . qui quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus (Ibid. 2).* Seneca said: *In Cicrone constantia desideratur (Suasor. 11, 12).*

³ Alexander Severus, in his *Lararium*, places him beside Moses and Plato (Lamp., *Alex. Sev.* 31). "After all the severe judgments we are compelled to pass upon his conduct, we must

trated, if I may so say, its scattered rays, and sent them back towards the barbaric West, for which Greece had done nothing.¹ What does it matter to us, after all, that he was only an echo, since that ringing echo has made all the world listen to words which, but for him, would have remained unknown?

In his ethics and theology we find the idea of unity and of divine providence, of the immortality of the soul,² of human liberty and responsibility, of punishments and rewards reserved for another life.

In political morality we have the idea of universal citizenship, whereof charity should be the chief bond, the perfecting of our species, the necessity for all to work for the general good, and the obligation to found the useful upon the honorable, law upon equity, sovereignty upon justice,—that is to say, the civil upon the natural law revealed by God himself, since he has graven it on the hearts of all men.³ Such are some of the noble beliefs which the magic of his style has popularized. All this, it is true, is neither rigorously demonstrated nor dogmatically systematized. It is the effort of a noble soul which, everywhere seeking what elevates and consoles, arrives at the truths of natural religion, and not the patient work of the philosopher constructing a coherent system. But to speak to the heart, a great array of logic is not necessary.

I willingly agree with Quintilian: "A man grows better by delighting in Cicero;"⁴ and with Dante, that posterity will always preserve his name:—

"De cui la fama ancor nel mondo dura
E durera, quanto 'l mondo lontana."⁵

acknowledge that there remains a residue of what is amiable in his character and noble in his teaching beyond all ancient example" (Merivale, iii. 192).

¹ He himself says in his *Pro Archia* (100): "What is written in Greek is read almost everywhere; the Latin never quits its territory, which is a small one."

² On this life to come and on the government of the world by providence he has often doubts in his treatises, but not in his orations; and it is his orations especially which are read.

³ It has been said of Cicero that he was one of the representatives of that Christianity before Christ which has so often been noticed, and of which Plato was, as it were, the apostle. Erasmus, indeed, is quite ready to demand his canonization; he does not doubt . . . *quin illud peccus, unde ista prodierunt aliqua divinitas occupavit* (Le Clerc, *Œuvres de Cicéron*, xxviii. 7). Petrarch had already spoken to the same effect (Mezières, *Pétrarque*, pp. 345, 414, 416). On the subject of Cicero's moral ideas considered as a whole, see a very learned chapter by M. Havet, — *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, ii. 110–142, chap. xi.

⁴ *Institut*. x. 1: *Ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit.*

⁵ *Inferno*, ii. 59–60.

In those bloody saturnalia of the second triumvirate, Octavius, notwithstanding his youth, had displayed extreme cruelty; as he was the most intelligent, on him falls the heaviest share of the responsibility. The murder, above all, of the man whom he had called his father, who had watched over his first steps and obtained for him his first honors, leaves on his name a blot which is not effaced by all the glory of the reign of Augustus. This blood stains the hand which has shed it, and "all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten" it.¹

¹ Shakspeare, *Macbeth*, act v. scene 1.

² From an agate in the National Museum of Naples. pl. 106. (See above, on p. 424, the influence of Greek art on the transformation of the ancient Medusa.)



HEAD OF MEDUSA.²

CHAPTER LX.

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE (43-36 B.C.).

I. — PREPARATIONS OF THE TRIUMVIRS AND THE MURDERERS.

DURING the days of blood Lepidus and Plancus, the consuls-elect, had issued an edict, ordering, under threat of proscription, all men to observe the customary festivals of the new year. They even had the courage to celebrate each of them a triumph for some insignificant successes won in Spain and Gaul. The soldiers, punning on the double meaning of the word *germanus*, which means a brother as well as a German, sang behind their chariot: "The consuls triumph not over the Gauls, but over the Germans," — that is, over their brothers. Each of them indeed had given up a brother to the murderers. The soldiers knew themselves to be necessary,¹ and felt that their leaders, in tolerating so much insolence, were paying none too dearly for the power which had



LEPIDUS.¹

¹ 'Ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ τοιοῦσδε ἔργοις ἐν σφίσι μόνον τὸ ἀσφαλές ἐχόντων (App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 35).

² Bust in the Parma Museum, published by the *Gazette archéol.* 1879, pl. 9.

been conferred on them. The army would scarcely allow the property of the proscribed to be sold. One would have a villa, another an estate; this man took the house, that man the money and slaves. Some forced wealthy citizens to adopt them that they might become their heirs; others, less patient, slew the man, proscribed or not, whose fortune they coveted. Fortunate were those who only suffered the plundering of their houses. The whole city was in terror before this soldiery, recruited from robbers, gladiators, and slaves escaped from their prisons. One of the consuls was, however, bold enough to crucify some of these legionary slaves.

Save for this noise of soldiers, a deadly silence reigned round the three masters of Rome. Certain women are said to have dared to break it. To fill the military chest, which stood in need of eighty million sesterces, a heavy contribution had been imposed on fourteen hundred of the richest matrons. Led by Hortensia, the daughter of the orator, these ladies repaired to the Forum, and made their way to the tribunal of the triumvirs. Hortensia spoke. "Before presenting ourselves before you," she said, "we have solicited the intervention of Fulvia; her refusal has obliged us to come hither. You have taken away our fathers, our children, our brothers, our husbands; to deprive us of our fortune also is to reduce us to a condition which befits neither our birth, nor our habits, nor our sex; it is to extend your proscriptions to us. But have we then raised soldiers against you, or sought after your offices? Do we dispute the power for which you are fighting? From the time of Hannibal Roman woman have willingly given to the treasury their jewels and ornaments; let the Gauls or the Parthians come, and there will be found in us no less patriotism. But do not ask us to contribute to this fratricidal war which is rending the Republic; neither Marius, nor Cinna, nor even Sylla during his tyranny dared to do so."¹ The triumvirs tried to drive the orator and her companions from the spot; but the people began to be stirred, and they prudently yielded. The next day an edict appeared, reducing the number of taxed matrons to four hundred.

The political foes of the triumvirs had paid for their opposition with their lives: the rest of the people paid for their cowardly

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 32. This speech of Hortensia, like so many others of antiquity, is probably not authentic; yet Quintilian (i. 1, 6) says he read it. (Cf. Val. Max., viii. 3, 3.)

GLADIATOR FULLY ARMED.¹

submission with a part of their possessions. All the inhabitants of Rome and of Italy, citizens and foreigners, priests and freedmen, possessed of more than one hundred thousand drachmae, *lent* the

¹ Helmet with visor, coat of mail, *lorica hamata*: the arms, thighs, and legs are guarded by bands of metal. The name reads Myron. Bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre, No. 629 of the Clarac Catalogue.

tithe of their property, and *gave* a year's income.¹ It is needless to add that the laws and the magistracies were treated with no more respect than property and life. "They changed the magistrates," says Dion, "they abolished the laws; they made others

SERAPIS.²

according to their good pleasure, so that Caesar's reign seemed to have been the golden age."² When, glutted with blood and rapine, the triumvirs announced that the proscription was at an end, the Senate awarded them civic crowns as saviors of their country. Octavius, who had shown himself the cruellest, reserved the right to a few more murders, declaring that he had not punished all the guilty.

The last measure of the triumvirs in this terrible year was an act of devotion,—a decree for the erection of a temple to Serapis and Isis. This was a far from costly concession to the popular element, and a continuation on other grounds of the war against the nobles. The lower people sought after new gods, and they had good reason; for more

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 34. Dion (xlviii. 11) gives different numbers, but shows a still more deplorable condition of things at Rome and in Italy.

² . . . ὥστε χρυσὸν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος μοναρχίαν φανῆναι (Dion. xlvii. 15).

³ Found at Tivoli.

than a century their old gods had been deaf to their prayers. But the Senate disliked these foreign superstitions, which they could not direct in furtherance of their policy; they had attempted in 58 to expel Isis from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the populace had opposed them. In 53, at the time of the oligarchical reaction, another decree ordered the destruction of all chapels of the Egyptian goddess, and forbade the worship of her even in the interior of houses, a prohibition which Caesar renewed six years later. To maintain the purity of the Roman faith was the least of the triumvirs' cares; Isis was pleasing the populace, and they restored her to them.

On the first of January, 42, Plancus and Lepidus entered upon the consulship; the oath to observe the laws and acts of Caesar was renewed, with great honors to his memory, festivals, temples, and a complete apotheosis. As he was declared a god,² there

was given him a flamen, a college of Julian priests, and public sacrifices; it was forbidden to carry his image at the funerals of his relatives, since he had passed from his earthly family into that of Jupiter; the right of asylum was allowed to the *heroön*, or chapel, which was erected on the spot where his body had been



¹ Fine bronze from Herculaneum. This statuette combines the attributes of Fortune with those of the goddess Isis (*Bronzes d'Herculaneum*, p. 99).

² Θεοῦ τιμος ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄντος (Dion. xlvii. 19).

burned, and all citizens were to celebrate the anniversary of his birth. Any man among the plebs who refused to do this was devoted to Jupiter and Caesar,—that is to say, was put to death; a senator or senator's son must pay a fine of two hundred and fifty thousand drachmae. This was the beginning of that strange legislation which under the Empire established so great a penal difference between the *honestior* and the *humilior*.¹ A difficulty arose. The festival of Apollo fell on the same day with that of Caesar, and the Sibylline oracle prescribed that on that day only the son of Latona should be honored. It was agreed that the new god should give way, that his recent divinity should not prevail against that of the older god; and Caesar's festival was fixed on the day preceding the games of Apollo.

The triumvirs distributed all the offices for the following years; then Octavius repaired to Rhegium, and Antony to Brundisium, where the fleet was only awaiting a fair wind to carry the army to Greece. Cornificius, who commanded in the name of the Senate in the old province of Africa, had just been conquered and slain by Sextius, governor of Numidia; all the West, therefore, except Sicily, where Sextus Pompeius had established himself, obeyed the triumvirs. After a futile attempt by the young Caesar against Sextus, they crossed the Ionian Sea, without any molestation from the Republican fleet, which numbered one hundred and thirty large vessels, under the orders of Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus.

Caesar had merely passed through the East, the principal scene of Pompey's glory. The latter's name was still respected there; and as the murderers of the dictator were understood to have avenged upon him his rival's death, they had found a safe asylum in these provinces, which were moreover animated with a spirit wholly differing from that of the West. On quitting Italy, Brutus had repaired to Athens, where he appeared at first wholly occupied in attending the lessons of Theomnestus the Academic, and of Cratippus the Peripatetic. But he was secretly at work, gaining the young Romans resident in that city, and distributed appointments among them without any regard to services or age; for instance, Horace, at this time scarcely twenty,

¹ See in the *Mémoires* of the *Acad. des inscripts*, (vol. xxix. part 2) my memoir on the *Honestiores* and *Humiliores*.

was appointed legionary tribune.¹ As soon as it became known that Brutus was collecting soldiers, the remnants of the Pompeian legions left in Greece after Pharsalia flocked round him. A quaestor who was carrying to Rome the taxes of Asia allowed himself to be won over, and delivered up five hundred thousand drachmae, which aided Brutus in his negotiations with the troops. Five hundred horse whom Cinna was taking to Dolabella in Asia also went over to Brutus; and young Cicero, the son of the orator, raised a whole legion and gave it to him. Finally, in Demetrias he found vast collections of arms brought together by Caesar for his expedition against the Parthians.

The plebiscitum which had deprived him of the government of Macedonia was illegal, since the acts of the dictator had been confirmed. The proconsul, Q. Hortensius, recognized him as his lawful successor, and made over the command to him, — a decision which gave him a vast province, and an army in the immediate neighborhood of Italy. Antony had ordered his brother Caius to contest Greece with the Republicans, uniting with his own troops those under the command of Vatinius in Illyria. In order to prevent their junction, Brutus marched upon Dyrrachium and enticed away the soldiers of Vatinius. At Apollonia, Caius Antonius was no longer master of his own men; in the first engagement he lost three cohorts; in the second he was conquered and made prisoner by young Cicero, and was then put to death by the order of Brutus, in retaliation for the murder of Dec. Brutus, who had been sacrificed by Antony (43). An expedition against the Bessi also subjugated Thrace to the Republican general, whom his troops saluted with the title of Imperator. From the Euxine to the Adriatic, all obeyed him; and he collected in these regions sixteen thousand talents.

It must not, however, be thought that any strong affection for the Republic existed in these countries. The Athenians, who had lost everything save their eloquence, celebrated in prose and verse the act of the tyrannicides, and erected bronze statues to Brutus and Cassius at the side of those of Harmodios and Aristogiton. But the other Greeks, less fond of rhetoric and better moulded to obedience, submitted to the orders of Brutus because they saw in him

¹ Horace, *Sat.* I. vi. 48.

the lawful representative of the Roman government. Moreover, the new civil war would doubtless end in proscriptions, which would allow of plunder, and certainly in gratuities to the victors. If each of the triumvirs' soldiers had been richly rewarded for a partial victory, how much would not those of Brutus receive for a triumph which would save his head and his party? Accordingly, adventurers from all the countries on the east of the Adriatic flocked to the standard of the tyrannicides, as on the opposite shore they ranged themselves beneath the ensigns of Caesar's avengers. Save with the leaders and their personal friends, booty was everything, and the cause nothing.

Cassius had repaired to his government of Syria, where he had left an honorable reputation behind him at the time of the expedition of Crassus, and all the troops had gone over to him. Antony's colleague, Dolabella, arrived at almost the same time in the province of Asia, where his emissaries surprised Trebonius, one of Caesar's murderers. Trebonius demanded to be taken before the proconsul.

"Let him go where he will," replied Dolabella, "on condition that he leaves his head behind him." He was tortured for two whole days, and his head was kicked about by the populace of Smyrna. But Dolabella could not maintain this first advantage; he was besieged in Laodiceia by Cassius, and on the capture of the place, not to fall alive into the enemy's hands, he ordered one of his praetorians to kill him. When

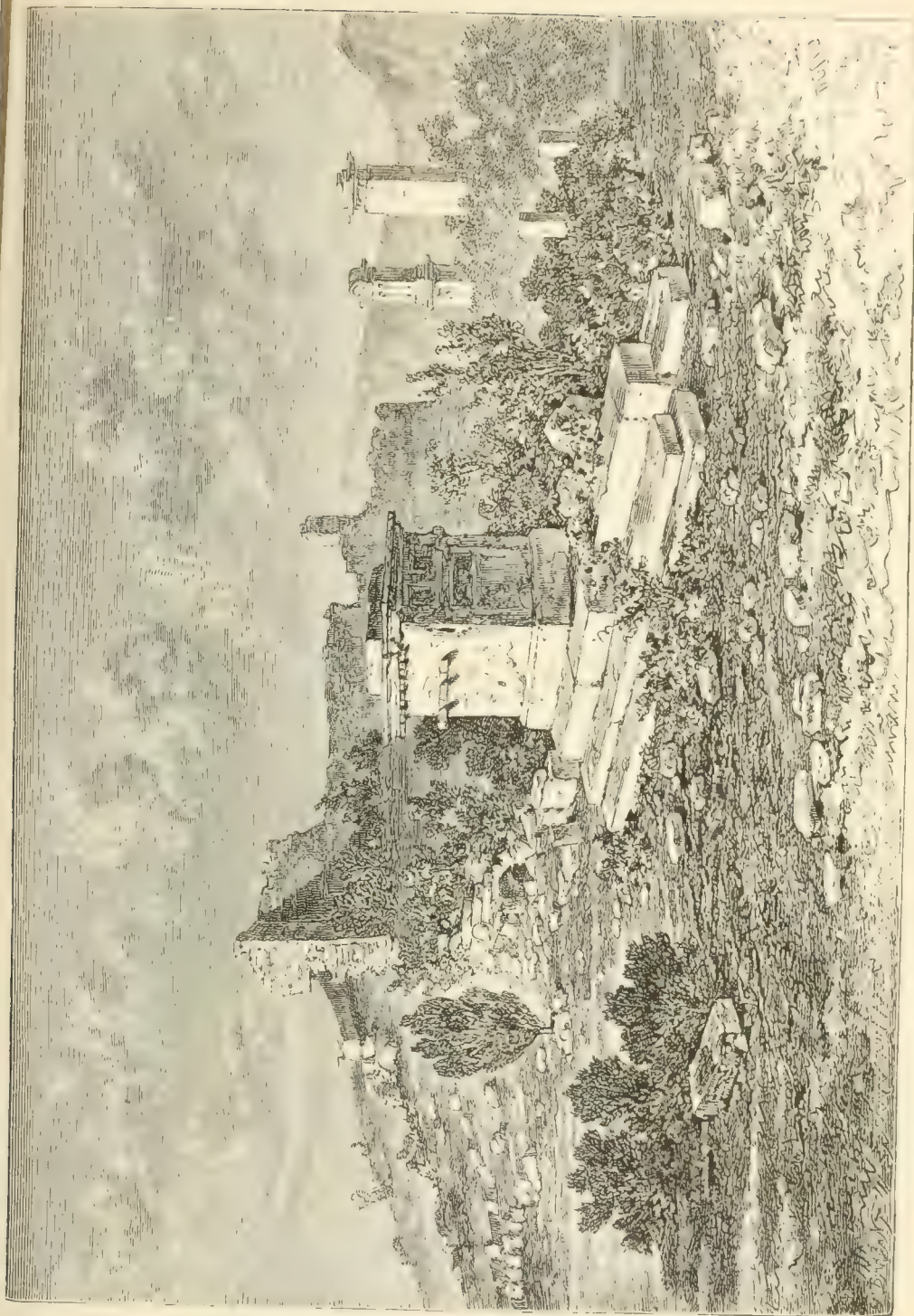


COIN OF LAODICEIA.¹

this news reached Rome Cicero had already proposed the outlawry of his son-in-law; he instigated the passage of a decree confirming Brutus and Cassius in their governments, and placing under their orders all the troops scattered between the Ionian Sea and the Euphrates, with the right to raise the necessary money and to summon to their aid the contingents of allied kings.² In announcing to them these decrees, he urged them to return to Italy in order to free the Senate from any need of the dangerous support of Octavius. But neither of them had that resolution which doubles a man's strength. In a time of revolution, when public opinion

¹ ΙΟΥΛΑΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ; local deity standing. Bronze coin of Laodiceia.

² Cassius even solicited aid of the Parthians, to whom he sent the son of Labienus, and among whom he recruited a few archers (Livy, *Epit.* cxxvii.; App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 59 and 63; Dion, xlviii. 24).



RUINS OF XANTHOS (THEATRE AND TOMB), FROM SIR CHARLES FELLOWS' LYCIA, CARIA, LYDIA.

contributes so much towards success, when rashness is the one thing necessary, they desired to carry on a methodic warfare, to stop before every city, and in no case to leave behind them a shadow of resistance. Instead of responding to Cicero's appeal, Brutus sent him sarcasms on his prudence and on his connection with Octavius; he cast doubt on his courage and foresight. But whilst he was writing fine stoic sentences to him and to Atticus, events were hurrying, and the news of the formation of the triumvirate, of the proscriptions, and of Cicero's death, found Brutus with his army on the road to Asia, and Cassius marching towards Egypt to punish Cleopatra for the help she had furnished to Dolabella.

They at last recognized the necessity for uniting. At the interview at Smyrna Cassius caused his plan still to prevail of awaiting the enemy in the East, and employing the troops meanwhile in subduing the nations which offered resistance; these were the Lycians, Rhodes, and the King of Cappadocia. They divided between them the money which

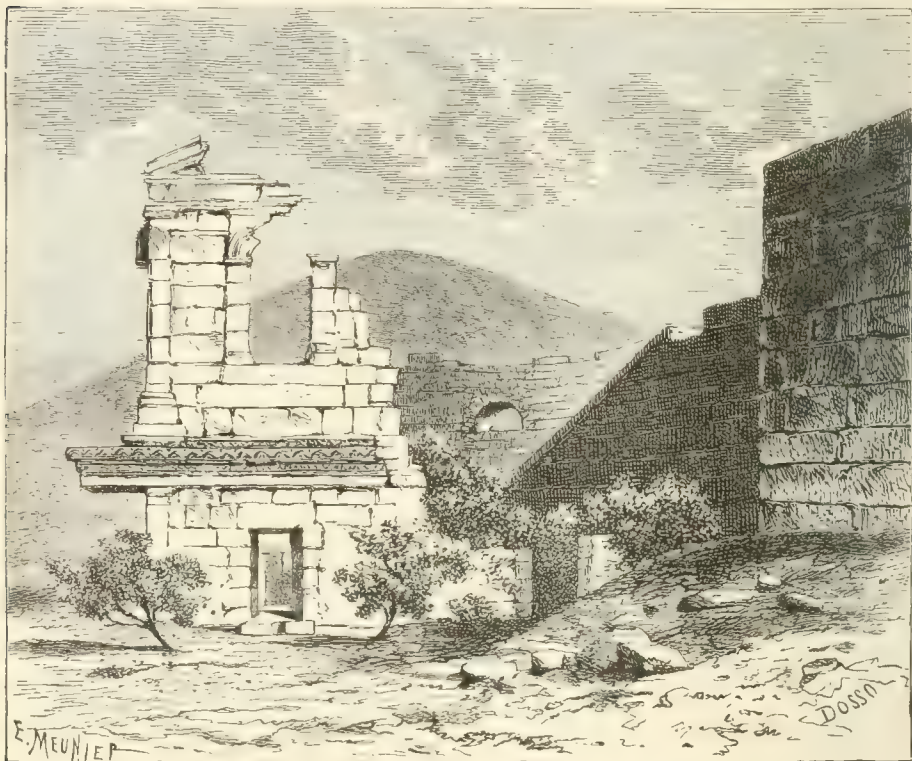
COIN OF XANTHOS.¹

Cassius by his exactions had already collected, and then separated. Brutus entered Lycia, where he met with no resistance except before the town of Xanthos. Rather than surrender, the Xanthians set fire to their houses and threw themselves into the flames with their wives and children;² of the whole population there survived but a hundred and fifty persons. Patara in affright gave up all the gold and silver it possessed, whether in coined money or in ingots; whosoever attempted to hide his wealth was put to death. Cassius attacked Rhodes. The inhabitants invoked their title of allies of the Roman people. "By giving help to Dolabella," replied he, "you have destroyed that treaty." He overcame their fleet in two battles, and took their city, which he plundered. They besought him to leave them at least the statues of their gods. "I will leave you the sun," said he. Some consoled themselves, regarding this speech as an involuntary but certain presage of approaching death. He beheaded fifty of the principal inhabitants, and carried off from

¹ Head of the Sun; in front, a bird. On the reverse, $\Sigma\Lambda$, a pomegranate flower, two monograms, a thyrsus, and an unknown object. Silver coin of Xanthos

² Dion, xlvii. 34.

the island eighty-five hundred talents. Already at Laodiceia he had plundered the temples and the public treasury, and put the noblest citizens to death. At Tarsus, which had taken advantage of these complications to settle an old quarrel with Adana, he had exacted fifteen hundred talents. On returning to the mainland he entered Cappadocia, where he put to death the King, Ariobarzanes, in order to seize upon his wealth, and he subjected the whole of



PATARA (RUINS OF THE THEATRE, FROM FELLOWS' *LYCIA*, ETC. PL. 8).

Roman Asia to the most intolerable exactions. The province was required to pay at once ten years' taxes. In Judaea he had fixed the contribution at more than seven hundred talents; and, the money not coming in quickly enough, notwithstanding Herod's zeal, the Roman caused the inhabitants of the towns to be sold.¹

In his former government of Cisalpine Gaul, Brutus had earned by his justice the gratitude of the inhabitants, who

¹ Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 18.

erected a statue to him, and later persuaded Augustus to leave it standing; and he now attempted to mitigate the evils of the war. At Sardis, in a second interview with Cassius, he blamed the latter severely for bringing their cause into detestation. "It would have been better," said he, "to let Caesar live. If he shut his eyes to the injustice of his party, he himself at least never despoiled any one." But they had the most numerous army that Rome had ever led to battle; it was necessary to feed and pay it, and to retain soldiers and officers by yielding to all their covetous desires; so that the last chiefs of the Republic seemed to set themselves to work to prove to the nations, suffering by passions that they did not share, the necessity of a government capable of securing that most precious of all liberties, — the freedom of home, property, and life.

COIN OF SARDIS.¹

II. — DOUBLE BATTLE OF PHILIPPI (AUTUMN, 42).

LADEN with the plunder of Asia, the two armies were on their return to Europe. One night, as Brutus sat wakeful in his tent at Abydos, a spectre of strange and terrible aspect appeared before him. "Who art thou, — man, or god?" said the stoic general without a tremor. "I am thy evil genius," replied the phantom; "thou wilt meet me again on the plains of Philippi!" and it vanished. In the morning Brutus related this vision of his troubled mind to Cassius, the Epicurean, who, after the manner of Lucretius, explained to him the vain nature of dreams and apparitions. In Thrace they were joined by a native chief named Rhaseuporis, who led them by the shortest road into Macedonia. They had eighty thousand infantry and twenty thousand horse, as rapacious and undisciplined as the soldiers of the triumvirs; and to animate them for the fray the generals distributed to them fifteen hundred drachmae apiece, to the centurions seventy-five hundred, and to the tribunes in proportion. About twenty thousand auxiliaries followed the nineteen legions.

A hostile army commanded by Norbanus, eight legions strong,

¹ CAPΔIC; head of the city of Sardis, veiled and turret-crowned. Bronze coin.

had intrenched itself in the defiles of the Sapaei. Guided by the Thracian Rhascuporis, the army turned this position, making their way by the most difficult mountain-paths; Norbanus escaped by

rapidly falling back upon Amphipolis, which Antony was approaching; but in so doing he abandoned the strong position of Philippi to his foes.

A plain eight leagues in length from north to south, and four leagues across from east to west, surrounded on three sides by mountains covered with majestic forests, formed an immense amphitheatre which Nature herself seemed to have prepared for a bloody arena.¹ The ancients called this



PROSERPINE GATHERING FLOWERS.²

place the gate of Europe and Asia, because it was the best passage from one continent to the other; and there the Greeks placed the

scene of the poetic legend of Proserpine carried off by Pluto as she was gathering flowers in that fertile plain.³ Here camped the last army of the Republic and the first soldiers of the Empire.



COIN OF PHILIPPI
(GOLD)⁴

The Republicans occupied a formidable position. Being masters of



COIN OF PHILIPPI
(SILVER).

the town of Philippi, which stood on a rocky promontory in the midst of the plain, they had established themselves in front of

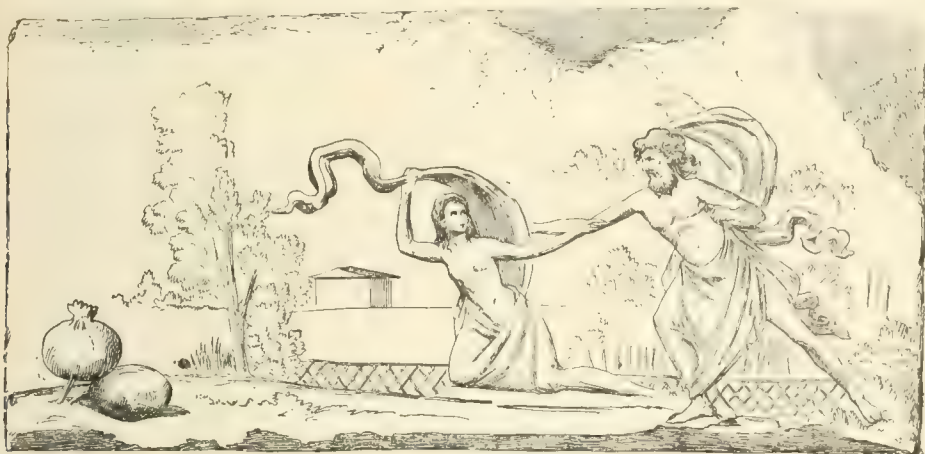
¹ Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii. 183, 191.

² Terra-cotta from Cyrene in the *Cabinet de France* (*Gazette archéol.* 1876, pl. 8).

³ App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 105.

⁴ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ: tripod and bunch of grapes. Reverse of a gold coin of Philippi.

it on both sides of the Egnatian road: Brutus on the slopes of the Panaghirdagh, Cassius on two hills near the sea, in order to maintain communication with the fleet, which was stationed behind him at Neapolis, and with his stores established in the island of Thasos. An intrenchment ran from one camp to the other on the westward side, the direction from which the triumviral army approached, and a river, the Gangas, covered the front of the line.

PLUTO AND PROSERPINE.¹

But this river was fordable everywhere, and the intrenchment could be easily crossed by an enterprising enemy.

Antony was in front of Cassius, and Octavius, on the left, facing Brutus. The two armies were nearly equal in point of numbers. The Republicans were stronger in cavalry, but their legionaries were not so good as those of the triumvirs, who were almost all old soldiers. They had, however, a formidable fleet, which intercepted all supplies for the Caesarians by sea. Accordingly Antony, threatened with famine, was eager for battle, which Cassius, on the contrary, wished to put off. Brutus, anxious to terminate the Civil war, both on his own account and for the satisfaction of his Asiatic auxiliaries, persisted in his advice to fight, and carried the majority with him. In both camps the lustrations usual on the eve of a

COIN OF NEAPOLIS.²

¹ Mural painting discovered at Ostia and published in the *Monum. inéd. de l'Institut archéol.* vol. viii. pl. xxviii. No. 2.

² Mask or head of the Gorgon; silver coin of Neapolis.

battle were made,¹ to conciliate the favor of the gods; but Antony



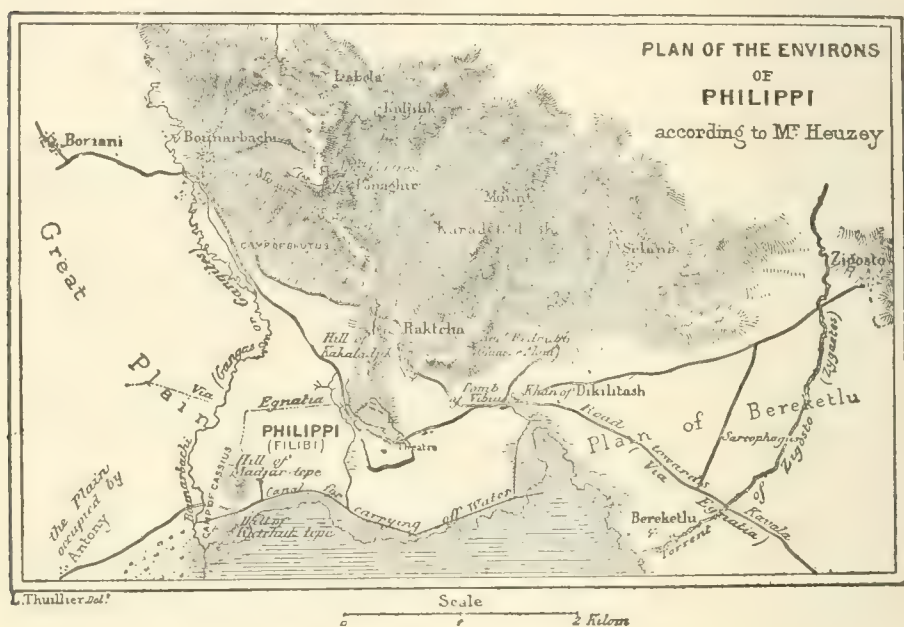
COIN FOUND AT NEAPOLIS
(KAVALA).²

secured it by choosing his point of attack well. His plan was to cut off the enemy from his fleet; therefore it was on the south



COIN FOUND AT
KAVALA.

that the action began. Octavius was so ill that he was brought upon the field in a litter, and thus took his place between the lines of his legionaries. On this decisive day the soldiers needed to see their chief, dead or alive, in the midst of them. Messala, one of



PLAN OF THE ENVIRONS OF PHILIPPI.³

the lieutenants of Brutus, attacking the Caesarians impetuously, broke through their left wing and penetrated into their camp; and the litter of Octavius, from which the young Caesar had just escaped, was riddled with arrows. The report spread that he had been killed, and Brutus believed that the victory was won. But on the other wing Antony had pierced through the enemy's ranks and taken his camp. The dust which covered the plain and the extent of the line of battle prevented the incidents of the action being

¹ Dion, *xlvii.* 38.

² Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 3.

³ *Id.*, *op. cit.* plan A.

observed. Cassius, who had taken refuge with some of his men on a neighboring height, saw a body of cavalry coming towards him; to avoid falling alive into the hands of his foes, he ordered a freedman to kill him. It was, however, Brutus, who, having been victorious, was hastening to his aid. The flatterers of the new royalty afterwards said that at the critical moment terror had seized the soul of the Epicurean sceptic; that he had thought he saw Caesar clad in the purple mantle, and with threatening countenance, urging his horse upon him. "Yet have I slain thee!" he exclaimed, turning away his eyes; and driven by the vengeance of the god, he himself offered his throat to the sword.¹ Brutus, on seeing his dead body, shed tears and called him the last of the Romans. He himself, by his fierce virtue, better merited that title.

Quintilius Varus, whom Caesar had twice found in the hostile ranks and twice dismissed unharmed, like Cassius, caused himself to be slain by one of his freedmen. Labeo, another of the murderers, having with his own hands dug a grave in his tent, then laid bare his throat to his slave. At the sight of Cassius dead, his friend Titinius slew himself. It was an epidemic of suicide, explained by the certainty of the fate reserved by the triumvirs for their foes.

On the day of this first battle of Philippi, Domitius Calvinus, who was bringing the triumvirs a considerable reinforcement of troops from Italy, had been defeated by the fleet of Brutus. Thus the sea was still closed to them; famine threatened, and the autumn rains rendered their position in these low and marshy lands scarcely tenable. Before them was a still formidable army; but behind them was famine, far more to be dreaded. It was therefore necessary to fight, and Antony eagerly sought an opportunity; but for twenty days the Republicans refused. Meanwhile, in spite of a second gratuity of a thousand drachmæ to his soldiers,² and the promise to give up to them the plunder of Sparta and Thessalonica, Brutus saw that discouragement was beginning among his troops.

¹ Val. Max., I. viii. 8.

² The triumvirs on their side, on the day following the battle, gave five hundred drachmæ to each soldier, twenty-five hundred to the centurions, five thousand to the tribunes. We quote the figures in order to show plainly why they fought.

The Thracians of Rhaseuporis left his camp; the Galatians of Deiotarus went over to that of the triumvirs, who threw into his lines messages full of promises for deserters. Brutus feared lest those of his soldiers who had served under Caesar should go and join the adopted son of their former general. To stop this movement he gave battle. This time Octavius drove back the enemy opposed to him into their very camp; while Antony, also victorious on his side, turned the left wing and cut the legions of Brutus to pieces.¹ Their leader would have been taken by some Thracian horsemen but for the devotion of Lucilius, one of his friends, who cried: "I am Brutus!" and bade them take him to Antony, who admired his devotion, and, sparing his life, made him a trusted friend.

Meanwhile Brutus had reached a height, and halted there to accomplish what he called his deliverance. Strato, his teacher in rhetoric, held out a sword to him, averting his eyes; he fell upon the point with such force that he was pierced through, and immediately expired. Popular imagination has surrounded the last moments of the Republican chief with dramatic circumstances. The phantom he had seen at Abydos, it was said, again appeared to him, according to promise on the night before the battle, and passed before him sad and speechless. According to others, an expression of anger and bitter deception escaped Brutus at the final moment: "Virtue, thou art but a name!" Cato, whose life had been simple and upright, had died with more calmness, reading a treatise on the immortality of the soul. Brutus died despairing of liberty, philosophy, and virtue, — a just chastisement for the dreamer who had thwarted his age without perceiving it, for the man of meditation who, thinking to stop with a dagger-thrust a revolution which had been gathering way for more than a century, had only succeeded in letting loose fearful calamities upon his country. The Republicans esteemed him their second martyr; but it was an honor that he did not deserve.

Some of the friends of Brutus had slain themselves by his side; others, as the sons of Cato and Lucullus, had fallen in the fray. The former of these had fought bravely, crying his name aloud to the Caesarians in order to draw more foes within reach

¹ Such is Appian's account (*Bell. civ.* iv. 128). Plutarch, in his *Life of Brutus*, represents Octavius as being again beaten in this second engagement.

of his sword, and had sold his life dearly. Hortensius, the son of the great orator, was a prisoner; by the order of Brutus he had put to death, as a reprisal for the proscriptions, C. Antonius, who had fallen into his hands; Antony now caused him to be slain on his brother's tomb. The triumvir displayed some mildness, however; he wished to have Brutus honorably buried. But Octavius had the corpse beheaded and the head sent to Rome to be laid at the foot of Caesar's image.¹ He was pitiless towards his captives, and looked on coldly at their execution. A father and son each besought that the other's life might be spared; he made them draw lots. Another asked that he might at least be buried. "That," said he, "concerns the vultures." Yet he welcomed Valerius Messala, in spite of his friendship for Brutus, and often allowed him to praise the virtue of the Republican leader. More than fourteen thousand men had surrendered; the others were slain or in flight. Some of the latter reached Sicily, and the whole of the fleet, assembled under the command of Domitius Ahenobarbus, joined itself to that of Sextus (autumn of 42).²



COIN OF DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.³

If vengeance be a pleasure of the gods, Caesar must have been satisfied; from the heights of Olympus, to which his adoring country had raised him, he had seen all the heroes of the ides of March fall, within three years, in battles or proscriptions, or struck by their own hands with the swords which they had stained with his blood.

¹ According to Dion (xlvii. 49), this head did not reach Rome: it fell into the sea in a tempest. Porcia, the wife of Brutus, learning of her husband's death, attempted to kill herself; being closely watched by her family, she could only accomplish her purpose by swallowing red-hot coals (App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 136). But Plutarch (*Brut.* 53) had read a letter from Brutus in which he reproached his relations with having so neglected his wife that she had taken her own life in order to be freed from a painful malady. Another heroic legend to be suppressed.

² Suet., *Octav.* 13; Dion, xlvii. 49; App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 131. According to M. Heuzey, who, in his *Mission archéol. en Macédoine*, discovered the battlefield of Philippi, Antony forced the intrenchment between the two hills of Madjar-tepe and Kutluk-tepe whilst Cassius was occupied in fortifying his two extended lines, then seized upon his camp, and drove his army back in disorder in the direction of Philippi. After the death of Cassius, Brutus encamped at Madjar-tepe in order to maintain his communications with the sea. But Antony took Kutluk-tepe by surprise, and posted four legions there. M. Heuzey thinks that after the second battle of Philippi, Brutus retreated to the slopes of the Karadagh, and that he slew himself in one of the valleys occupied by the hamlets of Isabola and Kidjilik.

³ Head of Domitius Ahenobarbus, cousin of Brutus; from a coin.

III. — NEW DIVISION OF THE WORLD ; ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA ; WAR OF PERUSIA (41–40).

THE two victors now again divided the world. Octavius took Spain and Numidia ; Antony, Gallia Comata and Africa. Gallia Cisalpina, as being too near Rome, was to cease to be a province.¹ As for Lepidus, he was at first excluded from a share, because it was believed that he had a secret understanding with Sextus Pompeius ; but later he received Africa. The leaders' shares being thus settled, it remained to give the soldiers theirs. The latter fully intended to be paid for the victory. They had been promised a portion of land and five thousand drachmae, or about nine thousand dollars of our money, each, and there were a hundred and seventy thousand of them, without counting the cavalry. The triumvirs had no money left ; but the wealth of Asia seemed inexhaustible, and Antony took upon himself to find in that country a great part of the two hundred thousand talents required.³ Octavius, whose health was still weak, assumed the apparently more ungrateful task of dispossessing the inhabitants of Italy in order to distribute their lands among the veterans. While he was making his way towards Rome, with the intention of securing the troops by giving them what Antony had only promised, the latter passed through Greece, took part in its games, its festivals, and the lessons of its rhetoricians ; and by thus flattering their tastes won the name of the friend of the Greeks. But when he came into Asia, the warrior lost himself in the delights of its voluptuous cities. In that land of luxury and pleasures the Romans threw away the last remnant of modesty which they had brought from Rome. Antony surrounded himself with flute-players, mountebanks, and

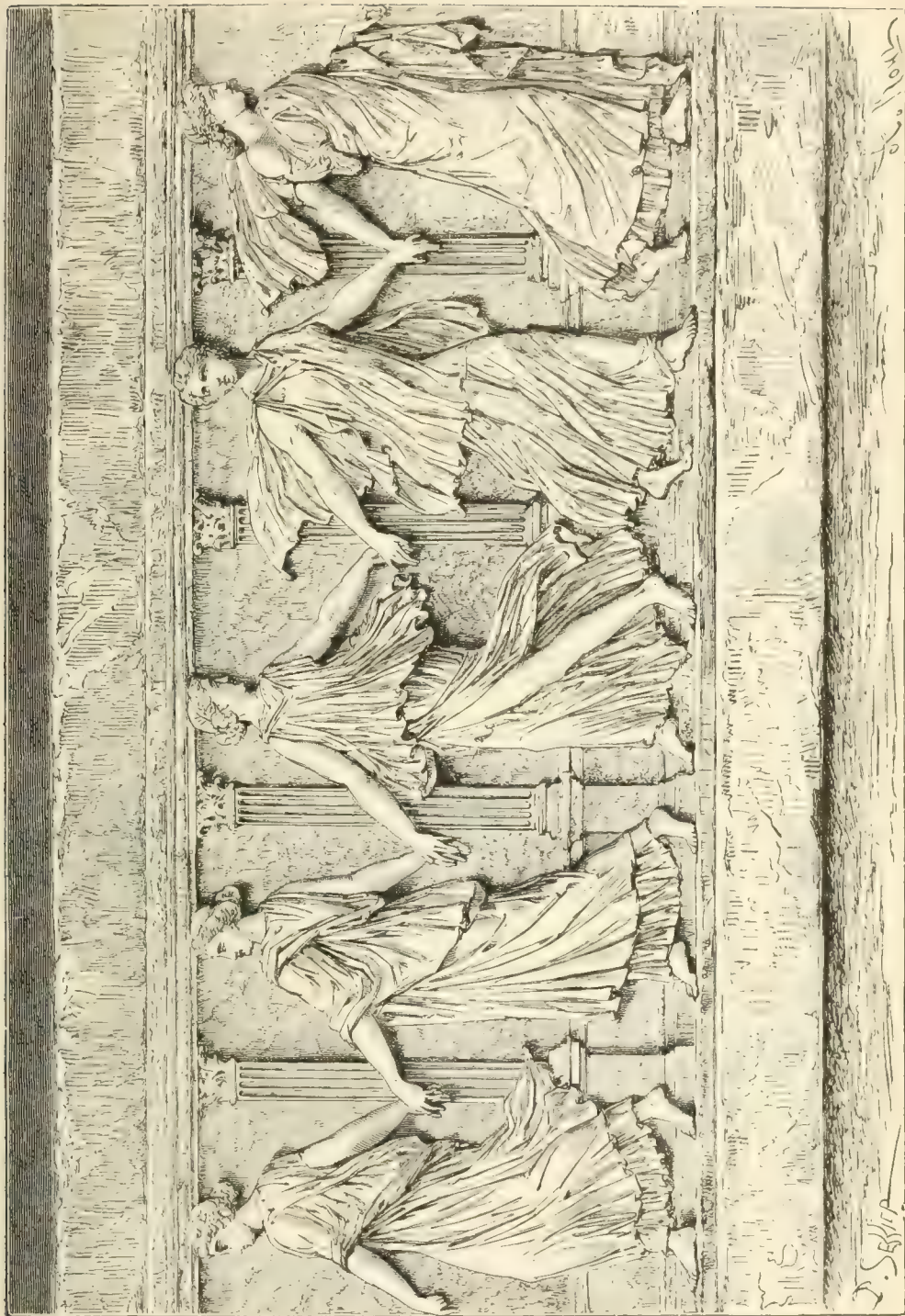


SEXTUS POM-
PEIUS.²

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* v. 3. Octavius thus completed what Caesar had begun ; γνώμη Καίσαρος.

² MAG(nus) PIVS IMP. ITER. Coin of Sextus Pompeius.

³ Plut., *Anton.* 24. The number is given by Appian (v. 5) as a hundred and seventy thousand soldiers.



DANCING GIRLS (BAS-RELIEF IN THE LOUVRE).

dancing-girls. He entered Ephesus, preceded by women dressed as Bacchantes, and youths in the garb of Fauns and Satyrs. Already he assumed the attributes of Bacchus, and set himself to play the part by continual orgies. In order to supply money for his prodigal expenditure, he oppressed the nations cruelly. After Cassius there remained but little gold in the temples and treasuries of the cities; but he plundered private individuals. His flatterers easily obtained the inheritance of men still living; for a good dish he gave his cook the house of a citizen of Magnesia; to another man, for a song, the office of receiver of taxes of four cities.¹

When the deputies of the towns protested against the ten years' tribute which he had imposed upon them, he answered that they ought to think themselves fortunate that their houses and lands were not taken from them, like the Italians, but only their gold, and of that no more than they had given to Caesar's assassins; and even that he allowed

them two years to pay the sum. As this tax only produced forty thousand talents, he doubled it, and required that it should be paid in two instalments. "If you force us to pay the tribute twice in

DANCING FAUN.²

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* v. 1; Strabo, xiv. 148.

² Bronze statuette found at Pompeii in the *atrium* of the house which has retained his name. It is one of the most perfect works in the Museum of Naples.

one year," a certain Hybreas dared to say to him, "give us two summers and two harvests. No doubt you have also the power to do so."¹

He, however, remembered those who had suffered for him. To the Rhodians he gave vast domains, which they were not able to govern, and he exempted from taxation Tarsus, Laodiceia of Syria, and Lycia, where Brutus had left so many ruins, and where



A TOWN OF LYCIA.²

modern travellers have discovered the curious or magnificent remains of so many cities.

Terrified at the threats of Cassius, Cleopatra had furnished him both troops and money; and Antony now called her to account for this conduct. She came to Tarsus to plead her cause,

¹ The passage in Plutarch (*Anton.* 24) is not very clear. Appian (v. 4) says that he consented to receive the taxes for only nine years, to be paid in two, which is more easily understood.

² Tlos, one of the six great cities of Lycia. The engraving is made after Sir Ch. Fellows (*Lycia, Caria, etc.*, pl. 6). The other five towns were Xanthos, Patara, Pinora, Olympus, and Myra. (See above, p. 604 and p. 606, the ruins of Xanthos and Patara.)

or rather to try upon him the influence of her charms. Nothing in the range of female strategy was omitted to make the plot successful. She sailed up the Cydnus in a vessel with gilded stern and purple sails and silver oars. The rowers kept time to the sound of flutes and lyres. The Queen, representing Venus, lay under a canopy embroidered with gold. Children, who personated Loves, were grouped around her, and her women, attired as Nereids and Graces, guided the vessel. The perfumes that were burned upon the deck made all the air fragrant. "It is Venus herself," cried the dazzled inhabitants; "she comes to meet Bacchus!" Antony fell under the spell; and when he saw this beautiful and accomplished woman, who spoke six languages, sharing in his orgies and in his soldier-talk, drinking with him and swearing with him, he forgot Rome, Fulvia, and the Parthians, and followed her, tamed and docile, to Alexandria (41 B.C.). Then began the excesses of "the inimitable life," — endless suppers, hunts, and rough nocturnal adventures through the town.¹

Whilst he was wasting precious time in these infamous debauches, his wife and brother in Italy were declaring war against Octavius.

On the 1st of January, 41 B.C., Lucius Antonius and Servilius Isauricus had taken possession of the consulship. Fulvia, an ambitious and violent woman, exercised over both of them an influence which left the government in her hands; the indolent Lepidus was completely set aside.² The arrival of the young Caesar threatened Fulvia's authority, and he irritated her still more by sending home her daughter, whom he had married in the preceding year merely to please the soldiers.

She began by demanding that the lands which he was to give to the legions of Antony should be distributed to them by their general's brother, in order that Octavius might not have all their gratitude; to this he yielded. Then, as there arose against him a chorus of complaint about this division of land, she strove to profit by these disturbances in Italy in order to tear her husband away from Cleopatra.³ The veterans claimed the eighteen cities which

¹ Plut., *Anton.* 26. At her instigation Antony caused her sister Arsinoë to be put to death at the altar of Diana of Miletus, and he allowed her to poison Ptolemy, her brother and husband.

² Dion, lxxviii. 4.

³ Martial (xi. 21) speaks of some tenderer sentiments which Fulvia entertained for

had been promised to them, and the inhabitants were enraged at the injustice which compelled them to pay for all Italy. In addition to this, the latter demanded an indemnity, and the former, money to cover the expenses of their establishment. Meanwhile the new colonists overstepped their boundaries, appropriated the neighboring fields, and took all that they found to their liking. The dispossessed owners flocked into the city with their wives and children, bewailing their misfortunes, and stirring up the people, who, being deprived of work by the disturbances, and of provisions by the cruisers of Sextus, insulted the soldiers, plundered the houses of the wealthy, and would have no more magistrates, not even their own tribunes, that they might pillage more at their ease. Urged on by Fulvia, Lucius Antonius then interfered, and promised his protection to the expropriated Italians, at the same time assuring the soldiers that if they had no land, or had not enough, his brother would be able to make them full amends with the tributes which he was levying for them in Asia.¹

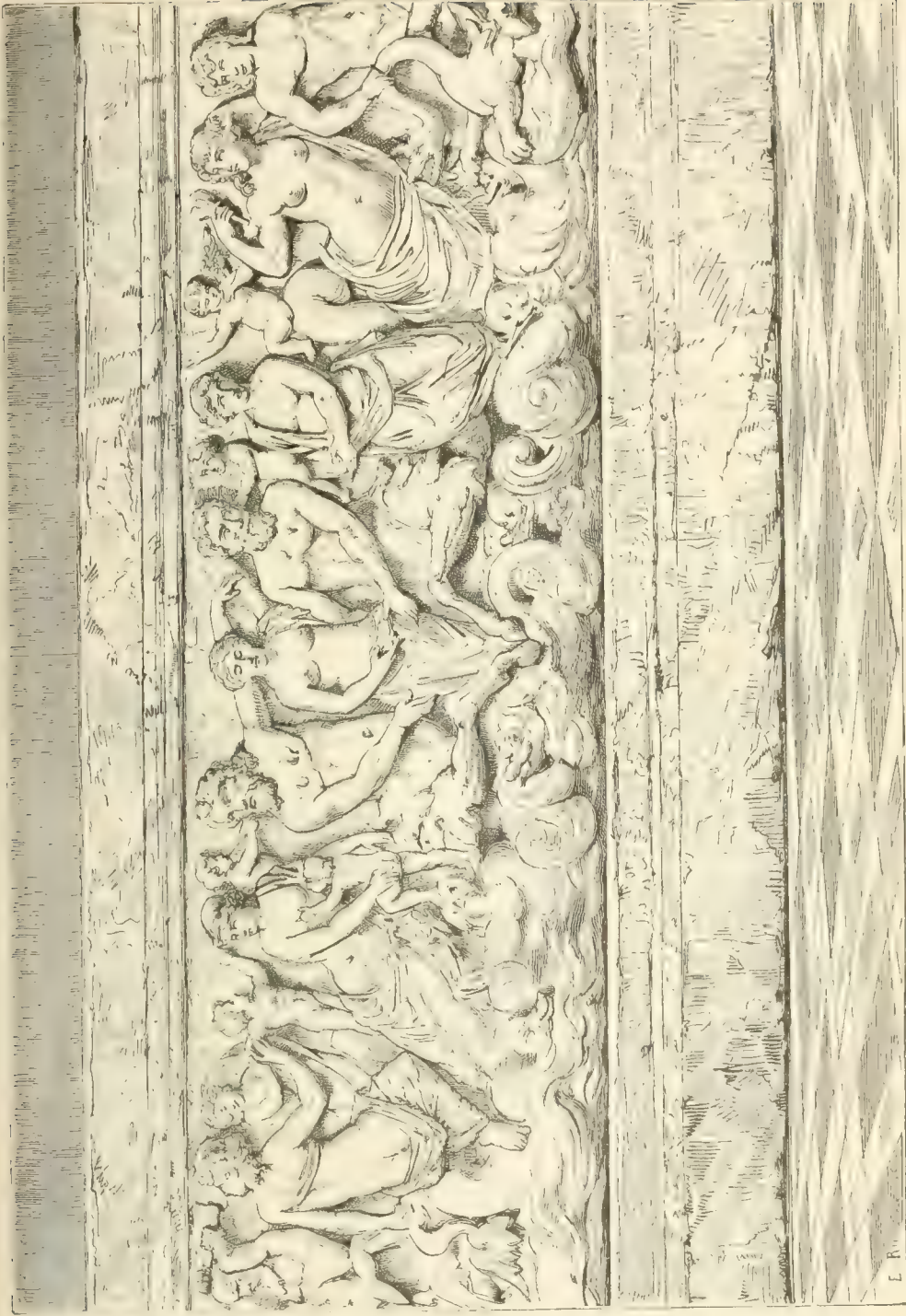


LUCIUS ANTONIUS.

The Italians grew bolder in their opposition when they saw it was encouraged by a consul, and resolved to take up arms in defence of their fields; at many points bloody conflicts ensued. The veterans on their side heaped recriminations upon Octavius for not keeping his promises, and reached such a point of insubordination that a revolt seemed imminent. One day, at the theatre, a soldier took his seat upon one of the benches of the knights; the crowd murmured, and to appease the tumult Octavius sent him out. But after the show the soldiers crowded round the general with threats, accusing him of having put the man to death to please the crowd; and the soldier was obliged to come and show himself to his comrades. They then exclaimed that he had been thrown into prison: and as he affirmed that nothing of the kind had taken place, they turned against him, calling him liar and traitor. They wished to make the military dress inviolable. On another occasion, Octavius having kept them waiting for him at

Octavius, to which he made no response. Martial is very malicious of tongue, but Fulvia gave occasion for spiteful remarks. She had now her third husband, having been successively the wife of the two famous tribunes Clodius and Curio; and during her widowhood her grief had not been inconsolable.

¹ Dion, xl. 6, 7; App., *Bell. civ.* v. 12, sq.



VENUS SURROUNDED BY NEREIDS AND CUPIDS (BAS-RELIEF IN THE LOUVRE).

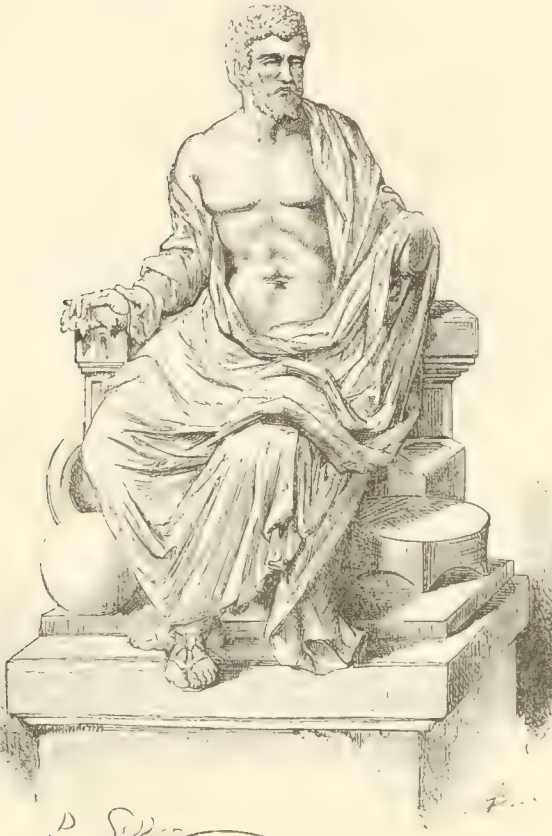
a review, they became angry, and a tribune who undertook his defence was attacked; the tribune succeeded in getting away, and plunged into the Tiber to escape his pursuers; but he was dragged out and killed, and his body was placed on the road by which Octavius would arrive. The latter did no more than mildly reprove them for this violence.

His situation was becoming critical. All men laid to his charge the ills they suffered, and even some of his veterans, won by the promises of Fulvia and Lucius, abandoned him. But the treasures which Fulvia promised them, her husband was at that very time dissipating in mad prodigalities. Octavius sold the rest of the property of the proscribed, borrowed from the temples, and turning everything into money, brought back by largesses some of those who had left him. A master-stroke completed the re-establishment of his popularity. He assembled the veterans in the Capitol, caused the agreements lately made with Antony to be read to them, and declared his firm resolution to carry them out. "But Lucius," he added, "is working to overthrow the triumvirate, and will make everything again uncertain by a war, the authority of the leaders as well as the rewards due to the soldiers. As for me, ever ready to maintain concord, I willingly take the Senate and the veterans as judges of my conduct." The veterans accepted this strange arbitration; they constituted themselves into a tribunal at Gabii, and invited the two opponents to appear before them. The young Caesar hastened to obey; Lucius Antonius, perhaps apprehending an ambush on the road, did not come, and Fulvia, who at Praeneste held reviews with a sword at her side, scoffed loudly at the *booted* Senate. This scene, however, restored to Octavius the support of almost all the veterans. The Italians naturally threw themselves upon the opposite side, which appeared the most numerous. Lucius collected seventeen legions of recruits. Octavius had only ten; but they were veterans, with Agrippa for general. Things seemed to go ill with him at first. Lucius seized upon Rome, which Lepidus should have defended, and assembling the people, announced to them that his brother renounced his triumviral authority; that he would canvass the consulship in the usual manner as soon as he had punished Lepidus and Octavius; and that thus the Republic and liberty would be re-established. It was the counterpart of the

comedy played at Gabii.—a play got up to win the people, as the other had been to win the army. Lucius was naturally hailed as imperator,—a title of which the soldiers were lavish, since in return the leader owed them a *donativum*.

But Agrippa easily drove him out of Rome, and pressed him

so hard that he compelled him to take refuge in the fortress of Perusia, where he shut him in with immense works of circumvallation. Antony's friends, Asinius Pollio, Calenus, and Ventidius, took very little part in this war, being uncertain whether the triumvir approved of it. Fulvia, who was bringing help to her brother-in-law, could not force the besiegers' lines; and the garrison was decimated by a famine which became proverbial under the name of *fames Perusina*. Sling-missiles thrown during this siege and recovered in our



VULCAN.¹

own days have preserved the memory of it: "You are dying of hunger, and you hide it from me (*esuries et me celas*)," said the one; to which a traitor replied, "We are without bread (*sine masa*)."²

¹ Marble statue, which was at first erected in the town of Tarentum, according to the inscription cut on its base (Montfaucon, *Suppl. I.*, vol. i. pl. 30). Vulcan was an old Italian deity, whom the Romans identified with the Hephaestus of the Greeks.

² In this war of Perusia, Asculum must have sided with Antony, for there has been found at the foot of its walls a sling-missile with the name of Ventidius, a famous Asculan, one of Antony's partisans. Another fact unknown to historians is perhaps revealed by these singular relics; one of them bears these words: *Q. Lab. Part. Mar. Vll.*, that is, Q. Labienus Parthicus to

Lucius, compelled to yield to the remonstrances of the soldiers, surrendered. In order to avoid giving Antony any pretext for war, Octavius contented himself with sending Lucius to Spain, whither at the same time he sent a man of energy, D. Calvinus, who was able to keep that province under his sway. He also spared the veterans found in Perugia, and enrolled them in his legions; but the magistrates of the city and, it is said, three hundred knights or senators were slain at the foot of an altar raised to Caesar on the ides of March in the year 40. To every prayer that was addressed him to spare the life of any one of them, Octavius replied with the words of Marius: "He must die." The town had been given up to pillage; a citizen set it on fire and destroyed it, and threw himself into the flames.¹ In order to punish Juno, the presiding goddess of the city, who had so ill defended them, and whose image Octavius carried away to Rome, as though the goddess had been his accomplice, the inhabitants when they rebuilt their town placed it under the protection of Vulcan; he had at least saved his temple from the flames.

The destruction of that ancient city was the last of the triumvir's acts of cruelty.² Further proscriptions were dreaded, however. Horace, who was as yet unattached, utters a cry of despair, and counsels the wise to flee to the Fortunate Isles to escape this iron age.³ All Antony's friends got away, but without going so far; Pollio took refuge with a few troops on board of the vessels of Domitius Ahenobarbus, who, while acting in concert with Sextus, had reserved to himself the free command of the fleet which had belonged to Brutus;⁴ Antony's mother reached Sicily, where Sextus received her with honors; Tiberius Claudius

Mars the Avenger. This Labienus, who was the master of Asia Minor, must, therefore, have sent aid to the foe of Caesar's son (Desjardins, *Les Balles de fronde*; see vol. ii. p. 598).

¹ Suet., *Octav.* 15: *moritundum esse*; and Dion, xviii. 11. — a doubtful fact, resting merely on reports; *scribunt quidam*, in Suetonius; λόγος ἔχει, in Dion. Appian (v. 48) mentions only a small number of executions. Nursia escaped with a fine, but so heavy a one that the inhabitants preferred to abandon their town and territory (Dion, xlviii. 13. Cf. Vell. Patere., ii. 74; App., *Bell. civ.* v. 49).

² Senec., *De Clementia*, i. 11.

³ Ode xvi. of the book of the *Epodes*, published after his death.

⁴ This Domitius was the son of the Dom. Ahenobarbus slain at Pharsalia. Though it was not known for certain whether he had taken any part in the murder of the dictator, he had been proscribed by Pedius as a tyrannicide. He was the grandfather of Nero (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 55; Suet., *Nero*, 3).

Nero, who had commanded an army corps in Campania, also sought refuge in the island; Livia Drusilla, his wife, and his son Tiberius, then two years old, were at that time fleeing from the man whom one of them was to marry and the other to succeed. Fulvia and her children, accompanied by Plancus, were able to reach Greece. Octavius was thus left master of Italy and of the whole West, for the son of Calenus, who after his father's death had taken command of the legions in Gaul, yielded up that province to him, and Spain made its submission. The incapable Lepidus claimed his share; he was sent into Africa with six legions of soldiers, who were either malecontents or too much attached to Antony. This struggle of one year's duration was called the war of Perusia (41-40).

These sounds of war drown the memory of the calamities suffered throughout the peninsula, which we must, however, call to mind to complete the picture of those fearful times. Nothing in modern history can furnish an idea of the destitution and wretchedness caused by this second expropriation of the rural population of Italy.¹ The first had taken place at the expense of the old Italiot races whom Sylla had despoiled in order to furnish homes for his one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers. The second, by a just retribution, dispossessed those who had profited by the first. The sons of the dictator's veterans gave place to the legionaries of the triumvirs. Vergil was thus driven from his little patrimony near Mantua; Horace, who after his flight from Philippi had repaired to Rome, thus lost the estates left him by his worthy father, the freedman of Venusia. Tibullus and Propertius suffered the same fate. Protected by Pollio and Gallus, who were charged with the division of lands in Cisalpine Gaul, and who were acquainted with his early verses, Vergil twice obtained the restitution of his twice-invaded fields. But all dispossessed landowners had not beautiful verses wherewith to redeem their property; the more fortunate remained as tenants upon the lands which they had held as proprietors. Others begged and died by the wayside; or, driven to go and people distant colonies, left behind them in stranger hands the paternal home and the tomb of their forefathers:—

¹ The expression is from Appian (*Ibid.* v. 5).

“Nos patriae fines et dulcia linquimus arva . . .
 Impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit,
 Barbarus has segetes ?”¹

The Ofellus of Horace is the portrait of many men of that time; but all were not able to say like him: “Meet adverse fortune with a manly heart!”

“Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus!”²

For forty years past the right of property had ceased to exist in the peninsula,—a consideration which would alone suffice to prove the necessity of the Empire, since the end of the Republic was for Italy the end of evils of which our most terrible wars can give no idea.

IV.—TREATIES OF BRUNDISIUM (40) AND OF MISENUM (39); DEFEAT OF SEXTUS POMPEIUS AND DEPOSITION OF LEPIDUS (36).

NEITHER Fulvia's appeals nor the report of this war had been able to divert Antony from his pleasures; or rather he had perceived that it was only a question of an intrigue by his wife. A bold attack of the Parthians at length roused him. The harshness and exactions of the governor whom he had left in Syria had led to a revolt. The Parthians, summoned by the inhabitants, and led by a son of Labienus, who had taken refuge at the court of Ctesiphon, had invaded that province and broken into Asia Minor.³ In the spring of the year 40 Antony repaired to Tyre, the only city of Phoenicia which they had not yet entered; letters from Fulvia which reached him there apprised him of the end of the war of Perusia and the flight of all his friends. It became necessary to offset the effect produced by this defeat by reappearing with a considerable force upon the shores of Italy. Committing, therefore, to the able Ventidius the charge



Q. LABIENUS
 PARTHICUS
 (SILVER COIN).

¹ Vergil, *Bucol.* i. 3 and 71-72. A little poem of 183 lines, the *Dirae*, sometimes attributed to Vergil, also contains imprecations against all who have despoiled the author of his domain.

² *Satirae*, II. ii. 112-136.

³ Labienus there conquered Decidius Saxa, and after that victory took the title of imperator and the surname of Parthicus.

of opposing the Parthians, he set sail with two hundred vessels, furnished by Cyprus and Rhodes, for Athens, where he found Fulvia. The interview between the pair was an interchange of bitter and well-justified recriminations, — on the one side about the stay in Alexandria, on the other about the foolish Perusian war. Meanwhile events were crowding forward in the West, where Octavius had taken possession of Gaul. It was necessary to put a speedy stop to this growing fortune; leaving Fulvia in Sicily, ill with vexation and shame. Antony came to an arrangement with the Pompeian Domitius, who opened a passage for him across the Ionian Sea, and began hostilities by the siege of Brundisium. At the same time he invited Sextus Pompeius to attack Southern Italy; Rhegium had been already blockaded, the Pompeian troops were arriving before Consentia, and Sardinia had gone over to the enemy.

Octavius appeared to be in serious danger; but he derived great strength from this union against him of men who but yesterday were hostile to each other. While the enemy's camp contained



COIN OF RHEGIUM.¹

a son of Pompey, one of the triumvirs, and one of Caesar's murderers, Octavius stood the sole representative of the new principle round which so many interests had already gathered; and such is the advantage of clearly defined positions, even in political matters, that this threatening coalition was in reality little to be dreaded. The memory of the battles at Philippi was still too fresh in the minds of the veterans of the triumviral army for them to be willing to fight against one another. They compelled their leaders to treat, and Cocceius Nerva, a friend of both the triumvirs, brought about an arrangement; the conditions were drawn up by Pollio and Mæcenæ, and the death of Fulvia hastened its conclusion. Antony caused one of his wife's advisers, who had been the principal instigator of the war of Perusia, to be put to death; and as a proof of his desire to establish a real peace, he gave up to his colleague the letters of Salvidienus, a lieutenant of Octavius in Gallia Narbonensis, who offered to bring him his troops. Summoned to Rome upon some pretext, the traitor was there put to death. A new partition of the Roman world gave

¹ PHILON: Lyc. Reverse of a coin of Rhegium.

Antony the East as far as the Adriatic, with the obligation to fight the Parthians; and Octavius the West and the war against Sextus. Scodra (Scutari), on the Illyrian coast, marked the common boundary. They left Africa to Lepidus, and agreed that when they did not wish to hold the consulship themselves they would



VIEW OF SICYON.

alternately bestow it upon their friends. Octavia, the sister of the young Caesar, already left a widow by the death of Marcellus, married the other triumvir.¹ She had just given birth to him who is perhaps the “predestined child” of Vergil’s Fourth Eclogue, that Marcellus, “the glorious scion of Jupiter,” whom the poet was to immortalize in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* (40).²

COIN OF
SALVIDIENUS.

OCTAVIA (COIN).

¹ Plut., *Anton.* 31. He calls Octavia *χρήμα θαυμαστὸν γυναικός*.

² Propertius (iii. 18) makes Marcellus die at the age of twenty, which would put his birth in 43,—more than two years before the peace of Brundisium and the writing of Vergil’s Eclogue; but Servius (*Ad Aen.* vi. 862) makes him two years younger. “He fell ill,” says

The friends of peace hoped that this young wife, who was respected by all and tenderly loved by her brother, would be able by her virtues to retain Antony and to preserve harmony between the two masters of the Roman world (40).¹

The triumvirs returned to Rome to celebrate this union. The festivities were sad, for the people wanted bread, since Sextus, who had not been included in the treaty of Brundisium, continued to intercept trading vessels. None arrived, and the merchants

OCTAVIA.²

no longer dared despatch their vessels to the ports of Smyrna, Alexandria, Carthage, and Marseilles. Following the soldiers' example, the multitude with loud cries demanded peace. An edict taxing landowners fifty sesterces a head for their slaves and confiscating to the treasury a portion of all inheritances caused

further irritation. Abuse was heaped on the triumvirs; but the people could no longer make even a riot: the veterans fell upon the multitude and put them to flight, leaving numbers of dead behind them.³ Antony was the first to weary of these reproaches, and urged his colleague to treat with Sextus. A few months

Servius, "in his sixteenth year, and died in his eighteenth." I am more disposed to accept the age given by the learned commentator than that given by the poet. It must be acknowledged, however, that there remain great difficulties on the subject of the "predestined child."

¹ In the same year the tribune Falcidius carried the law which bears his name and which remained famous under the Empire; it forbade a man to dispose of more than three quarters of his property in legacies, and secured the remaining quarter, the Falcidian Fourth, to the heirs.

² Cameo in the possession of M. le Baron Roger, published in the *Gazette archéol.* 1875, pl. 31.

³ *Apian. Bell. civ.* v. 68. — *Dion.* xlviii. 19.

previously Octavius had married the sister of Scribonius Libo, Sextus' father-in-law, in the hope that this alliance would open the way to an agreement. Libo did, in fact, intervene between his son-in-law and the triumvirs. Mucia, the mother of Sextus Pompeius, herself pleaded with her son that blood enough had been shed in this unhappy quarrel; and Sextus yielded.¹ The three met on Cape Misenum, upon a dike constructed from the shore to the admiral's galley and cut through in the middle, so that the negotiators, on either side of a channel through which the sea flowed, could discuss questions without any fear of surprise. Sextus had his fleet behind him, the triumvirs their legions. The latter consented to allow him to return to Rome; but he demanded to be received into the triumvirate in the place of Lepidus, — upon which the conference was broken up. Urged on by his freedman, Menas, he was about to return to Sicily and recommence hostilities, when Libo and Mucia induced him to consent to a second interview, at which the following conditions were agreed upon, — Sextus was to receive Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, and Achaëa as provinces, with an indemnity of fifteen million five hundred thousand drachmae.² He was to have the right of canvassing the consulship, though absent, and of discharging the functions of that office through one of his friends. The citizens who had taken refuge with him were allowed to return to Rome and resume their estates; those who had been put upon the lists of proscription were only to recover a quarter of their property; and the murderers of Caesar were excluded from the amnesty. The gratuities reserved for the triumvirs' soldiers were to be granted to his also; and slaves who had taken refuge with him were to receive their freedom. On his side he was to clear the sea of pirates, withdraw his garrisons from the points occupied by them upon the coasts of Italy, and send the wheat which Sicily and Sardinia used to supply to Rome.³ The treaty was to be confided to the guardianship of the Vestals.

¹ One of his principal officers, Mureus, urged him to treat. His freedman, Menas, who commanded for him in Sardinia, tried hard to turn him from it by representing to him that he must let famine do its work. He did not succeed in convincing him, but he made him suspicious of Mureus, whom Sextus put to death (Vell. Patere., ii. 77; App., *Bell. civ.* v. 70; Dion, xlviii. 19).

² Dion, *Ibid.* 36.

³ Plut., *Anton.* 33; Dion, *Ibid.*; App., *Bell. civ.* v. 72; Vell. Patere., ii. 77.

When the three chiefs were seen to cross the narrow barrier which separated them, and embrace in token of peace and friendship, one shout of joy went up from fleet and army. It seemed as if this was the end of all their ills. Italy would no longer dread famine; the exiles and *proscripti* would return to their country.



VESSEL BEARING
STANDARDS.¹

It was further announced to the troops that a marriage would cement the union: the daughter of Sextus was affianced to the nephew of Octavius. Then the three chiefs entertained one another. The lot fell upon Sextus to receive his new friends first. "Where shall we sup?" asked Antony, gayly. "In my *carinae*," answered Sextus, pointing to his galley, — a cutting allusion to the fact that, at Rome, Antony possessed the house of Pompey the Great, in the quarter of the *Carinae*.² In the middle of the feast Menas is said to have whispered in Sextus' ear: "Shall I cut the cables and make you master of the whole Empire?" He reflected an instant, and then answered: "You should have done it without asking me; Sextus Pompeius cannot betray his sworn faith." The anecdote is doubtful, like many of the stories related by the ancients. Before separating they drew up the list of consuls for the following years (39).

The two treaties of peace of Brundisium and Misenum were only a truce in the eyes of those who had signed them; but for Italy, from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina, they marked the close of sanguinary conflicts. For three centuries and a half, with the exception of one day, that on which Vitellius died, Rome and the peninsula were torn by no more wars.

After the peace of Misenum, Octavius and Antony went to Rome for a short time to receive the testimonies of popular rejoicing. The one soon set out again to subdue a few Gallic tribes who had revolted; the other went to attack the Parthians. Antony took with him a *senatus-consultum* ratifying in advance all his acts.³ The Senate might consider itself fortunate that

¹ From an engraved gem (Bernhard Graser, *op. cit.*).

² Plut., *Anton.* 33; App., *Bell. civ.* v. 73. Precautions similar to those employed at interviews between princes in the Middle Ages were taken for these feasts. Antony and Octavius repaired thither with arms concealed about them (*Id.*, *Ibid.*).

³ App., *Bell. civ.* v. 75.

one of its masters had asked for a decree; this vote proved its existence, which might have been doubted at the time of the negotiations at Misenum, where no more attention had been paid to it than to Lepidus. The triumvirs did not forget it, however, for they created new senators daily; they were soldiers, barbarians, and even slaves; one of the latter obtained the praetorship.¹ It is true, indeed, that the number of praetors had been raised to seventy-seven. As for the people, they received written orders on the days of the comitia, and voted accordingly.

The treaty of Misenum was an agreement impossible to be carried out. It was not to be expected that Octavius should leave the provisioning of Rome and of his legions, as well as the repose of Italy, at the mercy of Sextus, who on his side dreamed of obtaining the supreme power at Rome for himself. Meanwhile he held a brilliant court at Syracuse; with a trident in his hand, and clad in a sea-blue mantle, he caused himself to be styled son of Neptune. And he had some right to do so, since he had been the first to prove to the Romans, who were reluctant to perceive it, what power the empire of the seas confers. But in the ten years which had elapsed since he left Rome, during which time he had lived as an adventurer, Sextus had acquired the habits of a leader of brigands rather than those of a general. Slaves and freedmen commanded his squadrons. If a free voice was raised among the Roman nobles who had taken refuge with him, he grew angry, as though it had been insolence. The assassination of Murens² had discouraged the most devoted friends of Sextus, and many had seized the pretext of the peace of Misenum to abandon him. Personally brave, he did not know how to make use of victory; and we shall see how he let slip many favorable opportunities.

The earliest breaches of the treaty came from the triumvirs. First, Antony refused to put Sextus in possession of Achaea, upon the pretext that the Peloponnesians owed him large sums which he wished to make them repay; then Octavius repudiated Scribonia in order to marry Livia, then six months advanced in pregnancy, whom he forced Tiberius Nero to give up to him. To these provo-

¹ His election caused such a scandal, however, that the triumvirs, after having given him his freedom, caused him to be thrown from the top of the Tarpeian Rock (Dion, *xlvi*. 34).

² See p. 627, note 1.

cations Sextus replied by laying up his vessels for repairs and leaving the pirates free to cruise; upon which the price of provisions at once increased in Italy (38).



COIN OF
MUREUS.¹

Octavius tried to obtain the co-operation of his two colleagues; Lepidus agreed to join him, but spent all the summer in collecting troops and vessels. As for Antony, urged by his wife, he left Athens, where he had passed the winter, and went to Brundisium in search of the young Caesar; and not finding him there, hastened back to Greece, sending a message to the latter to beg him to keep the peace. The whole burden of the war thus fell upon Octavius. Fortunately he had negotiated for the treachery of the freedman Menas, who delivered up to him Corsica, Sardinia, three legions, and a strong squadron. He received Menas with



COIN OF CUMAE.²



COIN OF MESSINA.³

marks of great esteem, raised him to the rank of knight, and gave him the command of his fleet, under the chief control of Calvisius Sabinus.³

From the very first Menas proved his devotion and his ability. He successfully encountered a Pompeian fleet in the Gulf of Cumae, and slew its leader, also a freedman of Sextus, who was replaced by another freedman. Octavius tried to cross into Sicily; being attacked in the middle of the Straits, he would have left the victory to his enemies, had not the approach of Menas obliged them to run back into Messina. The fight was scarcely over when a storm destroyed almost the whole of his fleet: but Sextus did not know how to profit by this advantage, and Agrippa arrived.

This great soldier, who, like Caesar, had just pacified Aquitania and crossed the Rhine, took in hand the conduct of the operations.

¹ MUREVS IMP.: man clad in the toga stretching out his hand to a kneeling woman; in the background, a trophy. Silver coin of the Statian family, to which Mureus belonged.

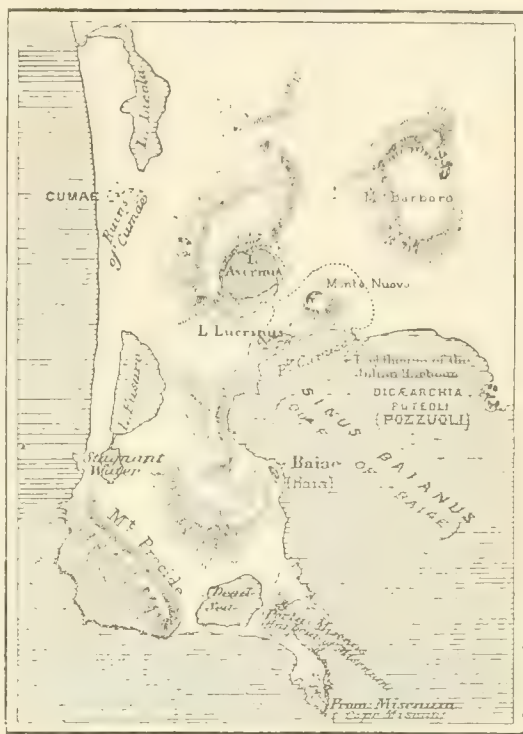
² Head of Apollo. On the reverse, KVMATON; a shell and an ear of barley. Coin of Cumae.

³ App., *Bell. civ.* v. 81-84. Appian gives Menas the name of Menodoros, which the freedman had perhaps assumed after his manumission (Dion, *xlvi.* 46).

⁴ MESSANTON: hare running right; beneath, a dolphin. (See in vol. i. p. 553, another specimen of the coins of Messina.)

Instead of striking his blows hastily, he wished to make them sure, by leaving nothing to chance. Octavius had a good harbor in the Mare Superum, but none in the Tyrrhenian Sea, surrounding Sicily. Agrippa created the Julian Harbor by connecting Lake Lucrinus with Lake Avernus, and both with the sea;¹ then he built a fleet, and by continual exercises he trained sailors and legionaries. In the spring of the following year (36) Octavia again brought back her husband to Tarentum; and as she did not find her brother there, she went to meet him and persuaded him to go thither with Maecenas and Agrippa. The interview took place upon the banks of the Bradanus, between Tarentum and Metapontum.² For several days the two triumvirs were seen walking about without guards, and lavishing upon each other the marks of a confidence which deceived neither themselves nor any one else. They deprived Sextus of the priesthood and the consulship, and prolonged their own triumviral authority for five years. Antyllus, a son of Antony and Fulvia, was affianced to the notorious Julia, the daughter of Octavius and Scribonia; and mutual presents seemed to seal this so oft-renewed friendship. Antony gave his colleague

PLAN
OF THE
JULIAN HARBOUR.³



Scales
English Miles
Roman Miles
Note..... Supposed limit of the Julian Harbour

¹ Dion, xlviii. 50; Strabo, v. 244. Agrippa entered upon his office as consul on the 1st of January, 37. He cut down the gloomy forest which surrounded Lake Avernus; but the harbor was used for barely half a century.

² App., *Bell. civ.* v. 93-94.

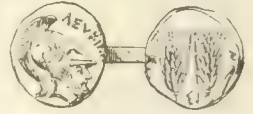
³ The Monte Nuovo (see plan) has only been in existence since 1538. (See vol. i. p. 27.)

one hundred and twenty vessels in exchange for twenty thousand legionaries, and set out for Syria.¹ They were never to meet again until the battle of Actium.

Immediately after Antony's departure the war was resumed with great vigor. A powerful fleet sailed out of the new harbor made by Agrippa, and, according to custom, imposing religious ceremonies called down the divine protection upon it. During the sacrifice the army uttered pious acclamations.⁴



COIN OF
TARENTUM.²



COIN OF METAPONTUM.³

Agrippa advised that Sicily should be attacked at three points, — by Lepidus, who was at length coming from Africa, at Lilybaeum; by Statilius Taurus,⁵ the commander of the galleys ceded by Antony, at the promontory of Pachynum; and by Octavius on the north coast.⁶ The three fleets started at the same time; but that of Octavius was overtaken, in the narrow channel between Caprea and

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* v. 95.

² ΤΑΡΑΣ; head of a woman with diadem; round it, three dolphins.

³ ΑΛΕΚΙΠΠΙΟΣ; bearded head, with helmet ornamented with the monster Scylla. On the reverse, ΜΕΣΙ and two heads of grain.

⁴ App., *Bell. civ.* v. 97.

⁵ In 1875 there was discovered, in the grounds lying on the Esquiline between the ruins known as those of the temple of Minerva Medica and the *porta Maggiore*, a vast subterranean gallery, the walls of which are pierced with a great number of *loculi*, wherein were little urns of terra-cotta containing *le cineri della legione interminabile dei servi e dei liberti della gente Statilia*. This was the tomb of the Statilii Tauri and their *familia*, freedmen, and slaves. Along these walls there also runs a strip, fifteen inches in width, covered with the most beautiful paintings discovered for a long time beneath the soil of Rome. They relate the legend of Aeneas, more than ever national to Rome since Caesar's time, but differing in certain particulars from that which Vergil adopted in the *Aeneid*. We give some of the best-preserved portions, which M. Fiorelli, the learned director of researches in the kingdom of Italy, has been kind enough to have copied for us from the originals. According to the commentary by M. Brizzio (*Pitture e sepolcri scoperti sull' Esquilino*), our first plate represents the death of Lausus, the son of Mezentius, who had come to attack Lavinium before the ramparts were completed. The Latins make a sortie, kill the son of the King of the Rutuli, and compel Mezentius to flee. The second plate takes us back to the first stories in the legend. Amata, Queen of Laurentum, informs Turnus that he must give up Lavinia, his promised bride, who has just been promised to Aeneas for a wife, and who with downcast head betrays the grief which this rupture causes her. On the right the Trojans are building Lavinium. The town, personified by a woman with a crown of towers upon her head, watches the workmen and incites them to work. The third plate shows Latinus, seated on his throne, promising Aeneas his daughter Lavinia, who approaches, followed by her maidens.

⁶ Menas was no longer in the service of Octavius; after the interview of Tarentum he had returned to Sextus. A third piece of treachery brought him back shortly afterwards to Octavius, who received him, but gave him no command.

the Isle of the Sirens, by a violent storm which swept over the Ionian Sea and prevented Taurus leaving the harbor of Tarentum. Lepidus alone succeeded in landing, and laid siege to Lilybaeum. Octavius sent Maecenas to Rome to prevent the disturbances which the report of this disaster might cause, and visited all the harbors where his vessels had taken refuge, in order promptly to repair the damages. Though he did not possess his uncle's military genius, he had his perseverance. "I shall be able to



JULIA,
DAUGHTER OF
OCTAVIUS.



ISLE OF THE SIRENS.¹

conquer, in spite of Neptune," he said; and to punish the god he forbade his statue to be carried at the games in the circus. Sextus, on the contrary, confiding in the protection of the divinity whose colors and trident he bore, let the tempest work for him. He forgot that in certain cases the best way to defend one's self is to attack;

¹ From the *Acnoid* of the Duchess of Devonshire.

and instead of pursuing the remnants of Octavius' fleet, or attempting descents upon Italy which the general discontent would have favored, he concentrated his fleet at Messina, as though the once-dreaded ocean monsters, Charybdis and Scylla, would defend the entrance of the Straits for him.

COIN OF SEXTUS POMPEIUS.¹

In a month Octavius had his fleet in order again. Sextus had fortified Lipara, the most important of the Aeolian islands and an excellent naval station, in order to protect the approaches to the Straits of Messina and to cover the northern shores of Sicily. Agrippa seized it; and at the same time Octavius, from the other side of the Straits,

LEPIDUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS.²

threw three legions into Sicily near Tauromenium. A defeat sustained by the fleet of Lepidus was compensated by a naval victory won by Agrippa in sight of Mylae; but another defeat experienced by Octavius on the east coast drove him back into

AGRIPPA WITH THE ROSTRAL CROWN.³

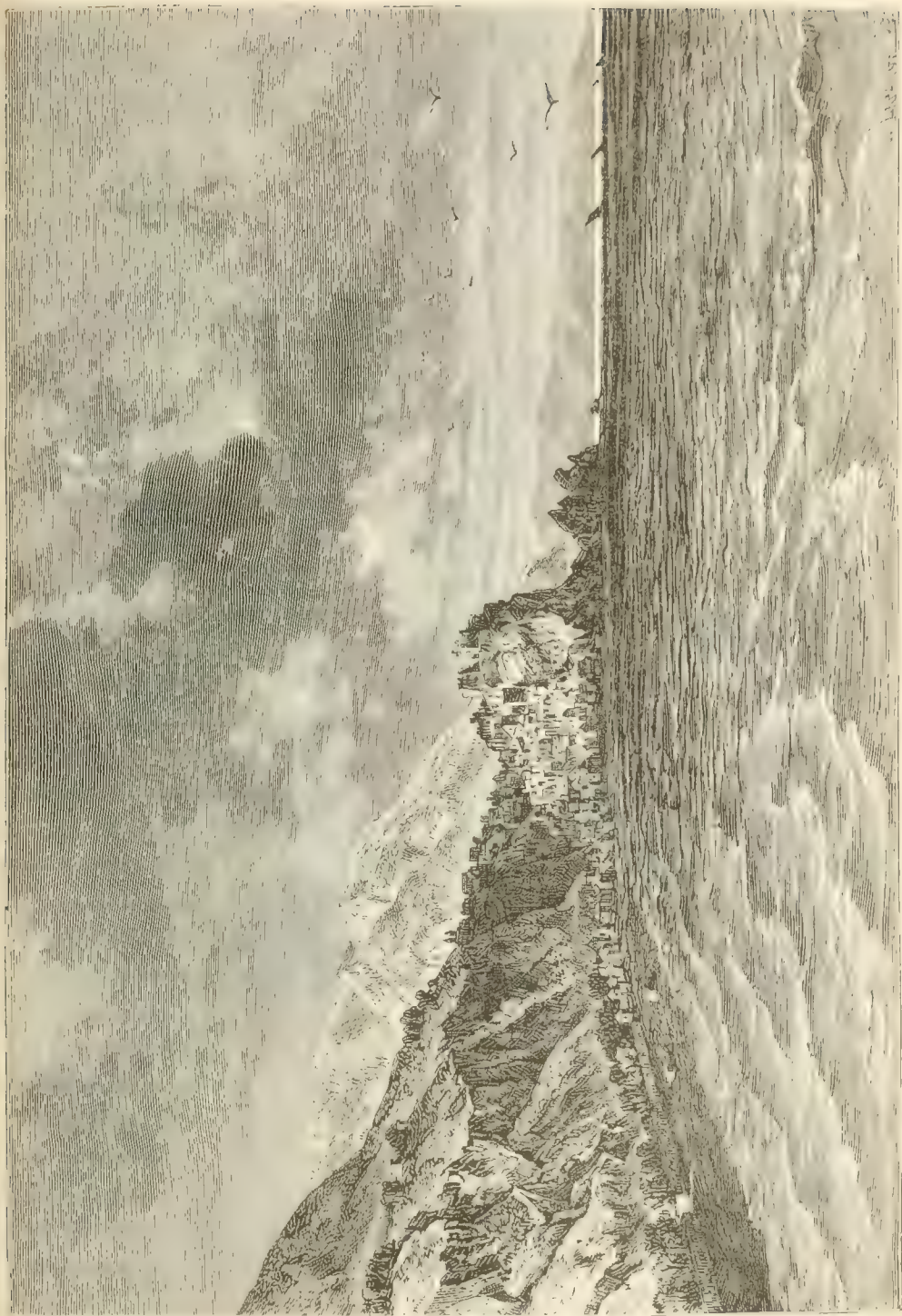
Italy. He had passed through the greatest dangers, having wandered about a whole night in a boat, without guards or attendants. This general, who was always ill or unfortunate on days of battle, nevertheless retained the confidence of his soldiers; Caesar's shadow protected him.

The legions which he had left before Tauromenium under the command of Cornificius were exposed to the greatest dangers:

¹ MAG. PIVS IMP. ITER.; the lighthouse of Messina, surmounted by a statue of Neptune; in the foreground, a vessel with a Roman eagle and an *acrostolium*. On the reverse, PRAEF. ORE MARIT. ET CLAS. S. C., surrounding the monster Scylla. Silver coin of Sextus Pompeius. See, vol. i. p. 109, another representation of the monster, with the girdle of "barking dogs." The promontory of Scylla, at the entrance of the Straits of Messina, does not deserve the evil reputation given it by the ancients. The waves break and "bark" there as they do on every headland that stretches far into the sea. Charybdis, to the south of Cape di Faro, and some distance from the Sicilian coast, was far more dangerous to the undecked boats of the Greeks. It is a whirlpool formed by the meeting of contrary currents. Captain Smith saw seventy-four-gun ships drawn out of their course by it. [Before the many earthquakes which occurred there in the Middle Ages, both were probably more dangerous. — *Ed.*]

² LEPIDVS PONT. MX. III. V. R. P. C. From a silver coin (Cohen, *Méd. cons. Aemil.* pl. ii. No. 18).

³ M. AGRIPPA COS. TER. COSSVS LENTVLVS; head of Agrippa, with the rostral and mural crown.



THE MODERN SCYLLA (ENGRAVING FROM THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE).

Sextus cut off their supplies by sea, and on the land his cavalry surrounded the camp. Cornificius decided to retreat towards the northern coast, where Agrippa, after his victory, had occupied several points; he carried out this difficult movement with a firmness which gained him great honor, and afterwards obtained for him the privilege of being borne in a curule chair every time he supped out.¹

COIN OF LILYBAEUM.²

At the moment when he effected a junction with the three legions sent to meet him, Agrippa also obtained possession of Tyndaris,—an excellent position, whence he could on one side furnish aid to Lepidus, who had at length subdued Lilybaeum, and on the other threaten Messina. The end was approaching. Once more Octavius bore down upon Sicily with the remainder of his troops, this time gathered into a mass of twenty-one legions, twenty thousand horse, and five thousand archers and slingers, who assembled between Mylae and Tyndaris, where Lepidus had arrived. Sextus held in force the northeast corner of Sicily, from Mylae to Tauromenium, with Messina as his headquarters, and he had fortified all the defiles which gave access into this immense intrenched camp. A movement of Agrippa having led him to believe that the Caesarian fleet was making for Cape Pelorus, he abandoned his posts on the west; which Octavius immediately seized, and the triumvirs were able to begin their movement upon Messina. Threatened in his lair by two formidable armies, Sextus refused battle on land. But it was needful for him speedily to strike some decisive blow, for he was short of money and provisions. He decided to try his fortune on the element which had hitherto befriended him.

Each fleet counted three hundred sail; the engagement took place between Mylae and Naulochus, in sight of the two armies drawn

¹ Dion (xlix. 7) says *ἐπὶ ἐλέφαντος*, — an expression which might apply to the curule chair, which was incrustated with ivory.

² *ΑΙΑΥ(βα)ΙΤΑΝ*; woman's head veiled. On the reverse, *ΠΥΘΙΩΝ ΑΤΡΑΤΙΝ*, the names of two magistrates; serpent coiled round a tripod. Bronze coin of Lilybaeum. For another, see vol. i. p. 548.

up in battle array upon the shore (3d of September, 36 B.C.). The action was very fierce, and the victory long remained undecided. Agrippa, like the first consul who conquered the Carthaginians on

the sea, had armed his vessels with harpoons, to hold fast to the enemy's ships, so that they could easily be boarded by his sailors.¹ As soon as Sextus saw that victory was inclining to the side of the Octavians, he extinguished the signal-light of his admiral's galley, threw his ring and the insignia of command into the sea, and fled with seventeen of his vessels. Messina was in a state to sustain a long siege, and he still had two armies in the island,—one near Lilybaeum, and the other in the direction of Naulochus; but he left them in disorder. Like a pirate chief, he landed for a short time on the



SEXTUS POMPEIUS.²

coast of Bruttium to plunder the temple of the Iacintian Juno, and thence set sail towards Asia,³ thinking to claim from Antony the price of the services he had rendered the triumvir's mother in

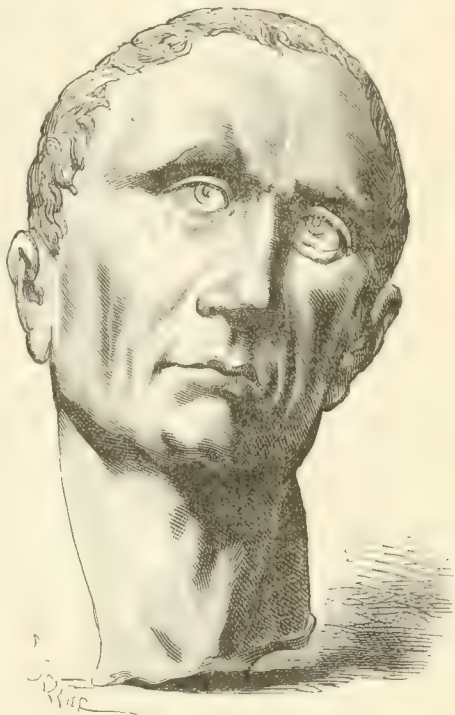
¹ The harpoon of Agrippa was a piece of wood, five cubits (seven feet, six inches) long, strengthened with iron bands and terminated at each end with a ring, one having attached to it a strong iron hook and the other cords, by means of which a machine drew back the harpoon when, thrown by a catapult, it had caught hold of one of the enemy's ships (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 118).

² Statue of Parian marble, found not far from Tuscanum, signed by Ophelion, son of Aristonidas (Louvre Museum, No. 150 in the Clarac Catalogue).

³ Dion, *xlix.* 15.

the war of Perusia. At Lesbos he heard of the unfavorable issue of the expedition against the Parthians, and thought the opportunity was a good one to repair his fortunes at the expense of the wavering master of Asia. He easily took several cities; but the negotiations which he opened with the kings of Pontus and the Parthians, made his last friends abandon him. Even his father-in-law, Scribonius Libo, left him; being some time afterwards forced to give himself up, he was put to death at Miletus by one of Antony's officers (35).¹

The eight legions which he had deserted had assembled in Messina, to which Lepidus laid siege. Their leaders demanded from the triumvir, as a reward for going over to his standards, permission for their soldiers, like his own, to plunder the town which had given them refuge. Notwithstanding Agrippa's opposition, Lepidus consented to this; and for a whole night the unhappy city was given over to be sacked and pillaged by its defenders and by its foes. Lepidus now found himself in command of twenty legions. He persuaded

LEPIDUS, THE TRIUMVIR.²

himself that with such a force it would be easy for him to take a higher position than had been accorded him since the formation of the triumvirate. In a conference with Octavius he spoke haughtily, and claimed the addition of Sicily to his government. Octavius reproached him with his intentional delays and his secret negotiations with Sextus; and they parted, both disposed to begin another civil war. Octavius knew how little affection the troops

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* v. 134-144, and Strabo, iii. 141. Dion makes him die at Midea, in Phrygia.

² Bronze bust found at Montmartre in 1787 in the ruins of an ancient foundry (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3120 in the Catalogue).

had for his rival; he dared to appear in their camp without arms and without guards. He was already haranguing them, when Lepidus, hastening up with a few devoted soldiers, drove him away by a shower of arrows. But the fidelity of his troops was shaken; several legions went over to Octavius when he approached with his army, and Lepidus barely escaped being killed in opposing the desertion which was becoming general. He was obliged to go and throw himself at the feet of his former colleague and ask that his life might be spared. Octavius was strong enough now not to be cruel; he banished him to Circeii, leaving him his estates and his dignity of pontifex maximus. There Lepidus lived for twenty-three years. "He was," says Montesquieu, "the worst citizen in the Republic, and one is well pleased to see his humiliation. He lacked firmness and talent, and was wholly indebted to circumstances for the important position to which fortune seems to have raised him for a time, only to make his fall more signal."



MESSINA (FROM A PRINT IN THE BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE).

CHAPTER LXI.

DUUMVIRATE OF OCTAVIUS AND ANTONY (36-30).

I. — WISE ADMINISTRATION OF OCTAVIUS; REVERSES AND FOLLIES OF ANTONY IN THE EAST (36-33).

THE problem of the future destiny of the Republic was becoming simpler. But lately there had been parties, — the people, the Senate, the nobles, — and ambitious men, great and small. Above this chaos of intrigue three men had raised themselves; then there had been two; then one only. This man being dead, anarchy re-appeared; and again three men had seized the power, repeating the experiment which had just failed. Now there remained but two, as there had been seventeen years before. But how much gain had been made by monarchical ideas? At the time of the former triumvirate, Brutus, Cato, and Cicero were all living. Now those noble hearts were



ANTONY.¹



REVERSE.

cold, the people and the Senate had abdicated irrevocably, and one might almost say unregretfully. Antony was master in the East. Octavius in the West, reigning jointly until one of them should gain all.

Since the deposition of Lepidus, Octavius had forty-five legions, twenty-five thousand horse, and nearly forty thousand light troops; and six hundred vessels carried his flag.² But for revolutionary commanders the day after the victory is more to be feared than the

¹ M. ANTONIVS III. VIR. R. P. C.; head of Antony, bare, facing right. On the reverse, L. MVSSIDIVS T. F. LONGVS. III. VIR. A. P. F. (*auro publico feriendo*): Mars with helmet, standing with his foot upon a shield, and holding a spear and the *parazonium*. Gold coin. A souvenir of Antony's victories in the East, which another of his coins typifies by a genius of the East with wings and aureole, having one foot on a globe, but announcing, by the caduceus and cornucopia which he bears, the prosperity that these victories were to secure.

² App., *Bell. civ.* v. 127.

day of combat. The soldiers, knowing their power, imperiously demanded the same rewards as after the battle of Philippi. He promised them wreaths and arms of honor; to their tribunes, to their centurions, he would give the *toga prætexta*; he would make them senators of their cities. "These are playthings for children," answered the tribune Ofilius; "a soldier wants money and lands." Octavius did not seem offended by this freedom; but the following night the tribune disappeared.¹ In all Octavius distributed twenty thousand discharges and bounties, for which Sicily alone furnished sixteen hundred talents; each soldier received five hundred drachmae. After having regulated the administration of Sicily and sent Statilius Taurus into Africa to take possession of that province, he returned to Rome. The Senate received him at the gates of the city; the people, who saw the sudden return of plenty, accompanied him, crowned with flowers, to the Capitol. They would have loaded him with honors. Beginning already to play his part of disinterestedness and modesty, he accepted the tribunitian inviolability, the ovation, and a statue of gold.² It was further proposed to raise him to the dignity of pontifex maximus, depriving Lepidus of that honor; but Octavius refused, not to break the law which declared this office to be for life.

Caesar had been ruined by proclaiming aloud his scorn of those political hypocrisies which lend life to things that are dead. Octavius accepted the yet popular falsehood that the Republic still existed. The second triumvirate had become, by virtue of a plebiscitum, a legal magistracy, thus differing from the first, which had been only a secret association of three powerful men. Of legal forms like this Octavius showed himself the scrupulous observer. Before re-entering the city,—outside the pomerium, for an imperator must not harangue in the Forum,—he had read a speech in which he accounted to the people for all his acts, and he caused copies of it to be distributed. Therein he pleaded necessity as an excuse for the proscriptions. For the future he promised peace and clemency; and in proof of this new moderation he caused the letters written to Sextus Pompeius by several men of importance to be publicly burned. In order to show that only the necessities of war, and not a spirit of rapine, had obliged him to raise so much

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* v. 128.

² *Id.*, *ibid.* 130. Dion. xlix. 13-15.

money, he abolished several taxes and granted to the State debtors and the publicans the remission of the arrears due by them to the treasury.¹ Finally, he declared it was his intention to abdicate as soon as Antony had finished his war against the Parthians. Meanwhile, that the sincerity of his promises might not be doubted, he restored to the urban magistrates their former powers, and would have at the foot of his statue no other inscription than this: "For having, after long troubles, restored peace on land and sea."

And this was true; for his energetic administration put everything in the peninsula in order. Sabinus expelled the troops of bandits from Italy; all slaves who had escaped under cover of the general disorder were seized and restored to their masters, or when not claimed, were put to death; several cohorts



ANTONIUS AND OCTAVIA.²

of a night watch, which he organized, searched out the malefactors in Rome; and in less than a year security, so long lost, was restored in the city and in the country.³ At last Rome was governed. Instead of magistrates using their offices only in the interest of their own ambition and their own fortune, she had now a vigilant administration, occupied with the welfare and safety of the inhabitants. Thus the Italian cities, saved from famine by his victory, and restored to tranquillity by the order which he everywhere established, blessed this beneficent sway; and some of them had already placed the image of Octavius among the statues of their tutelary gods.

After the treaty of Brundisium Antony had remained at Athens with Octavia, watching at once, in the midst of festivities, over events in Italy and over affairs in the East. The Parthians were not very formidable outside their immense plains. On the irregular soil of Syria and of Asia Minor their cavalry had not been able to stand against the Roman infantry, and Antony's lieutenants had everywhere gained brilliant advantages. Sosius

¹ App., *Bell. civ.* v. 130; Dion, xlix. 15.

² M. ANTONIVS M. F. M. N. AVGV. IMP. TER., with head of Antony. On the reverse of another of Antony's coins is the head of Octavia, with the inscription, COS. DESIGN. ITER. ET TER. III. VIR. R. P. C. Antony was consul-elect in 35, the third year of the renewed triumvirate.

³ App., *Bell. civ.* v. 132.

had driven them from Syria; Canidius, conqueror of the Armenians and of the people of Albania and Iberia, their allies, had carried his ensigns to the foot of the Caucasus. But the greatest successes fell to Ventidius, that Asculan who, in the Social war, had been led captive behind the triumphal chariot of the father of Pompey the Great. In Cilicia he had defeated the Parthians and Labienus, who was killed in his flight. A second Parthian army had met with the same fate, its chief, Pacorus, being also left on the battlefield; and the Parthians had been driven beyond the frontiers of the Empire. Ventidius, however, had not dared to pursue them, fearing perhaps to excite the jealousy of his superior officer; but in order to close against them the road to Asia Minor, he had stayed to besiege the fortress of Samosata, in Commagene, whose king, Antiochus, had given free passage to the Parthians.¹



COIN OF
SAMOSATA.²

In honor of these successes Antony gave magnificent games in Athens, where he appeared with all the attributes of Hercules. The Athenians, who had already exhausted in his behalf all kinds of adulation, could find during these *fêtes* no other new flattery but that of offering him the hand of Athene, their protectress. He accepted, demanding a thousand talents as the marriage portion of the goddess. "When thy father, the mighty Zeus, espoused thy mother Semele," said the luckless Athenians, thus entrapped, "he did not require her to bring him a dowry." "Zeus was rich, I am poor," answered the triumvir. Meanwhile, incited to action by the victories of his lieutenants, Antony appeared for a few days in Asia, at the siege of Samosata, the conduct of which he took from Ventidius, sending him to triumph at Rome. On his arrival Antiochus had offered him a thousand talents as ransom for the town; the triumvir was glad to get three hundred for taking his departure. He again returned to Athens, leaving Sosius in Syria.³



ANTIOCHUS OF
COMMAGENE.⁴

This general had much difficulty with the Jews. The cause of all the troubles in this little kingdom was the minister

¹ Dion, *Aliv.* 19-21.

² ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤ; lion passant.

³ Plut., *Anton.* 35.

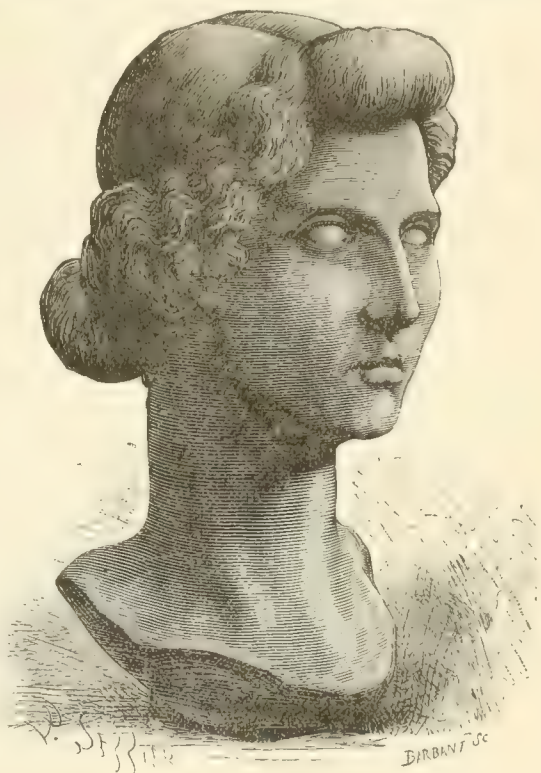
⁴ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ ΕΠΙ (the great King, Antiochus Epiphanes); head of Antiochus IV., King of Commagene, with diadem.

of Hyrcanus, the Idumæan Antipater. Appointed by Caesar procurator of Judæa, and supported by his son Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, he had conceived the project of taking away the throne from the family of the Maccabees. The Parthians expelled him and replaced the feeble Hyrcanus by his nephew Antigonus; but Herod, taking refuge at Rome, there gained the favor of Antony, who caused him to be recognized by the Senate as King of the Jews, in order to oppose him to the candidate of the Parthians.

Sosius, ordered to support the new king, took Jerusalem by assault; and the last representative of the heroic family of the Maccabees, being carried to Antioch, was beaten with rods and beheaded. Herod took unopposed possession of the throne, whereon he thought to establish himself more securely by marrying Mariamne, the heiress of the dynasty which had just come to an end¹ (37).

On quitting Tarentum and Italy for the last time (36), Antony had left Octavia and her children there. He had decided at last to conduct the war against the Parthians

himself. But hardly had he touched the soil of Asia when his passion for Cleopatra revived with all its former intensity; he sent for her to Laodiceia, acknowledged the children he had had by her, Alexander and Cleopatra, giving to the former the title of King of kings, as if he reserved for his son's heritage the kingdoms he was about

OCTAVIA.²

¹ Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 8, 15; Dion, xlix. 22; App., *Bell. cir.* v. 75; Tac., *Hist.* v. 9.

² Bronze bust found at Lyons and preserved in the Louvre (Longpérier, *Notice des bronzes antiq.*, etc., No. 639).

to conquer. Nor was it only the enemies of Rome who were to bear the cost of his generosity. Cleopatra, faithful to the unchanging policy of all the intelligent rulers of Egypt, obtained the addition to her kingdom of what the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, the Arabs and the Mamelukes, Bonaparte and Mehemet Ali, have always coveted. — Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, Cyprus, with a part of Judæa and Arabia, and the whole of Cilicia Trachea, which furnished the cedars of Taurus, used for ship-building; that is to say, nearly all the coast from the Nile to Asia Minor.¹ These countries were for the most part Roman provinces. But was there still a Rome, a Senate, laws. — anything save the caprice of the all-powerful triumvir?

Antony had at this time thirty legions (representing an effective force of sixty thousand men), ten thousand horsemen, and thirty thousand auxiliaries, furnished principally by the Armenian Artavasdes, the enemy of another Artavasdes, King of Media Atropatene. Asia trembled at the news of these preparations.² As far as Bactriana, as far as India, the rumor spread of this immense army of Western warriors; moreover, division prevailed amongst its enemies. A new revolution had stained with blood the throne of Ctesiphon. At the news of the death of his son Pacorus, Orodes, falling into profound despondency, had chosen Phraates as his successor. The latter, impatient to reign, had killed his father and all his brothers. Many nobles threatened by him had fled, and Antony, renewing in favor of the most important of them, Monaeses, the generosity of Artaxerxes towards Themistocles, had given him three cities for his maintenance.

From Mount Ararat, the highest point of Armenia, two mountain chains extend, inclosing the immense basin of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The one covers with its heights Syria and Palestine; the other, Media, Susiana, and Persia. From the former stretches northward the Taurus as far as the extremity of Asia Minor; from the latter, the mountains which form on the east the southern boundary of the Caspian Sea. To reach Ctesiphon, situated on the Tigris, there were then two roads, — the shorter one across the arid

¹ Strabo, xiv. 669 and 677; Plut., *Anton.* 37; Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xv. 4; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9; Dion, xlix. 32.

² Plut., *Anton.* 39.

plains of Mesopotamia, which was that taken by Crassus ; the other and longer one, by the mountains of Armenia and Media Atropatene, passed round those burning solitudes, and led the Roman infantry, over ground favorable to its tactics, towards Ecbatana and Ctesiphon in the very heart of the Empire. This was the one chosen by Antony. The season was already too far advanced when he began the campaign ; he should have taken up his winter-quarters in Armenia, and there allowed his troops to rest, wearied as they were with a march of eight thousand stadia ; and in the first days of spring, before the Parthians had left their quarters, he could easily have made the conquest of Media ; but, urged by the desire to rejoin Cleopatra, he continued to advance in order to end the war as quickly as possible.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.¹

Three hundred wains carried all his engines, among which was a ram eighty feet long. Delayed by this heavy train, Antony decided to leave it behind him under escort of one division, and advanced as far as Phrahata, — a short distance from the Caspian Sea. Finding all his attacks on this place unsuccessful, he recognized the mistake he had made in abandoning his engines ; and it was still more evident when he heard that Phraates had surprised the body of troops which guarded them, had killed ten thousand men, and burned the train. Disheartened by this defeat, Artavasdes retired with his Armenians. To encourage his troops, Antony, with ten legions, went in search of the enemy, whom he met a day's journey from his camp, put them to flight, and pursued them for some distance. But when the legionaries, returning to the battlefield, found but thirty slain, this victory, which they had thought so great, seemed hardly a skirmish ; and comparing the result with the effort it had cost, they became discouraged. Indeed, on the morrow they saw the enemy re-appear again as bold and insolent as ever. During this affair a sally of the besieged had carried dismay into the Roman camp ; the three legions left in the lines had fled ; and on his return Antony caused them to be decimated.

¹ Silver coin, with heads of Antony and Cleopatra (Millin, *Gal. Mythol.* pl. clxxviii. bis, fig. 672).

Winter was approaching; and while it was dreaded by the Romans, who already fell short of provisions, Phraates feared that he should be unable to keep his Parthians in tents during the cold weather. He made overtures, which Antony eagerly accepted; the legions were to raise the siege, and the king engaged not to molest their retreat. For two days the march was undisturbed; on the third, the Parthians attacked them in what seemed a favorable place. But a Marsian, who had for a long time been their prisoner, had warned the triumvir; his troops were in battle array, and the enemy was repulsed. The four following days were like the first two; on the seventh, the enemy again appeared. The



ORODES (ARSACES XIV.).



PHRAATES IV. (ARSACES XV.).¹

legions were formed into a square; and the light troops, disposed on the wings and as rear-guard, kept the enemy at a distance. Unfortunately the tribune Gallus, after having repulsed the enemy several times, stubbornly held a position where he was surrounded, and had lost three thousand men before he could be relieved. From that time the Parthians, emboldened by success, each morning renewed their attack, and the army could only advance by fighting. In danger, Antony recovered the qualities which had formerly gained him the love of the troops; brave and indefatigable, he encouraged his men during the action by his example, and in the evening went among the tents lavishing help and sympathy on the wounded. "Oh, Retreat of the Ten Thousand!" he cried more than once, thinking with admiration of the courage and success of

¹ From two coins in the *Cabinet de France*.

the companions of Xenophon. Finally, at the end of twenty-seven days' march, during which they had been engaged in eighteen actions, the Romans reached the frontiers of Armenia, on the banks of the Araxes, and kissed the shore devoutly, — as the sailor escaped from shipwreck welcomes the land upon which the tempest has thrown him.¹ Their road from Phrahata was marked by the corpses of twenty-four thousand legionaries.

If the King of Armenia had not left the Roman camp so soon, the retreat would have been less disastrous, inasmuch as his six thousand horsemen would have enabled the army to follow up their successes. Antony, however, did not reproach him, and postponed his vengeance, lest he might be delayed in returning to Cleopatra. Notwithstanding a rigorous winter and continual snows, he hastened his march, and lost eight thousand more of his troops. He at last reached the coast of Syria, between Berytus and Sidon, where Cleopatra joined him, bringing clothing, provisions, and presents for the officers and soldiers. An occasion offered for him to repair his defeat. Phraates and the King of the Medes quarrelled over the spoils, and the exasperated Mede offered to join the Romans with all his forces, for a new campaign. Cleopatra prevented her lover from answering this call to honor, and carried him off with her to Alexandria.



COIN OF
BERYTUS.²



COIN OF SIDON.³

In spite of this disastrous retreat, which contrasted with the successes obtained in the same year by his colleague, Antony sent messengers of victory to Rome; but Octavius took care to have the truth known, though in public he spoke only with praise of the army in the East, and decreed feasts and sacrifices in their honor.⁴ At the games celebrated the following year on the death of Sextus, he caused Antony's chariot to appear with triumphal pomp; and as a sign of the cordial understanding existing between them, he placed the latter's statue in the Temple of Concord. This was characteristic of the man who always had in his mouth the proverb, *Hasten slowly*, and this other, *You are in time enough if you arrive*.

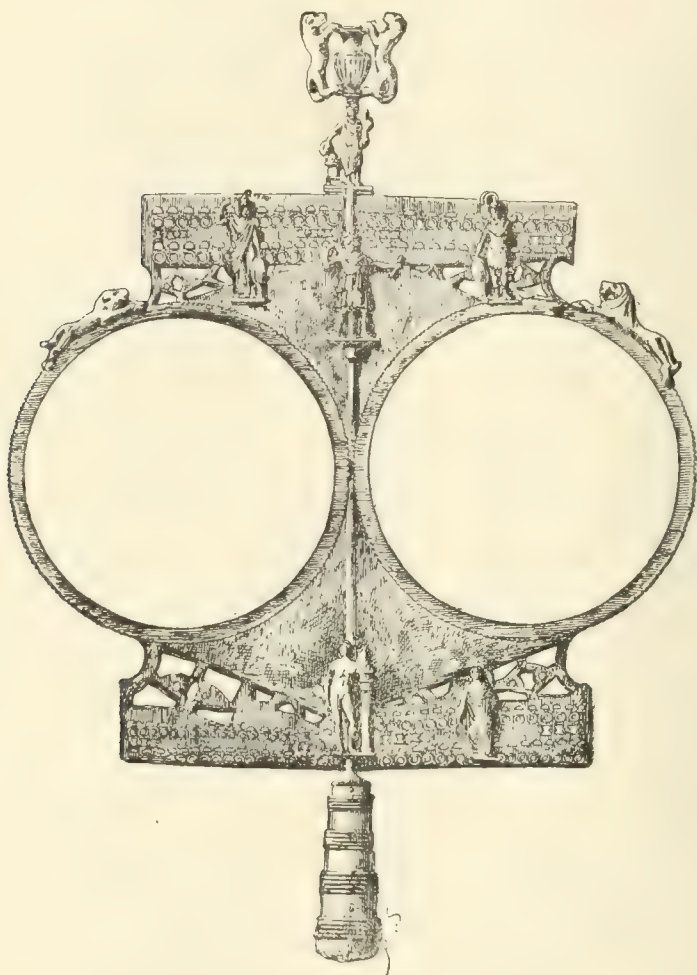
¹ Plut., *Anton.* 49.

² Head of the city, turreted.

³ A ship with the inscription, ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΑΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΝΑΥΑΡ.

⁴ Dion. xlix. 32.

Octavia did not enter into these selfish calculations; on the contrary, she tried to save her husband from the fatal influence¹ which was leading him to his ruin, and asked permission of her brother to leave Rome and rejoin Antony. He granted it, wishing



BRONZE STANDARD FOUND AT ATHENS.²

to temporize to the last, or in the secret hope that an affront offered to his sister would furnish him with a pretext for war and take from his rival whatever popularity the latter still possessed. Antony had at this time returned to Syria, where he was making preparations for a new expedition, apparently directed against the

¹ Horace said of Cleopatra: *Fatale monstrum* (*Od.* I. xxxvii. 22).

² Lebas and Waddington, *Voy. arch. en Grèce et en Asie min.* pl. 109. In the two frames were set portraits of the Emperors.

Parthians, but in reality against the King of Armenia. He learned there that his wife had already arrived at Athens; and, as Octavius had anticipated, he ordered her to come no farther.

She readily divined the motives for this so offensive message; however, she replied only by asking him whither she should send what she had intended to bring in person to him. This was clothes for the soldiers, a great number of beasts of burden, money, and presents of value for his officers and friends, and finally, two thousand picked men as splendidly armed as were the praetorian cohorts. The manœuvres of Cleopatra rendered those noble efforts vain. The Egyptian affected a deep melancholy and a disgust for life, which caused Antony to fear some desperate resolution. He dared not break his chain; and she, lest he should escape her, would not allow him to make the expedition against the Medes that year (35).

On Octavia's return to Rome her brother ordered her to leave the house of this unworthy husband. She refused; and continued to bring up with her own children those of Antony and Fulvia, giving them equal care and almost equal affection. And if some friend of her husband's arrived in the city to canvass an office or attend to some personal business, she received him at her house and aided him in obtaining from her brother the solicited favors. But this conduct defeated her aim. The contrast between such virtue on the one side and such misconduct on the other increased the public hatred against the offender.

In the following year (34) Antony made a short expedition into Armenia. Dellius had preceded him, under pretext of asking for a son of Antony and Cleopatra the hand of one of the daughters of Artavasdes, but in reality to lull the vigilance of that prince. Antony penetrated as far as Nicopolis, in Lesser Armenia, and invited the king to come to an understanding with him in respect to the expedition against the Parthians. In spite of all assurances Artavasdes feared some treachery. Hearing, however, that the triumvir was marching upon Artaxata, he hoped to appease the storm by accepting the invitation. He was seized, loaded with



CAPTIVE
ARMENIA.¹

¹ ARMENIA CAPTA: Victory taming a bull. Gold coin (Cohen, *Méd. imp.* i. pl. 48, No. 46).

golden chains, and carried to Alexandria, into which city Antony made a triumphal entrance.¹ All the great works of art that were left in Asia by the proconsuls now went to decorate the new capital of the East; all the library of Pergamum, consisting of two hundred thousand volumes, was carried thither.

PTOLEMY CAESARION.²

Rome was offended at this infringement of her rights; but the triumvir had forgotten that he was a Roman. Shortly after this he caused two golden thrones to be erected upon a silver daïs, — one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra. He declared her Queen of Egypt and Cyprus, associated Caesarion with her, and bestowed the title of king upon Alexander and Ptolemy, his two sons by her. To the former he gave, together with Armenia,

Media and the kingdom of the Parthians, which he already regarded

CLEOPATRA SELENE, DAUGHTER OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.³

as his conquest; to the second, Syria and Cilicia, with Phoenicia; to their sister Cleopatra, the future wife of Juba II., he assigned as a marriage portion that part of Libya bordering on the Cyrenaica. He presented then the two princes to the people, Alexander wearing the Median robe and the

JUBA II., KING OF MAURETANIA, HUSBAND OF CLEOPATRA SELENE.³

tiara, Ptolemy with the long mantle and the diadem of the successors of Alexander.

Henceforth the new-made kings always appeared in public surrounded by a guard of Asiatics or Macedonians. Antony himself laid aside the toga for a purple robe; and he was seen, like the Eastern monarchs, wearing a diadem and carrying a golden sceptre, and with a scimitar at his side; or else accompanying Cleopatra through the streets of Alexandria, now in the costume

¹ Dion, *l*.ix. 39–40.² From a bas-relief in the temple of Denderah (Rosellini, *op. cit.*).³ Visconti, *Iconog. grecq.* iii. pl. 55.

of Osiris, more often as Bacchus, drawn in a chariot decked with garlands, with cothurni on his feet, a crown of gold upon his head, and the thyrsus in his hand. He had made his legionaries attendants and guards of the Queen; their shields bore her monogram,¹ and on the coins were seen the heads of Antony and Cleopatra. How pressing the need of a master, when this madman could find a

hundred thousand men still ready to fight to win the empire for him!

Finally, however, he remembered Rome, and he was not ashamed to ask from the Senate the confirmation of all his acts. The consuls in office, Demitius Ahenobarbus and Sosius,



AGRIPPA.



CLEOPATRAE.

dared not, though they were his friends, read his mad despatches aloud.

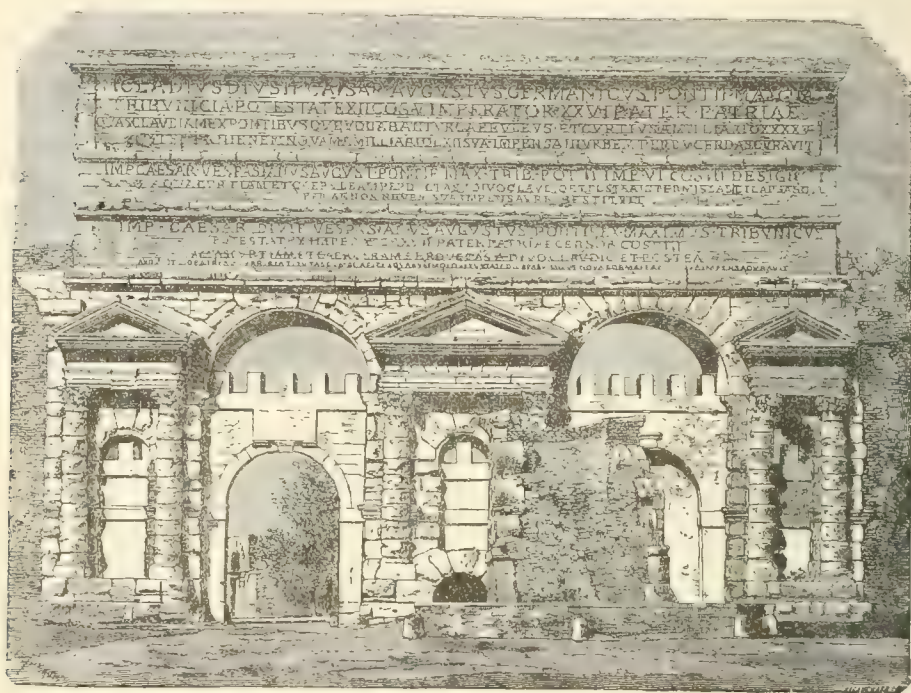
While Antony was thus dishonoring himself in the East, what was Octavius doing? We have already said it, — he was governing the Empire; he was giving Italy the repose for which she yearned. To have the right of making useful changes, Agrippa, the man of consular rank and the often-victorious general, accepted, by order of Octavius, the modest office of aedile (33). He at once undertook immense works: the State buildings were repaired, the roads re-constructed, and public fountains opened. Some of the aqueducts had fallen into decay; he repaired them, and built a new one, the *Aqua Julia*. The choked sewers had become a cause of unhealthiness; he explored the main channel in a boat, and caused them to be cleaned out. He opened a hundred and seventy free baths to the public, and adorned the Circus with dolphins and oval signals showing the number of rounds.³ To complete the reconciliation of the people with Octavius, he celebrated games, which lasted fifty-nine days, and in the theatre tickets were distributed which could be exchanged for money, garments, and other gifts.

¹ Plut., *Anton.* 59; Dion, l. 5.

² Bust of Cleopatra with diadem, encircled by a Latin inscription, CLEOPATRAE REGINAE FILIORVM REGVM. Silver coin.

³ To win the prize for the race, it was necessary to be the first to accomplish six rounds. At each round one of the seven dolphins and one of the seven ovals was lowered. (See the engraving on p. 623 of the first volume.) Pliny says of Rome concerning the drains: *urbe pensili, subterque navigata* (xxxvi. 24).

Even before the festivals he had made gratuitous distributions of salt and oil, and had left immense quantities of goods of all descriptions exposed in the public square for the crowd to divide among themselves. This rough soldier believed in the good influence of art. He bought pictures and set them up in public places; and in



PORTA MAGGIORE, OR PORTA NÆVIA, AT ROME.¹

Pliny's time there was still preserved a noble speech of his on the advantages of bringing out objects of art from their exile in the villas of the wealthy and collecting them in permanent exhibitions.² To this period belongs the pyramid of Cestius.

¹ Three aqueducts were carried over it, one above another, — the *Aqua Julia* of Agrippa, the *Aqua Tepula* (of the year 127 B.C.), and the *Aqua Marcia* (of 144 B.C.), which Agrippa repaired (Front., *de Aquaed.* ii. 8, 9, 12, 19; Dion, xlviii. 32). The *Porta Maggiore* is situated at the fork of the road to Praeneste, on the Labican Way. Claudius, Vespasian, and Titus in turn strengthened this fine structure, as is recorded by the three inscriptions engraved one above the other upon the broad string-course. The small crenellated arches which injure the grand effect of the triumphal arch are the work of the Middle Ages (cf. Wey, *Rome*, pp. 264 and 265).

² Dion (xlix. 43) mentions the expulsion from Rome by Agrippa of the astrologers and magicians; and a senatus-consultum forbade the summoning of a senator before a court of justice *vel Apollinā*, for robbery. This passage has furnished matter for many commentaries. I think it must be looked upon as the commencement by Octavius of the reform completed by Augustus, rendering the senators answerable to the Senate alone.

Though occupied with the public interest, military renown was not wanting to this government, and was acquired by necessary expeditions. That Octavius talked of a descent upon Britain, was due to the necessity of impressing men's minds, which the wars waged by Caesar, Pompey, and Antony at the ends of the earth had rendered contemptuous of modest enterprises; also, by allowing these warlike rumors to circulate, he provided himself with a pretext for maintaining a considerable army. He already perceived

PYRAMID OF CESTUS.¹

that instead of venturing upon distant expeditions, Rome's first need was to subdue the barbarians at her own gates; that security must be given to Italy and Greece by subjugating the pirates of the Adriatic and the restless tribes established in the north of the two peninsulas.

After a brief appearance in Africa to consolidate his power there, he led his legions against the Illyrians, desiring to remove his soldiers from Italy, where they were becoming demoralized.

¹ This *septemvir epulonium* was desirous of having for a tomb a pyramid a hundred feet in height, and wished to have his most costly carpets buried with his ashes. Agrippa opposed this in the name of the law of the Twelve Tables on the subject of funerals, and the heirs obtained such a high price for these tapestries that they were able to give the pyramid a coating of marble (Wilmanns, 216).

and strengthen their discipline by a foreign war, and, without oppressing the people, to hold them ready for the inevitable struggle with Antony. The Iapodes, the Liburnians, and the Dalmatians were subdued. At the siege of a stronghold courageously defended by the Iapodes, his troops one day fled; Octavius seized a shield, and was the fifth to cross a wooden bridge leading to the wall. The soldiers, seeing their general's danger, rushed back in such numbers that the bridge broke, and Octavius was severely wounded.¹ This was by way of answer to those who during the Civil war had accused him of cowardice.

The Alps leave open one wide gate into Northern Italy, which is only in part guarded by the Julian range. To make it secure Octavius went across those mountains and established garrisons in the valley of the Save, where he took the strong place of Siscia. Some of the Pannonians promised him obedience. In the Val d'Aosta he repressed the incursions of the Salassi; and though he did not then subdue them, he made their raids difficult by founding two colonies, which became Augusta Taurinorum and Augusta Praetoria (Turin and Aosta). Finally, in Africa, the last prince of Caesarian Mauretania being dead, he united the latter's possessions to the Roman province. Agrippa and Messala had displayed their usual talent in these wars (35-33).

II. — RUPTURE BETWEEN OCTAVIUS AND ANTONY (32-30).

Thus, of the two triumvirs, one was giving Roman countries to a barbarian queen, the other was augmenting the territory of the Empire. The former was diverting towards Alexandria the treasures, the works of art, and the respect of the East; the latter, as in the best days of the Republic, was decorating the Forum with rude but glorious spoils, and employing the booty taken from the Dalmatians in founding the Portico and Library of Octavia. Antony meanwhile complained. On the 1st of January, in the year 32, the consul Sosius reproached Octavius in his name for having dispossessed Sextus without sharing with his colleague the acquired

¹ App., *Bell. Ital.*, 14 and sq.; Dion., *xlix.*, 34-38; Suet., *Octav.*, 20.

provinces; and also for having distributed among his soldiers all the lands in Italy, reserving nothing for the legions in the East. He added that Antony was ready to yield up to the people the powers which had been intrusted to him if the other triumvir would set the example. Octavius was at the time absent from Rome; a few days later he appeared in the Senate, accompanied by soldiers, and by friends with arms concealed beneath their togas. To the consul's accusations he replied that Lepidus, having shown himself incapable and cruel, had been justly reduced to a private condition; that if Sicily and Africa had been added to the western provinces Antony had taken Egypt for himself; that, lastly, Antony had sufficient to indemnify himself and his soldiers from the brilliant conquests he had made in Asia, but that he had preferred to lavish on Cleopatra and her children the treasures and provinces of Rome, whose name he was dishonoring by his conduct and by his double treachery towards Sextus and Artavasdes.¹



CLEOPATRA (FROM A COIN).



PHRAATES IV.
(ARSACES XV.).²

Upon this declaration, which announced a rupture, the two consuls, who were friends of Antony, left Rome, together with several senators, and went to join their patron. He was then in Armenia, where he hoped to prevail upon the tribes to redeem their king by giving up his treasures; but the Armenians had preferred to proclaim Artaxias, the son of the captive prince, who unfortunately was unable to defend himself, and fled to the

King of the Parthians, Phraates IV. In order to secure the alliance of the King of the Medes, Antony gave him part of Armenia, and married his son Alexander to the daughter of that prince. In return the Median King gave back the standards taken from the

¹ Plut., *Anton.* 55; Dion, l. 1-3. He also reproved him sharply for having recognized Caesarion as Caesar's son, and having declared him a member of the Julian family. [Hence he had him put to death at Alexandria as an impostor. Cf. below, pp. 658 and 671, note 2.—*Ed.*]

² Bust, facing left; diademed head of Phraates IV. or Arsaces XV., King of the Persians from the year 37 to the year 14 of our era. From a coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

legions during the expeditions of the year 36, and furnished the triumvir with cavalry and a subsidy.

On the news of the declarations made by Octavius in the Senate, Antony had decided upon war. He ordered his lieutenant, Canidius, to assemble his land forces; and in spite of all that has been said about his effeminacy and carelessness, which have doubt-

less been much exaggerated, he still had sixteen legions ready to take the field. He quickly reached the town of Ephesus, where eight hundred vessels were assembled. The queen had given two hundred of them, with twenty thousand talents, and provisions for the whole duration of the war; but she had followed him. Vainly did Antony's friends, Domitius and Plancus, urge him to send her back to her kingdom. She wished to keep watch upon her lover, and prevent any reconciliation which would lead him back to Octavia.

By means of bribery she

won over Canidius: and the old soldier declared to his general that Cleopatra, habituated as she was to public affairs, would be a better adviser for him than any of the kings who followed his standards.

Her presence soon became perceptible in the slackening of the preparations. The banquets began again. While from Syria to



GROUP ON A CROCODILE.¹

¹ Group in the British Museum representing an Egyptian performing feats of tumbling. Crocodiles often appear in the games of the Romans (Clarke, pl. 875, No. 2223A).

the Palus Maeotis, and from Armenia to the shores of the Adriatic. kings and peoples were in motion to collect and transport provisions and arms, Antony and Cleopatra lived at Samos amid games and revelries; mountebanks, flute-players, and comedians had flocked thither from all Asia in such numbers that Antony gave them a town for payment, the city of Priene. At Athens "the inimitable life" continued. In that city Cleopatra at length



TEMPLE OF ATHENE POLIAS, AT PRIENE.¹

extorted from Antony an act of divorce against Octavia, which he sent to the latter at Rome. She submitted to it; and taking with her the children of Fulvia, she left the house whence their father expelled her. She wept at the thought that the Romans might consider her as one of the causes of this war, and she had a right to think so; but between these two ambitious men, the insult offered to this noble woman was scarcely even a pretext (32). Many who valued the peace which Octavius maintained, lamented with her. Distracted from his amours and his gay songs by the din of arms, the favorite poet of Maecenas sadly exclaimed: "O ship, fresh storms bear thee forth into the waves!"²

¹ O. Rayet and Alb. Thomas, *Milet et le golfe Latinique*, vol. i. pl. 6.

² *O navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus!* etc. — HORACE, *Od. I. xiv.*

Octavius was uneasy at the promptitude of Antony's preparations; his own were not yet completed, and all Italy murmured at new taxes, which deprived citizens of a fourth of their income, and freedmen possessed of fifty thousand drachmae of the eighth of their fortune. Fortunately Antony completed slowly what he had begun with all the activity of Caesar's former lieutenant. The summer passed in *fêtes*, and the war was inevitably postponed till the following year. This delay gave Octavius another advantage. — the defection of several important men, who, displeased at Cleopatra's haughtiness, returned to Italy. Among them were Plancus and Titius, both of consular rank. Plancus became aware, somewhat too late, that the queen had made him play an unworthy part, after he had appeared, notwithstanding his age, at a banquet, his body painted blue, his head crowned with reeds, and dragging a fish's tail behind him, to represent a sea-god. In the Senate he began at once to inveigh against Antony. "Antony must have been guilty of many infamous deeds the day before you left him,"



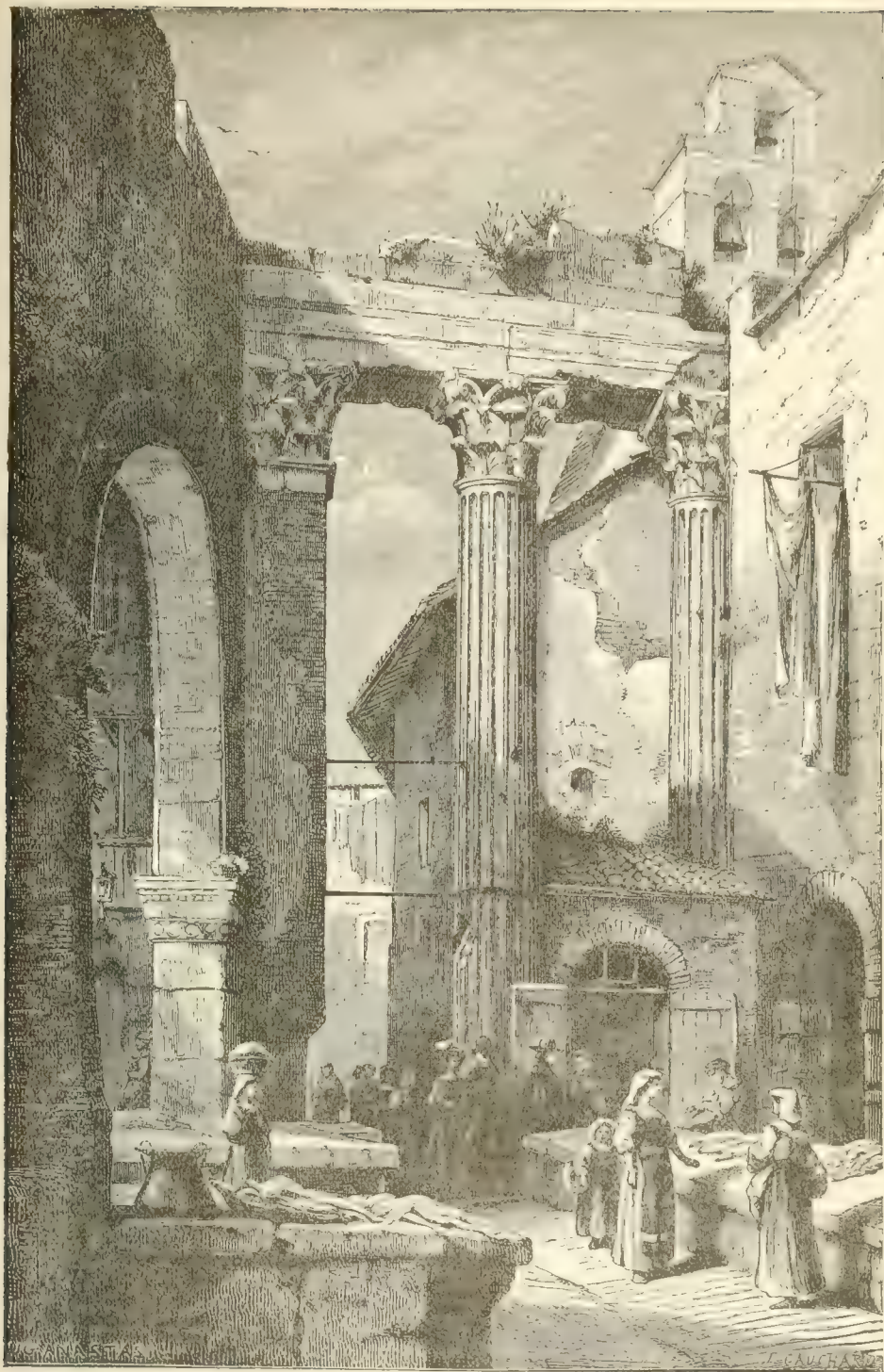
COIN OF
COPONIUS.²

said Coponius, maliciously.¹ Asinius Pollio showed more self-respect. When Octavius urged him to take the field, Pollio refused. "The services I have rendered Antony are greater," he said, "but those which he has rendered me are better known; therefore I cannot fight against him. I will await the issue of the struggle, and be the spoil of the victor."

Octavius had learned from Plancus that Antony's will was in the hands of the Vestals; he took it from them, and read to the Senate the passages which were likely to excite most indignation. Antony, admitting that there had been a lawful union between Cleopatra and the dictator, recognized Caesarion as Caesar's legitimate son and heir; so that in taking that name Octavius was only a usurper, and all his acts for the last twelve years were illegal. Antony renewed the gift to the queen and her children of almost all the countries which he had in his power; and finally, abjuring his fatherland and his ancestors, he ordered that even if he should

¹ Vell. Patere., ii. 61. Messala had left him earlier, as soon as he had seen Antony become the Egyptian woman's slave (App., *Bell. civ.* iv. 38).

² C. COPONIUS PR. C.; club covered with a lion's skin between a bow and an arrow. Praetor in 49, he was proscribed in 43, and was saved by his wife, who gave herself to Antony (App., *Bell. civ.* iii. 40).



PORTICO OF OCTAVIA (PRESENT STATE).

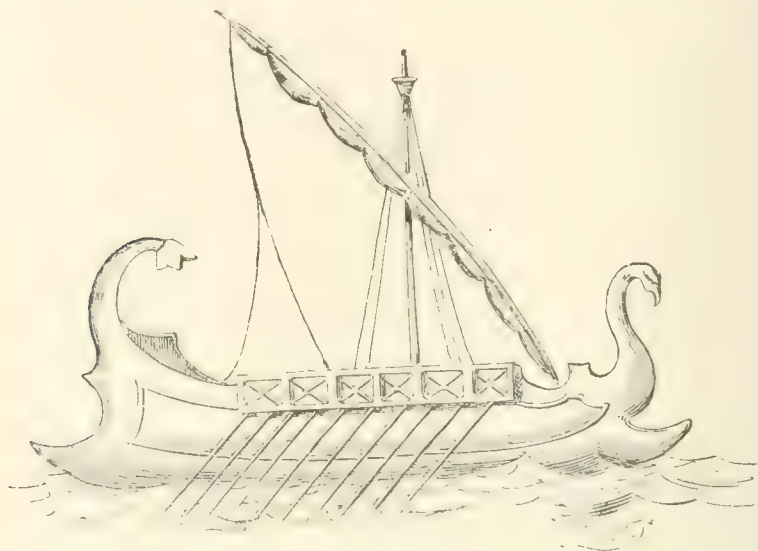
die upon the banks of the Tiber, his body should be taken to Alexandria and laid in the tomb of Cleopatra. A senator named Calvisius added still more to the public anger by relating many instances of his mad passion for this woman, who now constantly swore by the decrees that she should soon issue from the Capitol; and no man doubted that Antony's intention was to give her Rome itself, and to make of the Egyptian capital the seat of empire.¹ The few friends he still possessed sent one of their number to enlighten him as to the situation. Cleopatra heaped mortifications upon this adviser at the eleventh hour, and compelled him to return without having spoken with Antony in private. Silanus and the historian Delliis were also obliged to flee to escape the snares she laid for them.

When Octavius was ready, he instigated a decree of the Senate depriving Antony of the consulship for the year 31; and, robed as a *fetialis*, he repaired to the temple of Bellona, where he performed the ceremonies in use in ancient times upon declarations of war.² The queen of Egypt alone was named. "It is not Antony and the Romans whom we are going to fight," said Octavius, "but this woman, who, in the delirium of her hopes and the intoxication of her good fortune, dreams of the fall of the Capitol and the ruin of the Empire." To declare Antony a public enemy would have been to include in the proscription all the Romans whom he had with him and the whole of his army. Octavius was too prudent to say to sixteen legions that they had no alternative but victory or death. On the 1st of January, 31 B.C., he entered upon the consulship, and took as his colleague, in place of Antony, the brave Valerius Messala, by whom he had been defeated at Philippi. The triumvirate had expired on the preceding day, and he had given no notice of its renewal. It was not the triumvir going forth to fight for his own cause, but a consul of the Roman people, surrounded by the worthiest men of the State, who declared war upon the minister of a foreign queen.

¹ Dion, l. 5; Plut., *Anton.* 64; Suet., *Octav.* 17. [We may suspect both the terms of Antony's will and the policy of Cleopatra as reported by the party of Octavius. Such falsifications were usual and successful in those days, and had been practised by Antony in the case of Caesar.—*Ed.*]

² Dion, l. 4. (See vol. i. p. 230.)

Antony passed the winter of 32–31 at Patras. He was master of Greece, where he had assembled a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. The kings of Mauretania, Commagene, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, a dynast of Cilicia, and a Thracian chief, followed his standard in person. Pontus, Galatia, the Medes, the Jews, an Arab prince, and a Lycaonian chief had sent him auxiliaries. His fleet numbered five hundred great warships, several of which had eight and ten banks of oars; but they were heavy in build, ill-managed, and destitute of rowers and marines.



SWIFT-SAILING GALLEY.¹

When the bad state of his naval armament was represented to Antony, he said: "What does it matter about sailors? While there are oars on board and men in Greece we shall not lack for rowers." All the Greeks, however, were not for him: Mantinea sent the Caesarians a contingent which fought at Actium.² Others must have followed this example, for the common misfortunes of these people had not inspired them with common sentiments. Octavius had but eighty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, and only two hundred and fifty vessels of inferior size. Their lightness, however, and the experience of the sailors and soldiers, who had

¹ Light vessel built upon the model of the pirate ships of Illyria and adopted by the Romans (Rich. *Antiq. grecq. et rom.*, p. 363, under the word *Liburna*).

² Pausan. VIII. viii. 12.

been trained in the difficult war against Sextus, more than compensated for the inferiority in point of numbers.

While Octavius repaired to Coreyra, Agrippa with the fleet sailed for Methone, on the shores of the Peloponnesus, for the purpose of intercepting the convoys arriving from Egypt or Asia, and thus furnishing this multitude whom Greece was too poor to feed. The lightness of his vessels secured freedom to his movements, although in the neighborhood of a fleet which appeared formidable; he penetrated everywhere, even into the Gulf of Corinth, where he took Patrae (Patras), the headquarters of Antony, and the island of Leucas, the outpost on the Ionian Sea. This war of skirmishes was already distressing the enemy; and when the army of Octavius landed on the coast of Epirus, not far from the Antonian legions, defections at once began, although Antony had sworn an oath in the presence of his troops that he would abdicate in two months after the victory. Domitius set the example; Dejotarus, Amyntas, and afterwards Philadelphos, followed his lead. Antony believed himself surrounded by traitors; and reverting to his former cruelty, tortured and then put to death Jamblicus, an Arab chief, and the senator Postumius. He even doubted Cleopatra, suspected her of wishing to poison him, and forced her to taste before him all the meats served up to them,—a precaution which the queen exposed in a terrible manner. One day, coming to the feast with a wreath of flowers

in her hair, she asked her lover to throw one of these flowers into the cup from which he drank. As he was raising the cup to his lips, she suddenly caught his arm, took away the cup and gave it to a slave, who emptied it and fell down dead. Antony, filled with love and terror, from this time gave himself up to this strange creature, who united in herself all fatal fascinations.



TARCONDIMOTOS,
KING OF CILICIA.

Several partial combats preceded the decisive action. Bogud, King of Mauretania, fell in the Peloponnesus, and Nasidius was defeated by Agrippa, who in another encounter at sea slew the Cilician Tarcondimotos. At the same



WAR-SHIP.¹

¹ From an engraved gem (Bernhard Graser, *op. cit.*).

time Titius and Statilius Taurus obtained a victory over Antony's cavalry. Meanwhile the two armies slowly concentrated,—that of Antony at Actium, on the Acarnanian coast, at the entrance of the Gulf of Ambracia; that of Octavius facing it on the coast



CLEOPATRA.¹

of Epirus.² Antony had proposed to his rival that they should end their quarrel by a single combat, or else repair to Pharsalia

¹ Statue in the Museum of St. Mark at Venice (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 912, No. 2322).

² Plut., *Anton.* 19; Dion, l. 13; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxi. 9. The Gulf of Ambracia, now the Gulf of Arta, communicates with the Ionian Sea by a channel 545 yards wide in the narrowest place, but not five in depth, and full of dangerous shoals and rocks. The inside of the bay, on the other hand, affords excellent anchorage. Large vessels can anchor alongside the quay beneath the walls of Prevesa. With the expenditure of some labor this little inland sea might be made a splendid closed roadstead where ironclads might anchor. It was behind this town, on the isthmus connecting the point of Prevesa with the mainland of Epirus, that Nicopolis was built. As fresh water was scarce there, Octavius built an aqueduct, the ruins of which are still to be seen.

with all their forces and there decide to whom the heritage of Caesar should fall. All his generals, and especially Canidius, were in favor of this latter plan.

But Cleopatra wished for a naval engagement, so that her Egyptian vessels might have a share in the victory, and in case of a reverse might secure her retreat. On land it would have been necessary to abandon Antony or run into dangers which she dared not encounter. No doubt she had represented to him that the partial defeats he had suffered, the defections which he saw increasing in number, and the difficulties which daily became greater of supporting a numerous army in Greece, ought to decide him upon seeking another battlefield; that whichever of the two adversaries obtained the command of the sea could starve the other,¹ and that the number and strength of his vessels promised him the victory; finally, that in order to open the way to Italy or to close the road against his enemies to the East—and especially to Egypt, which in the hands of the victor would be an impregnable fortress, whence Africa and Asia could be ruled without difficulty—a naval victory was necessary. These considerations must have been put forward, for without them it is impossible to understand the conduct of a man whose vices could not have taken from him all his military ability.

Antony yielded; he put twenty thousand legionaries and two thousand archers on board his galleys, which, through desertions and the sickness prevalent during the winter, were short of men. But the legionaries were very unwilling to serve on board ship. The chief of a cohort, scarred with many wounds, seeing Antony pass by, cried out to him in a sorrowful voice: “Oh, my general, why do you mistrust these wounds and this sword, and found your hopes upon rotten wood? Let the men of Egypt and Phœnicia fight on the sea, and give us the dry land, whereon we know how to conquer or die.” Antony answered not a word, only making a sign to encourage him and give him a hope which he himself did not share; for when his pilots wished to leave the sails on land, as was customary, he ordered them to be taken on board.

¹ Τῶ γε λιμῶ χειρωσόμεθα (Dion, l. 19). Vergil has described the battle of Actium (*Æn.* viii. 675–713. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* l. xxxvii.; Propert., IV. vi. 55).

² Plut., *Anton.* 67.

In order to reinforce the crews of his remaining galleys he had burned a hundred and forty vessels. The sailors were still too few, however, to manœuvre these cumbrous craft with ease. For four days the roughness of the sea would not suffer the two fleets to approach each other. Finally, on the 2d of September, 31, the wind fell; Antony's ships lay till midday motionless at the entrance of the Straits. About that time a light breeze sprang up, and they advanced to meet the enemy, who for some time refused to engage his right wing, in order to draw the other vessels out into the open sea. Octavius was there in person, and when he thought the Antonians were far enough from the coast, he ceased to retire, and hastened with his light craft against their heavy vessels, round which three or four of his galleys were rowing at once, overwhelming them with pikes, javelins, and flaming arrows. Meanwhile Agrippa was manœuvring to surround the right wing. Publicola, in command there, made an attempt to stop him by extending his own line; but this movement separated him from the centre, which was already threatened by the Caesarians.

However, the day was not yet lost, when Cleopatra, who was later to show a truly feminine courage in making slow and careful preparations for the last sacrifice, that she might remain beautiful in death, proved herself destitute of the virile courage of the soldier who braves violence and wounds in the fray. She gave orders to the sixty Egyptian vessels to rig their masts and run towards the Peloponnesus. At the sight of the vessel, with its purple sails, that bore away the queen, Antony, forgetting those who were dying for him, went on board his swiftest galley and followed in her wake. He boarded her vessel; but, without speaking to her or looking at her, seated himself at the prow and leaned his head upon his hands. For three days he remained in the same posture and the same silence, till they reached Cape Taenaron, when Cleopatra's women persuaded him to see her. Thence they set sail for Africa.

His fleet defended itself for a long time; about the tenth hour the report spread on the vessels that Antony was fleeing. Up to that time they had lost only five thousand men. But their line was broken, many of the galleys had their oars shattered, and the roughness of a head-sea, dashing against their bows, made it impossible to steer them; three hundred of them surrendered. The

land army was intact. The soldiers refused to believe in the baseness of their leader, and for seven days held out against the solicitations of Caesar's envoys; but Canidius, who was in command, having in his turn abandoned them, they gave in their submission to the victor.

On the shore, opposite the scene of the action, stood a modest temple of Apollo; here Octavius consecrated as trophies eight vessels of all classes, and the bronze figures of a peasant and his ass that he had met on his road before the battle. The man was

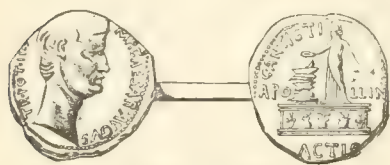


MAP OF THE GULF OF AMBRACIA FOR THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM.

called Eutyches, the Fortunate, and the beast, Nicon, the Victorious. In this chance occurrence Octavius had seen a presage of victory; and the greatest sceptic among the Romans would have done the same. He founded Actian games, which were to be celebrated every four years, competitions in music and poetry, naval tournaments, horse-races, and contests of athletes. Greece adopted them, and the Actian games became the fifth of her great national festivals.¹ On the other side of the Straits, at the spot where he had camped, he laid the foundations of Nicopolis, the city of victory, upon an isthmus washed by the waters of the

¹ The four others were the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemaean games. [In after days the Actian ranked next to the Olympian. — *Ed.*]

Gulf of Ambracia and of the Ionian Sea. A double memory of clemency and triumph was connected with the origin of the new city. The victor of Philippi had been pitiless. Now that



APOLLO ACTIUS.²

war had decimated the generation which had seen and loved the Republic of Cicero, the victor of Actium thought he might be indulgent.¹ Among the important prisoners not one who asked for his life was refused. Formerly the party leader had avenged himself; now the master pardoned. A son of Curio was put to death, however; the memory of his father, the tribune who had been so useful to Caesar, should have been a protection to him in the eyes of the dictator's heir.

Among those who persist in not understanding that the Roman oligarchy, adorned with the fine name of Republic, was unworthy to retain power. Brutus and Cato still find partisans; but Antony has none. It is because he represents no idea, no principle; his victory would have ended nothing and begun nothing.

If the leader of the Antonians was no longer to be feared, the soldiers both of victor and vanquished now became formidable. Octavius hastened to grant discharges to the veterans and disperse them through Italy and the provinces whence they had come. He had left Maecenas at Rome, and he now sent Agrippa thither also, that these two able men might, with their combined qualities of prudence and courage, stifle any movement of revolt at its beginning. He himself undertook the duty of pursuing his rival. In passing through Greece he was witness of the sad state of that province, ruined by Antony. "I have heard my great-grandfather relate," says Plutarch, "that the inhabitants of Cheronaea had been forced to carry corn upon their shoulders as far as the Sea of Anticyra, urged on with lashes by the triumvir's soldiers. They had already

¹ *Victoria fuit clementissima* (Vell. Patere., ii. 86). Yet he obliged a father and son to draw lots which should be put to death (Dion. li. 2). This fact allows us to infer others; but there were not the great massacres which usually took place.

² Head of Augustus; TR. POT. IIX.; eighth tribunitian power (22 B.C.). On the reverse, Apollo making a libation upon a rustic altar, and holding the lyre in his left hand. The stage on which he stands is decorated with anchors and beaks of ships. Coin of Antistius Vetus (Cohen, *Antis.* 12).

made one journey, and were under orders to bear a second load, when word came of Antony's defeat;" this news saved the town. Octavius took compassion on the misfortunes of Greece, and what remained of the provisions collected for the war was distributed by his orders among those cities which had neither money, nor slaves, nor beasts of burden left. Thence he set sail for Asia, making terms with the cities and princes in alliance with his foe, some escaping with the loss of their privileges, others with the payment of a war-contribution, or by giving up what they had intended for Antony. Not knowing whither the latter had fled, Octavius halted at Samos and passed the winter there.

The news of the disturbances which he had foreseen as likely to break out among the disbanded legionaries, recalled him to Italy. At the beginning of the year 30 he landed at Brundisium, whither senators, knights, magistrates, and even some of the people, hastened to meet him; the veterans, carried away by the general enthusiasm, swelled the procession. Octavius had reason to be satisfied with this test of his power, and with this proof of the adulation and servility of the Romans. As he lacked funds to fulfil his promises to the soldiers, he put up for sale his own estates and those of his friends. None, it is true, dared bid for them; but the desired result was attained,—the veterans contented themselves with a little money till the treasures of Egypt should be open to them. We may add that those who had served longest were settled in certain towns which had shown a disposition favorable to Antony; and the inhabitants, torn from the homes of their fathers, were transported to Dyrrachium, Philippi, and other provincial cities. This measure was cruel to the Italians, but the Empire gained by it; deserted cities were re-peopled, and the fusion of races was promoted. These measures quickly calmed the public excitement; Octavius was not even obliged to go to Rome, which was already growing accustomed to see things done without her co-operation. Twenty-seven days after his arrival at Brundisium, he was able to set out again.¹ Not daring, on account of the winter, to make straight for Egypt, he had his vessels

¹ Dion. li. 4-5; Suet., *Octav.* 17; Tac., *Ann.* i. 42.

carried across the Isthmus of Corinth, and with the celerity of Caesar, landed in Asia; so that Antony at the same time heard of his departure for Italy and his return thence.

At Paraetonium, on the coast of Africa, Antony and Cleopatra had separated. The queen, in order to prevent a revolt, appeared before Alexandria with her ships wreathed with laurels, as though they were returning from a victory. But on re-entering her palace she ordered the death of all whom she suspected, replenished her treasury with the property of the victims, plundered the temples of their wealth, and in the hope of obtaining some assistance from the Medes, sent them the head of the king of Armenia, her captive. As for Antony, at first he had wandered about in the solitudes near Paraetonium like a man bereft of his senses; and on the news of the defection of Pinarius Scarpus, who commanded an army for him in those regions, he had tried to kill himself. His friends persuaded him to return to Alexandria, whither Canidius came to tell him of the fate of his legions at the Actian promontory. All the princes of Asia abandoned him; at the very gates of Egypt, Herod, the king of the Jews, betrayed his cause. Some gladiators whom he had maintained at Cyzicus remained faithful to him; they traversed the whole of Asia, and only surrendered on a false report of their master's death.¹

All means failing her, Cleopatra began to transport her vessels and treasures across the Isthmus of Suez, in order to take refuge in far-off lands. But the Arabs plundered the first vessels in the Red Sea, and she abandoned her design. Antony and the queen then thought of fleeing to Spain, imagining that with their wealth they could easily excite that province to revolt. This scheme too was abandoned. Tired of making impracticable plans, Antony refused access to all his friends, and shut himself up in a tower which he had built on the end of a pier. "I will now live like Timon," he said. It was too late to assume the character of a philosopher: he could not even keep up the attempt; and to end as he had lived, amid orgies, he returned to Cleopatra. They founded a new society, that of "the inseparable in death." Those who belonged to it were to pass the days amid revelry, and afterwards to die

¹ A suburb of Antioch was granted to them; later on they were dispersed with the pretext of enrolling them in the legions, and were killed (Dion, li. 7).

together. Cleopatra collected all the poisons known, and studied their effects upon living persons. She also tried venomous reptiles; and decided on the asp, which she had seen produce a quiet death, whereby the features were not disturbed.

However, the pair still retained some glimmering of hope, and accordingly made their requests to the victor, — Antony, leave to retire to Athens, and live there as a private individual; Cleopatra, the succession to the crown of Egypt for her children. The same deputies bore both messages. But secretly the queen offered Octavius a sceptre, a crown, and a royal throne. He replied to this proposed treason by two letters, — the one public, ordering her to lay down her arms and her authority; the other secret, promising her pardon and the preservation of her kingdom if she drove out or killed Antony. At the same time he sent to her a freedman, who, by false promises, was to keep up her hopes and preserve for the triumph of the victor of Actium its principal ornament. Cleopatra called to mind that when a girl she had conquered Caesar, and after that, Antony; and she began to think that Octavius, younger than either of them, might possibly not be more obdurate. She was then thirty-nine, however; but her beauty had always been less seductive than her intellect and grace. The hero had foibles, the soldier had vices: both yielded to her; the statesman alone was able to remain cold and implacable.

Antony was not ashamed to ask for his life twice more; he sent his son Antyllus¹ to entreat Octavius, and gave up Turullius, the senator, one of Caesar's murderers. Octavius made no reply, but continued to advance; soon he arrived before Pelusium, which Cleopatra opened to him. As the din of arms drew near, Antony seemed to rouse himself; he made preparations for defence, hastened into Libya in the hope of seducing the soldiers whom Octavius had sent thither, and then returned to Alexandria, which his rival was already threatening. In a cavalry skirmish where he displayed his brilliant valor, he put the enemy to flight. But Cleopatra betrayed him; shut up with all her wealth in a high tower which she had built to serve as



ANTYLLUS

¹ This Antyllus was slain after his father's death.

her tomb, she awaited the issue of affairs. Her ministers and troops appeared to co-operate in the defence of the place; but in reality Antony could only rely upon the few legionaries he had collected. He challenged Octavius to single combat. The latter smiled, and merely replied that Antony had more than one road to death open to him.

Encouraged, however, by the success of the cavalry engagement, Antony decided upon an attack by land and sea: but as soon as the Egyptian galleys came near those of Caesar, they saluted with their oars and went over to his side. On land, Antony's cavalry abandoned him, and his infantry was easily repulsed. He re-entered the town, exclaiming that he was betrayed by Cleopatra. The queen, who had taken refuge in her tower, lowered the portcullis and strengthened the doors with great beams, while she sent to Antony false tidings of her death. They had made a mutual promise that neither would survive the death of the other. Antony ordered his slave Eros to strike the mortal blow. Without replying, the slave drew his sword, struck himself, and fell dead at his master's feet. "Brave Eros," exclaimed Antony, "thou teachest me what I should do!" And taking off his cuirass, he stabbed himself in turn.



CLEOPATRA
WITH DIADEM.

As soon as Cleopatra heard of her lover's death she sent word to have the body brought her in order to give it up to the victor herself as her ransom; and Antony was carried, all covered with blood, to the foot of her tower. She did not open the door, but from a window she let down ropes, and with the aid of the two women who had followed her, she drew him up. Scarcely had she laid him upon a couch, when he asked for wine, and instantly expired,—a fitting end of the man who had nought but a soldier's soul!

Meanwhile Octavius had entered Alexandria unopposed. He ordered Proculeius, one of his officers, to try to take the queen alive, and not to allow her time to light the pyre she had prepared to consume her riches if she were broken in upon in her retreat. While she was holding a parley at the door with Gallus, Proculeius, passing noiselessly through the window which had served to admit Antony, seized her, and snatched from her hand

a dagger with which she feebly tried to stab herself. At first she wished to starve herself to death; but Octavius compelled her to renounce that design by making her fear for her children; then he reassured her, and to reconcile her to life, promised her still a brilliant lot. She allowed herself to be led back to the palace, resumed the insignia of royalty, and received all the consideration due to her rank, all the while remaining under strict surveillance. Octavius himself came once to see her. On that day she surrounded herself with remembrances of Caesar, as though to shelter herself by his love against the hatred of his heir. The room was decorated with busts and statues of the dictator. The letters he had written lay near her, and she showed them to Octavius. She talked much of the glory of his father, and the power which he himself had won and she had lost; and with tears in her eyes she said: "But now, O Caesar, what do these letters of thine avail me? And yet thou livest again in thy son." All her words and gestures and attitudes were calculated to excite pity or a warmer feeling; and there was still so much fascination in her words, so much grace in her features and in her bearing, as she stood in her long mourning garments! Octavius listened in silence, with his eyes fixed on the ground. At length he rose: "Be of good courage, lady," said he; then he asked her for the list of her treasures, and went out. Cleopatra remained overwhelmed at this cold reply; the woman was vanquished as well as the queen. Soon she learned from Cornelius Dolabella, a young noble who had become friendly to her, that in three days she was to set forth for Rome. This news decided her. "No, no!" she said, gloomily; "I will not be dragged along at a triumph,—*Non triumphabor!*" The next day she was found lying dead on a golden bed, clad in her royal robes, and her two women lifeless at her feet² (15th of August, 30 B.C.). No one



COIN OF
PROCULEIUS.¹

¹ C. PROCULEI L. F. and a *bipennis* (two-edged axe).

² Plut., *Anton.* 84-95; Dion. li. 10-14; Livy, *Frag.* cxxxiii. Octavius put to death Caesarion, who was then eighteen, and who was given up to the conqueror by his tutor, to whom Cleopatra had intrusted great treasures, charging him to take Caesarion into Ethiopia or India. [The character of this son of the great Caesar, whose fate reminds us of that of Alexander the Great's sons, Alexander and Heracles, is unknown to us. From his birth, no doubt, his fate was decided. What Roman would tolerate this rival, the real blood of the great Caesar? Octavius of course assumed him to be an impostor, ascribed to the great dictator by

knew how she had killed herself; Octavius, by displaying at his triumph a statue of Cleopatra with a serpent on her arm, confirmed the report that she had caused herself to be stung by an asp which a peasant had brought her hidden beneath some figs or flowers. Egypt was reduced to a province.

For twenty years the Republic had been dead, and the Empire was not yet born. These periods, when the bases which bore the old state of society have crumbled away, and the foundations of the new have not yet emerged above a ground shaken by revolutions, are the most painful epochs in the history of humanity. Antony's death put an end to this era of transformation, and freed men's minds from the terrible burden of uncertainty. Prolonged and sincere acclamations greeted the victory of Octavius; Vergil and Horace in their graceful verse echoed the universal hope. They were right. It was Peace coming at last, to scatter round her riches for some, and well-being for many; wiser laws were to be made, purer faiths spread, the world was at length about to change.¹

But would these beliefs and these laws bring back again the virile virtues of former days?

In the place of despoiled citizens, who had well deserved their fate, would there be produced men capable of regaining by voluntary discipline and political intelligence the rights which they had lost? Or, if liberty was to return no more, would it at least be possible to organize these multitudes—who should henceforth obey but one will, that of the Emperor—into a vigorous body, capable of long existence?

And since we are about to have an empire instead of a city, shall we see a great nation replacing the two evil things through which the Republic had perished,—the oligarchy, now overthrown,

an abandoned and ambitious woman. Nevertheless his fate, like that of the other princes mentioned, is deeply pathetic.—*Ed.*]

In 1830 there were found in the foundations of an old Buddhist tower on the left bank of the Indus some medals of Antony and Kanichka, King of Bactriana and of a part of India, whom Vergil mentions as an ally of the triumvir; . . . *et ultima secum Bactra vehit*. Antony had established relations with this powerful prince, the natural enemy of the Parthians on the East, as the Romans were on the West; and it was no doubt to him that Cleopatra wished to send her son. (Cf. Reinaud, *Relations de l'empire romain avec l'Asie orientale*.)

¹ *Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.*

VERGIL: *Ecl.* iv. 5.

and the populace, which regarded the victory of Caesar and Octavius as its triumph?

The history of Augustus and his successors will give us the answer.

¹ Small bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2978. The cuirass and the greaves are ornamented with chiselling in relief; the helmet is surmounted by a mutilated sphinx. The weapons which this wingless genius held are gone.



GENIUS OF MARS.¹

CHAPTER LXII.

THE ROMAN PROVINCES AT THE TIME OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE.

I. — WHAT WAS THE PROPER WORK OF THE EMPIRE?

IN Nature nothing is lost, nothing created, and everything changes according to immutable laws. In the world of history, which is that of life and liberty, everything is transformed, — slowly, when wisdom guides the nations; with violence, when passion carries them away. But lasting transformations are never the work of caprice; their sequence is always the relation between cause and effect. In this study of the causes which incessantly modify the life of nations lies the charm of history, and also its usefulness. In this volume and the one preceding it, we have seen the forces of destruction at work for a century; now that republican Rome has ended, amid frightful tumults, we shall see the forces of renovation at work. Hitherto we have been with the conquerors at Rome and in the camps of the legions; we must now go to the vanquished.¹ The Empire has come into existence; let us visit the domain bequeathed by the Republic to the Emperor.

The Senate, with its excellent views on the government of the provinces, had shown itself incapable of providing what masters owe to their subjects, — security. This will be the task of the Emperors, — of those, at least, who are worthy of their title. Before following them in this immense work, we must take a nearer view of those populations which were destined very shortly to give to Rome grammarians, rhetoricians, lawyers, and poets, and to the State its most illustrious leaders. As we read the tragic history of this Republic, assailed from all quarters, shaken to its foundations, at last ruined

¹ The first edition of this work was entitled, "History of the Romans and of the Nations subjected to their Sway."

and overthrown, we forget those submissive multitudes to whom the Romans, in their turn, had offered a spectacle of numberless and illustrious gladiators slaying one another in a vast arena. Now that the ancient edifice which sheltered at first so many virtues, and afterwards so many vices, had fallen, men stumbled over its ruins at every step. Under Vespasian and Trajan, and even later, it was usual to speak of the Republic, of the Senate, and of the Roman people; and in all the history of the Empire many have sought to see only the protests of liberty and the revenges of despotism. But when we remember that words last longer than the things they signify, we shall not consider these apparent regrets as serious; and we shall turn away from the sanguinary or repulsive scenes of the palace and the curia, to behold a new world by degrees arising and overspreading these ruins and these recollections.

The men of the future were the provincials who were to tear from Italy her ancient privileges, to propagate throughout the barbaric West the Graeco-Latin civ-

ilization, and to cause to be bestowed upon a hundred millions of men,—by emperors born at Seville, Lyons, or Leptis,—laws which are worthy to be called recorded reason. The new religion, too, was to be formed for this new state of society: the Mosaic Jehovah, the jealous and implacable ruler of a privileged race, was to be revealed by Jesus Christ as the universal God of the poor and afflicted. So



SECURITY.¹

¹ Bronze figure of the time of the Emperors (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3050).

that at the very time when the Emperors were inserting into the civil law the isolating principle of individual right, Christianity was endeavoring to instil into men's hearts the uniting sentiment of fraternity, — two grand ideas of the imperial epoch which modern Europe has re-discovered beneath the ruins of the Middle Ages, and with them the obligation to unite the two and cause their final triumph in human society.

In order to measure this advance of the provinces towards an equality of rights, civilization, wealth, and later, of religion, it is well to mark clearly the point whence each started. We shall then better judge the work done by the Emperors; we shall see whether they were able to do by their institutions for the benefit of the State what Christianity, by its doctrines, did for the Church; whether, finally, to use the language of Bossuet, "a new people is about to spring up, consisting of all the nations included within the limits of the Empire."

The Empire of Rome, or, as its historians and legists said, the *Roman World*, was so vast, when Augustus became its master, that the peoples, subject or hostile, who belong to its history, represented almost all the races of men in the old world.

The Iberians, free from any admixture, were settled in the Pyrenees between the Garonne and the Upper Ebro; they had blended with Phoenicians in Baetica, and with Gauls towards the mouth of the Tagus and in Celtiberia.

The Celts occupied Britannia, Gaul (except Aquitania and part of Narbonensis), Upper Italy, the Alps, a considerable region on the right bank of the Danube, and some districts in Asia Minor (Galatia).

The Germans and the Slavs, or Sarmatae, shared the vast plain which stretches from the Northern Ocean to the Caspian Sea.

The Greek and Latin nations occupied the centre of the Empire: the former looking Eastward, as though they still obeyed the impulse given by Alexander; the latter, towards the West, where they spread the manners and speech of Rome.

On the south, Semite races covered all the African shore of the Mediterranean, under the name of Moors, Numidians, and Phoenicians. In Egypt they had mingled with the Ethiopian race, as in Armenia with the Aryan. All the Arabian peninsula, with Palestine, belonged to them. In Syria they were partly Hellenized.

Beyond them dwelt the tribes of the Zend, and still farther, those of the Sanskrit, or Hindoo races, and in the extreme East, the Seres.

All these nations, except the two last, were, or were about to become, the subjects, the enemies, or the allies of the Empire. The Germans had already commenced that war which was to last for four centuries; the Parthians still kept the standards of Crassus; a little later, India sent deputies to Augustus; under the Antonines the Seres were to see Roman merchants arrive in their country, and the historians of Serica recognized the existence in the world of but two empires, — the Middle Kingdom and the Kingdom of the West.¹

We have nothing to tell of the Seres or the Hindoos. With the former the Empire had only a few very slight communications, which have left no trace behind: with the latter its commercial relations were certainly very active; but of these the ancient writers, who did not concern themselves about social economy, have preserved no records. The same reasons do not apply to the Parthians and Germans, who are to occupy so important a place in this History. But it is the state of the Roman provinces with which we shall be particularly occupied; for in order to appreciate the results of the foundation of the Empire, it is important to show that from the fierce, free Cantabrian in his mountains, to the Greek of Antioch or of Ephesus, servile and effeminate, there existed among those nations all the degrees through which men pass, from the rudest barbarism to the most refined civilization, together with a very great diversity of language, customs, and character.

It was necessary, however, that these nations should be drawn together, in order to give them, by union, the strength to resist the Northern races till the Empire should have finished its work. Across

¹ It is worthy of remark that in the half century preceding the Christian era almost the whole of the old world was divided among four or five great political organizations. To the south, Vikramaditya had united the greater part of the Indian peninsula; on the east the Chinese Empire, under the Han dynasty, had compelled the chiefs of the tribes of inner Asia to recognize its supremacy, and even the princes of Transoxiana often did homage to it. The whole West was occupied by the Roman Empire; in the centre, between the Caspian Sea and the Indian Ocean, the Parthian monarchy held sway; and finally, beyond that, in Bactriana and the Valley of the Indus, there reigned powerful princes, whom we shall see entering into relations with the Romans. In order to avoid unduly extending this work, I abridge these chapters on the provinces and suppress a quantity of notes, which may be found, if required, in the volume which I published in 1853 under the title, *État du monde romain au temps de la fondation de l'empire*, or in the preceding editions of my *Histoire des Romains*.

the Rhine and the Danube came the dull roar of those threatening hordes whom the Cimbri and Suevi had taught the road to the lands of sunshine, of wine, and of gold.



ETHIOPIAN CHILD.¹

With one hand the Empire held them back, while with the other it covered with roads, aqueducts, and flourishing cities, the provinces whence for two centuries and a half it kept away war; it saturated them with its language and spirit, its laws and religion. And when the dike gave way, the invading flood encountered so many obstacles that it could not sweep everything before it. The old civilization, — our own, that is to say, — after having reigned over a hundred millions of men, after having rooted itself by its beliefs in the heart of the nations, as by its monuments in the soil which bore them, yet required ten centuries to emerge from beneath the ruins. What would it have been had the invasion found only barbarism before it,

save at Athens, Rome, and Alexandria? When these three centres of light and warmth had been extinguished, what a gloomy night would have brooded over the world!

II. — PROVINCES OF THE WEST AND NORTH.

Spain. — Two great races had peopled Spain. — the Iberi and the Celts. The latter, coming last, had occupied all the North and West, except the Basque country; the former, the South and East. In the centre, the two had mingled; and this blending of races had been of advantage to the tribes which sprang from it. The Celtiberi are the heroes of ancient Spain. Settled on the lofty plateau whence descend the Douro, the Tagus, and the Guadiana, they commanded the passage from one to the other slope of the

¹ Vatican. *Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii. pl. 35.

peninsula; and as they held out against Rome for three quarters of a century, for those seventy years the independence of Spain was preserved. Numantia was one of their cities. At the foot of the Celtiberian mountains the civilization brought by the Greeks to the shores of Catalonia and Valentia, and by the Carthaginians to those of Murcia and Andalusia, made a long halt. The southern Iberi had yielded to the influence of the foreign colonies, which by degrees softened their manners and mitigated their ferocity. The Turduli and Turdetani proudly displayed volumes of history, poems, and laws written in verse, they said, six thousand years before.¹ But the Romans, disdainful of this literature which did not possess the merit of originating on the banks of the Ilissus or the Maeander, accused these pacific tastes of impairing Iberian courage: *Turdetani . . . maxime imbelles*. Empires fall, religions change, nations are transformed; and still certain customs last throughout the centuries. Strabo saw on the heads of the women of Baetica the light scarf which at this day adds such grace to the daughters of Andalusia.

Baetica, on the south of the Sierra Morena (*Castulonensis saltus*), contained many towns, and accepted Roman manners as easily as it had adopted those of the Phoenician colonists. Under the peace of the Empire it was about to turn to profit the wealth of a land richly endowed by Nature with a delicious climate, a fertile soil, and mines which were apparently inexhaustible, those of Iliipa and Sisapo (Almaden) at that time holding the chief rank.



COIN OF ILIPA.²

The Roman influence even gained the warlike Celtiberians, though slowly, for they had no large towns through which new customs could be propagated in the country; and the ancient manners easily retained their hold in the numerous villages hidden among

¹ Strabo testifies to the immense commerce which Spain carried on, in his time, with Italy. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* iii. 4; iv. 34) extols its breed of horses; and it was said that on the banks of the Tagus the wind fertilized the mares (*Ibid.* viii. 42). Strabo adds that these horses were as swift as those of the Parthians. Being improved, in the seventh century of our era, by an admixture of Arab blood, this breed gave rise in the fourteenth century to the English breed.

² ILIPENSE: a fish, and above it a crescent.

the mountains. They were skilled in forging arms, and still more so in using them; and as they could no longer bear them in their own cause, they enlisted beneath the standards of Rome. Beyond these nations were Celtic tribes who unwillingly followed the new way. The people of Lusitania (Portugal), always so eager for war, had been condemned to tranquillity; Augustus shortly brought them under Roman civilization.

To the north of Lusitania the Gallaici had been early civilized by their commercial relations with the Carthaginians, who came among them in search of the produce of their fisheries and of the gold which was obtained almost on the surface of the ground. And yet at sight of the peasant on the banks of the Minho, who guided the plough with one hand, holding his javelin in the other, it was easy to recognize the warlike race from which he sprang. The Vascones, too, settled on one of the high roads from Spain into Gaul, mixed commerce and warfare. Phœnician coins found in their territory testify that the indefatigable sailors of Tyre and Gades had discovered and worked their mines. But on the narrow and dangerous coast of the Gulf of Gascony, in the rugged mountains of Biscay, two nations had hitherto refused the yoke beneath which the whole of Spain had bowed its neck: these were the Cantabri, who slew their old men when too feeble to hold a sword, and delighted in drinking horses' blood; and the Astures, who painted their faces, like the North American Indians, to make themselves more terrible, and wore no clothes except the skins of wild beasts which they had killed. When captured, they never resigned themselves to servitude. Nailed to the cross, they sang amid their death-pangs, and the women killed their children to save them from slavery.

Spain had long been a mine for Roman magistrates to work. These greedy prætors maintained, however, a state of order by which commerce greatly profited; and some of them did themselves honor by useful works. We have spoken of the places founded by Scipio (Italica), Marcellus (Corduba), Sempronius Gracchus (Gracchuris), Brutus (Valentia), and Pompey; and the latter had freely distributed the right of Roman citizenship among the inhabitants. At the mouth of the Baetis, a Cæpio had built a fine tower, on the model of the Pharos of Alexandria, to mark the entrance to the river, which ships could ascend for a distance of

twelve hundred stadia between banks lined with populous cities. Caesar, whose fame Spain, after long resistance, had at last espoused, had assembled round him deputies from the whole peninsula, established a well-organized administration, and rewarded towns and individuals for their devotion to his cause; in the case of the former, increasing the number of municipia and colonies, and giving to the latter the citizenship, the gold ring of the equestrian order, and the senatorial laticlave. Many towns had taken his name; and Gades, which claimed to preserve in its temple the bones of Hercules, — Gades, the wealthiest of provincial cities, since it reckoned no less than five hundred knights, — had obtained for all its inhabitants the coveted privileges of Roman citizens. One of them, named C. Balbus, had shortly afterwards become consul. He was the first provincial to attain this honor, and also the first who ever ascended to the Capitol in a triumphal robe. Other Spaniards even dared to write in the language of their masters; and Corduba had already given birth to a whole family of poets, whose verses had gone as far as Rome, exciting the displeasure of Cicero at this provincial invasion.



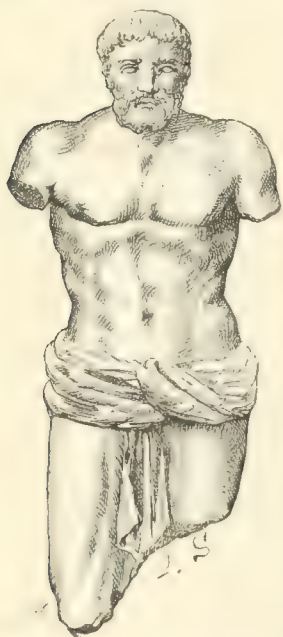
COIN OF
GADES.

Thus, through its southern and eastern populations, Spain was rapidly taking part in Roman civilization and the imperial unity; Octavius regulated this movement and extended it to the centre and north of the peninsula, which long resisted the influence. After the battle of Munda, Sextus Pompeius, hidden in the mountains, had lived there some time by brigandage; then, as his band increased, he had proudly resumed his name and defeated two of Caesar's lieutenants. His recall, instigated by Antony, had restored to Spain a peace which was soon broken by the Moorish kings Bogud and Bocchus, who in the names of the two triumvirs fought out their private quarrels. Bogud was expelled; but the Ceretani, his allies, held out for a long time, and their subjection won a triumph for Domitius Calvinus. The two successors of that general obtained the same honor; but it is not known of what services it was the reward.

A province whence so many triumph-winners returned, was not a quiet country; accordingly, it was among the first to receive the attention of Octavius. There at least he was not obliged, as in Gaul, to contend against a powerful clergy and strongly rooted

doctrines. In strange contrast with that exaggerated devoutness which we are accustomed to consider the fundamental trait of the Spanish character, the religious sentiment was so little developed among the greater part of these tribes that Strabo went so far as to doubt whether they had any gods. But it is true that if we look carefully into the history of Spain we shall see that religion has there always been a form of patriotism.

Gaul. — On the north of the Pyrenees, the Iberi peopled Aquitania, which, feeling the influence of Narbo and Tolosa, two centres of Roman civilization, and of Bordeaux, which shortly became so, soon began to exchange its thatched huts for showy villas. On the east Aquitania was adjacent to Gallia Narbonensis, where Rome and Marseilles had worked in concert to obliterate among the indigenous population the traces of their double origin, Iberian and Celtic, — Rome by her great settlements of Aquae Sextiae and



FRAGMENT OF A STATUE
FOUND IN GALLIA NARBONENSIS.¹

Narbo; Massilia by the trading posts lining the coast, and by schools which led young Romans to neglect the voyage to Athens. At Marseilles, says Tacitus, "the elegance of the Greeks is happily blended with the austerity of provincial manners." A grandson of Augustus, Lucius Caesar, and Agricola were educated in its schools; while Narbo, which Strabo calls the seaport of all Gaul, had already given birth to an epic poet, Varro Atacinus, and the Vocontian Trogus Pompeius was at this time writing or preparing his great Universal History.

Regarded as the outpost of Italy and the guardian of communication with Spain, Gallia Narbonensis, even before Caesar's time, was considered one of the most important possessions of the Republic. Since the conquest of Celtica, the security enjoyed on the banks of the Rhone, and the vicinity of a new province to prey

¹ Small mutilated statue preserved in the Museum of Toulouse, representing an old African fisherman. It was found at Martres (Haute-Garonne). (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 880, No. 2248.)

upon, had attracted the crowd of speculators into Gallia Togata. Thus it soon became the garden, so to speak, of Italy, and every wealthy Roman was anxious to have lands there.

It has been customary to exaggerate the docility of the Gauls in accepting the yoke, contrasting with their facile submission the Spanish resolution. Eight years, it is said, had sufficed to lay Gaul at Caesar's feet. But the Iberi had prolonged the war by dividing it; they had fought, not one battle, but a thousand skirmishes. Gaul, which had risen as a whole, had also been overthrown as a whole. The two nations already displayed the two characteristics,—the one of isolation, the other of ready association,—which they drew from their native soil and have always retained. Also we may throw into the balance the sword of the conqueror: Spain had not to defend itself against Caesar.

By passing under the Roman sway the Gauls had lost little and gained much. To an existence continually disturbed by the ambition of the chiefs of clans, to a religion of terror maintained by the Druids, to ceaselessly renewed wars among the tribes and the perpetual threat of Germanic invasions, had succeeded the calm life of well-regulated communities, a mild religion, the security of the frontiers, and everywhere the Roman Peace,—*Pax Romana*,—which soon obliterated all regret for lost independence. Caesar had employed against them a weapon which the proconsuls very rarely used: after the victory he showed himself merciful and kind; and accordingly Gallia Comata gave him the bravest of her children, her Rutenian archers, her light foot-soldiers of Aquitania and Arvernia, her heavy infantry of Belgica, and her bold horsemen, of whom thirty had been enough to put to flight two thousand Numidians, and four hundred appeared to Cleopatra and to Herod to be equal to an army. And while they were fighting for the dictator in Greece, in Africa, and in Spain, their fathers and brothers tilled the ground and traded with that ardor for peaceful labors which always bursts forth at the close of long wars. "That Gaul," says Antony, "which once sent us the Ambrones and the Cimbri, is now subdued, and is as well cultivated in every part as Italy itself. Her rivers are covered with vessels, not only the Rhone and the Saône, but the Meuse, the Loire, the

Rhine itself, and the ocean." Antony, or rather Dion, who composed this speech, no doubt says too much; but it is certain that the transformation which was about to make Gaul the wealthiest province of the Empire had already begun.

This fruitful activity and the prosperity consequent upon it were the result of Rome's obliviousness of her conquest. Questions of too great importance were in agitation elsewhere for Gaul to be called upon for anything save to furnish her contingent and her tribute. First making part of Antony's share, she was scarcely aware of the treachery of Calenus, which delivered her to the other triumvir. But when the treaty of Misenum had given Octavius a short respite, the new master of the Gauls was desirous of making these provinces feel Rome's influence more nearly; for already he was abandoning the triumviral career of violence to enter upon that which was to be the great business of his life, — the re-organization of the Empire. Forthwith war broke out in all directions; the whole of Aquitania rose in arms, and the Germans, secretly summoned by the Belgæ, crossed the Rhine. Fortunately Agrippa was there. He defeated the rebels; and making a resource of what seemed a peril, he settled two Germanic tribes, the Ubii and the Tongri, implacable enemies of the Suevi and Catti, on the left bank of the Rhine, near Cologne, to guard the passage of the river, re-people the country left desert by the destruction of the Eburones, separate the Belgæ from the Germans, and create between these two nations, who too frequently called out each other, a colony on which Rome could rely (37 B.C.). But the war had already recommenced in Italy, and Octavius recalled his able general to help him to conquer Sextus, and afterwards Antony. Meanwhile the Gauls, like other provincials of the West, preserved, under cover of Rome's troubles, a kind of half liberty, and with it the Druidic beliefs and the national language and manners, which nothing had as yet seriously shaken.

Mountaineers of the Alps. — On the west the Roman possessions were, then, clearly defined: the Atlantic was their boundary. On the north the line would be less easy to trace. The Alps do not enclose Italy alone; the mountains of Illyria and the Haemus, which bound Greece and Thrace on the north, are an eastern extension of this chain. During the last century of the Republic

many Roman armies had crossed this lofty barrier into Noricum, Pannonia, and Moesia, but without success; for it was evident that there would be no lasting conquest in the Valley of the Danube until the mountaineers could no longer suddenly close the passes. Now this great chain protecting the civilized world, whence also the barbaric world could be threatened, had not as yet been occupied by the legions of Rome.

While in the Western Alps the roads were almost free, in the Pennine Alps they could be used only on payment of heavy tolls and at the risk of serious dangers. After the rough lesson which he had given the Helvetii, Caesar had sent the remnant of that nation back to its cantons, that the approaches to the High Alps might be guarded against the Germans by tribes henceforward faithful. In order to complete the investment of these mountains, he had been desirous also of subduing the upper portion of the Rhone Valley, which would have carried the bounds of his province to the very summit of the Alps and the passes giving access to Cisalpine Gaul. But his lieutenant, Galba, had been obliged to retreat before a rising of all the tribes of Valais. Even on the Italian slope, in the basin of the Duria, the Salassi would allow no approach to their gold mines; they had quite recently made the soldiers of Decimus Brutus pay a drachma a head for a passage through their mountains. Cottius and his fourteen tribes were independent in the valleys of Mont Cenis, the Ligurians in those of the Maritime Alps, and the mountaineers of the Apennine Liguria still inspired fear enough to make it impossible to include them in Cisalpine Gaul. "Every year," says Strabo, "a governor of the equestrian order is sent to them, as is done with respect to other nations absolutely barbarous."



GOLD COIN OF
THE SALASSI.¹

The tribes of the Rhaetian Alps were still less tractable and more hardy. Their bands, especially those of the Rhaeti and Vindelici, suddenly coming down through the upper valleys of the Adige and Adda, laid waste the lowlands; they even attacked the cities, slaying the inhabitants, both men and women. These savage incursions, which resemble the devastations of Indians in the New

¹ This coin represents the instruments used for washing gold, — the source of wealth of the Salassi.

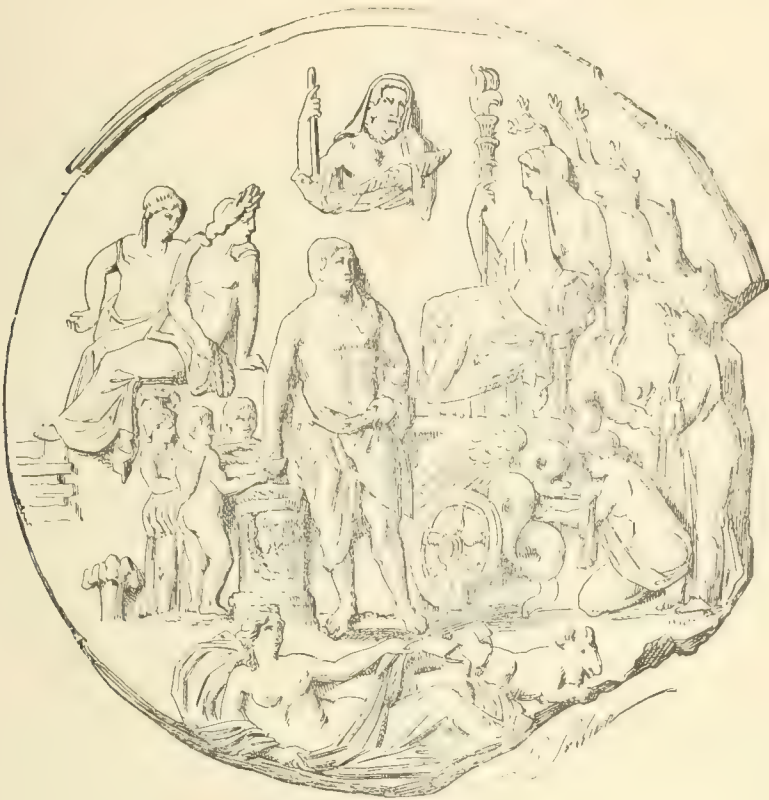
World, were a disgrace to Italy. But antiquity did not esteem very highly the security which we so much prize. The governors troubled themselves little about anything that was not serious warfare, and the preservation of public order throughout the Empire was their least care. Against such dangers cities, like individuals, must know how to defend themselves; Rome left to both just sufficient liberty of action to excuse herself from any necessity of watching and acting in their place. Even under Augustus the Corsicans and Sardinians ceaselessly plundered the coasts of Tuscany and Liguria. Strabo says of Ortonium, a town of the Frentani: "It is a rock inhabited by robbers, who live like wild beasts, and build their houses with no other material than fragments of wrecked vessels." The Island of Lade, opposite Miletus, was the usual resort of the pirates who swept the Aegean Sea; Dalmatia was long notorious for its brigands, and the Taurus has been so always.

To the east, where the Alpine chain is lower, the roads became less difficult. They led directly into the Valley of the Danube. The Republic had a great interest in watching over these regions through which the Cimbri had come, and where there surged a confused mass of warlike tribes, whose vicinity kept up the spirit of resistance among the Illyrians and Dalmatians. But the Senate had long forgotten that far-sighted policy which formerly led them to keep watch in that direction. They allowed the Norici and Taurisci to join the Rhaeti in their raids, and the Carni to ravage the Valley of the Tagliamento. Two Roman colonies, Aquileia and Tergeste, had been established, however, on this coast. But the territory of the one was continually devastated, and the other had just been pillaged by the Iapodes, a brave, fierce nation established in the Julian Alps, whence they kept all their neighbors in terror; twice in twenty years had they repulsed the Roman troops. A little farther on, the Pannonians had so handled a general who ventured amongst them that all Italy had been terrified at the disaster. From that day no consul had dared to cross their frontier.

In Illyria the situation was no better.¹ The Illyrians had been the first people attacked by the Republic outside Italy, and

¹ Illyria seems to have formed a province distinct from Macedonia from the year 118; it was separated from Cisalpine Gaul by the little River Formio (the Risano, to the south of Trieste).

they had not yet resigned themselves to remain docile subjects of Rome; they could therefore dispute with the Spaniards the merit of a prolonged resistance. In spite of the nearness of Greece and Italy, civilization had obtained little hold upon these barbarians



DISK OF AQUILEIA.¹

who tattooed themselves like the Picts and Thracians, were ignorant of the use of money, and every eight years made a fresh division of the land. To free the Adriatic from their piracies, the most

¹ Museum of Vienna (published by the *Annali dell' Inst. arch.* 1839, xi. 78). This silver disk, with gold added, which has almost disappeared, shows Proserpine restored to her heavenly family: above, Jupiter; between the sky and earth, Ceres, holding a lighted torch, a symbol of the life she rekindles in Nature; Proserpine, crowned with ears of corn, looking at her mother, whom she has just found again; Hebe (?), who has helped her to escape from Hades, leans upon her shoulder; in the centre, Triptolemus, who is about to bear forth through all the earth the gifts of Ceres; behind him the chariot of the goddess drawn by two serpents, which are fed by two virgins, daughters of Ceres, the father of Triptolemus, and the olive-tree, beneath the shade of which Ceres rested near Eleusis. Lastly, in the lower part, Mother Earth with an ox, the great means of agriculture.

turbulent among them had been sent away from the coast; and driven back into the mountains, they had there kept their love of independence. Gabinius, one of Caesar's lieutenants, endeavored to make a circuit of the Adriatic with fifteen cohorts and three thousand horse. The Illyrians attacked him, and of all this army the leader was almost the only one who escaped. Pharsalia, Thapsus, and Munda intimidated them, however; their deputies appeared at Rome before Caesar, loudly vaunted their race and their exploits, and asked for the friendship of the Roman people. The dictator exacted a tribute and hostages. They promised them; but upon Caesar's death they refused everything; and when Vatinus threatened them with three legions and a considerable force of cavalry, they cut to pieces five of his cohorts and drove him back in disorder upon Epidamnus.

Such, therefore, was the state of the northern frontier at the time when the Republic was drawing to an end. All the Alpine chain was held by plundering tribes, not very dangerous, certainly, but harassing, which stopped civilization at the foot of their mountains. Though they bordered upon the sacred soil of Italy, no formal expedition had been directed against them; no man was desirous of undertaking these obscure wars, in which neither fame nor spoil was to be won.

Octavius thought of doing it; some time before the battle of Actium he had undertaken the task of reducing these mountaineers to subjection. It had cost him nearly two years of personal fatigues and dangers. Twice he had run the risk of his life, and had received honorable wounds; for he had determined to search out, one after another, all the lairs of these bandits, to destroy their strongholds, to require them to give hostages, and finally reduce them to quiet. The Dalmatians had given up the standards of Gabinius, and the Liburni the vessels which served them for cruising. The Salassi had obliged him to treat with them; but the Iapodes had been subdued, the Carni and Taurisci punished, and even Pannonia invaded, notwithstanding her hundred thousand warriors. The strong city of Segesta, on the Save, being carried by assault, was occupied by twenty-five cohorts as an outpost against German and Dacian barbarism. As all eyes were at that time fixed upon Rome and Alexandria, these expeditions had passed

unnoticed. Yet in these wars Octavius began what Augustus was to complete; he took possession of the Alpine chain, and in order to guard it better he advanced as far as the Danube.

III. — COUNTRIES SPEAKING THE GREEK LANGUAGE.

Macedonia and Greece.—If the eastern peninsula has its Alps in Mount Haemus (the Balkan range), it has its Apennines in Pindus, a broad wall running straight to the south, which allows but a few footpaths across its summit, and at one point only, Klissoura, in the neighborhood of Lychnidus, a road easily practicable. Dalmatia and Epirus are on the west upon the slope leading down to the Adriatic, Macedonia and Thessaly on the east, towards the Aegean Sea. At its southern extremity this chain breaks up into many branches, sending out countless headlands into three seas, and forming the chaos of mountains and valleys which is called Greece.

Enclosed in its quadrilateral of mountains, Macedonia was the fortress whence Rome kept watch upon and restrained, not Greece, where there were no peoples left to restrain, but the tumultuous tribes on the Danube, who were ever ready to resume the route of the Gallic brenn towards Delphi. Many generals had returned from that province to receive a triumph for obscure victories over these unpleasant neighbors. As soon as the hand of Rome ceased to press upon them, they flocked back again, plundering and slaying. On the eve of the foundation of the Empire, the Thracians had descended upon Macedonia, cut the great military road which traversed the province, and spread such terror as far as Thessalonica that the inhabitants had begun to build their walls again as though the sword of Rome no longer protected them. Yet these barbarians had a poetic custom which we have followed,—they scattered roses upon the earth which covered their dead.



COIN OF
THESSALONICA.¹

¹ KABIPOC; Cabirus standing. Reverse of a bronze coin of Thessalonica.

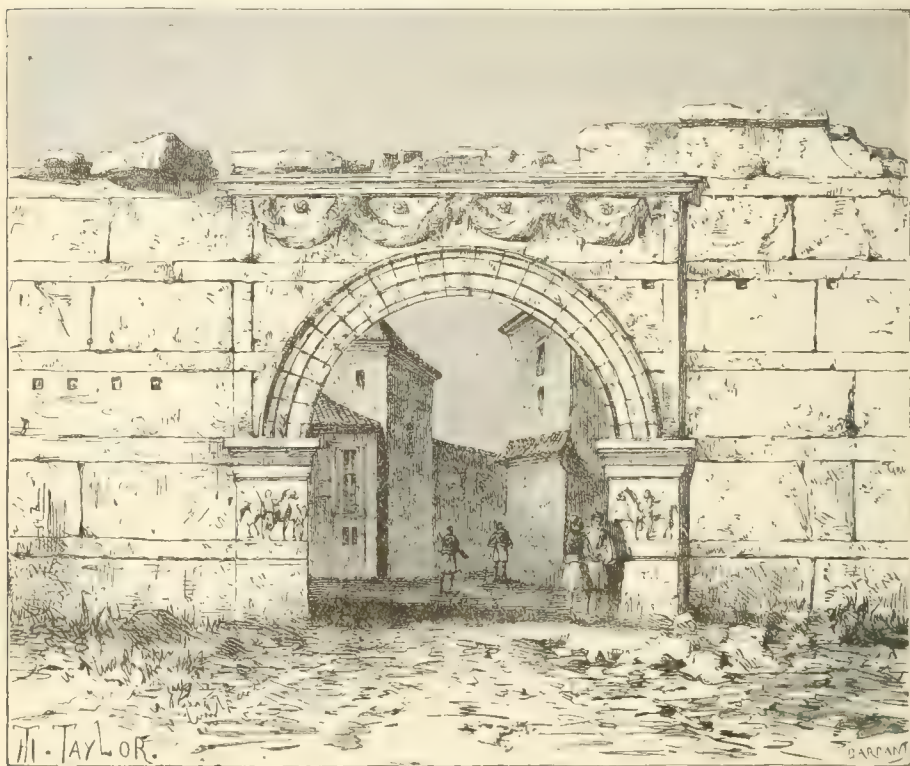
The strict order which Octavius had begun to keep in Illyria was of advantage to Macedonia. To the north, the Dardanians,



COIN OF AMPHIPOLIS.¹

formerly very much dreaded in the Valley of the Axios (Vardar), were reduced to such a state of destitution that their only dwellings were huts dug out beneath dung-heaps. On the east, the

Thracians were in reality formidable only so long as they were feared. Macedonia could thus,



GATEWAY OF THE VARDAR AT THESSALONICA.²

as soon as a firm hand should maintain order, develop her riches. After Caesar's death, her warlike population had given Brutus two legions, which he trained in the Roman tactics. Before the battle

¹ Head of Apollo, with laurels. On the reverse, ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, a torch, and a branch in a hollow square. Silver coin of Amphipolis.

² Henzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 22 bis.

of Philippi, which was fought on her frontier, she had been obliged to maintain the armies of Octavius and Antony. It does not seem, however, that the country was severely treated by the victors. Thessalonica was already the chief town, and Amphipolis the second, and they both bore the title of free cities; which privilege was also granted to Dyrrachium, to Abdera, to several tribes in the interior, and to the islands of Thasos and Samothrace. But Pella, the early capital, soon sank into a mere village.

“Formerly,” says Strabo, “Epirus was occupied by a great number of valiant nations; at present the greater part of its cantons are deserted, and its towns destroyed. There remain only villages and hovels; and this desolation, which was begun long ago, still continues.” Varro finds something to praise in it, however. “The slaves of Epirus,” he says, “are the best and the most costly,” — a sad reputation indeed for the descendants of the soldiers of Pyrrhus! This country, covered with mountains which run to the very shore, has none of those rich plains surrounding a harbor which the Greek colonists loved; accordingly, but few had come to this coast. Having little wheat, the Epirotes lived in scattered villages upon the produce of their flocks. To the present day Janina still sends to Thessaly for flour, which is brought on the backs of asses or mules, while fruits and vegetables are obtained from Arta, the ancient Ambracia. There was but little life except along the Via Egnatia, which had passed through the province, and at Dyrrachium, which was Pompey’s headquarters, and on that account compromised in the eyes of Caesar’s friends. Apollonia, farther to the south, had profited by this, and her schools had received the young Octavius.

This depopulation of Epirus extended to Greece itself. The tribes of Mount Oeta were almost annihilated; the Athamanes, their neighbors, had quite disappeared. Acarnania and Aetolia, which are separated by the Achelöus, had become deserts. Instead of cultivated fields, there were only, as in Arcadia, pasture-lands, over which cattle and horses roamed wild. In spite of the fertility of its fields and the liberty for which it was indebted to Caesar, Thessaly, which had so often offered a battlefield, saw its towns fall into ruins. In Hellas, Thebes



COIN OF
SAMOTHRACE.

was only a large village; and with the exception of Tanagra and Thespieæ, there remained of the towns of Boeotia only ruins and their names. One town of Phocis, however, was to enjoy an envied

privilege, — the oil of Tithorea was to be reserved for the table of the Emperors. Megara still existed, but in great poverty. The Piræus, whose harbor formerly sheltered three hundred war-vessels, was now a wretched village; Munychia had been dismantled, the Long Walls thrown down, and Athens still suffered from the blows which Sylla had dealt it.

During the Civil wars Athens had been on the side of the vanquished, as she always had been since Chæroneæ; but she escaped with slight sacrifices. Like Alexander, Romans of all parties respected the City of the Muses;¹ they even allowed her to boast of having succeeded Rome in her perils, and to erect a tomb to the

soldiers who had fallen in these imaginary expeditions, just as they allowed the Achæans to carve beneath the statue of Polybius that if the conqueror of Car-



TERRA-COTTA OF TANAGRA; HERO WITH HELMET.²

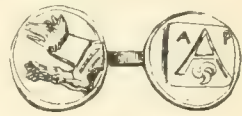
¹ Antony (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 66) and Germanicus (Tac., *Ann.* ii. 53) retained only one licitor on entering Athens, a free and federated city. Before Pharsalia, Caesar and Pompey had caused a herald to proclaim αἰτοῖς μὴ ἀδικεῖν τὸν στρατὸν, ὡς ἱεροὺς τῶν θεσμοφόρων (App., *ibid.* ii. 70). Antony gave them Aegina, Teos, Ceos, Sciathos, and Peparethos (App., *ibid.* v. 7). They also possessed Salamis, Iliartus in Boeotia (Strabo, ix. 411), Eretria in Eubœa, Delos (*id.* x. 486), where the traders had settled who were forced to quit Corinth, and where a fair was held which attracted many Romans.

² *Gazette archéol.*, 1878, pl. 21. S. Trivier justly remarks (*op. cit.* pl. 117 sq.) that representations of men are very rare among the numerous and beautiful figures of Boeotia.

thage and Numantia had been the arm which struck, the son of Lycortas was the head that guided the blow. But now and then some dissatisfied consul reminded the people of Athene, with insulting frankness, that there were no longer any Athenians in Athens; that the city contained only a mob of adventurers from all nations. Others said—and this was a graver matter—that it was no longer in the Pnyx that the beautiful language of Demosthenes and Aeschylus could be heard; that the pure idiom had been changed in the mouths of these foreigners. Accordingly, the schools of Rhodes, Marseilles and Ephesus, by their rival attractions, seriously injured the rhetoricians of Athens.

The city remained, however, the refuge of the old pagan spirit, the chief centre of Hellenism and philosophy.¹ Vainly did Saint Paul later explain to the degenerate disciples of Socrates and Plato who was the Unknown God to whom their fathers built an altar; his voice found no echo at the foot of the Parthenon. But it was more readily listened to in the new Corinth, rebuilt by Caesar and Augustus; there the Apostle won many recruits: yet fewer in number than the train who by their proverbial effeminacy gained for this city of commerce and pleasure the name of “Perfumed Corinth.”

Polybius said he would not give six thousand talents for the whole of the Peloponnesus. Since his time its destitution had greatly increased. Many a town there was too poor even to support the expenses of official adulation. Did it become necessary to do honor to a powerful Roman, some old statue was scraped over, some hero of past times was polished up, and Orestes became Octavius. Nor was any greater expenditure incurred for the gods. At Argos the roof of the temple of Demeter fell in: to rebuild it would have been costly; therefore within the sumptuous edifice erected by their fathers the children built a temple of brick. The goddess might well be content within a humble chapel when her people had nothing but ruins to live in.

COIN OF ARGOS.²

¹ Pausan., I. xvii. 1; xxiv. 3; xxvi. 6. Josephus somewhere calls it the most religious of pagan cities, and Athenaeus Ἑλλάδος μουσεῖον, ἐστία καὶ πρυτανεῖον (v. 12; vi. 65).

² Head and shoulders of a wolf. On the reverse, AP (Argos), a large A, and the triquetra in a hollow square. Drachma of Argos.

Of the twelve towns of Achaea, five were either destroyed or deserted. "As Arcadia is wholly devastated," says Strabo, "it



COIN OF MESSENIA.¹

would be useless to give a long description of it." Tegea alone retained a little life; Octavius had just robbed it of an ivory statue of Athene and a relic of mythologic times, the tusks of the Calydonian boar. Messenia had only a very few in-

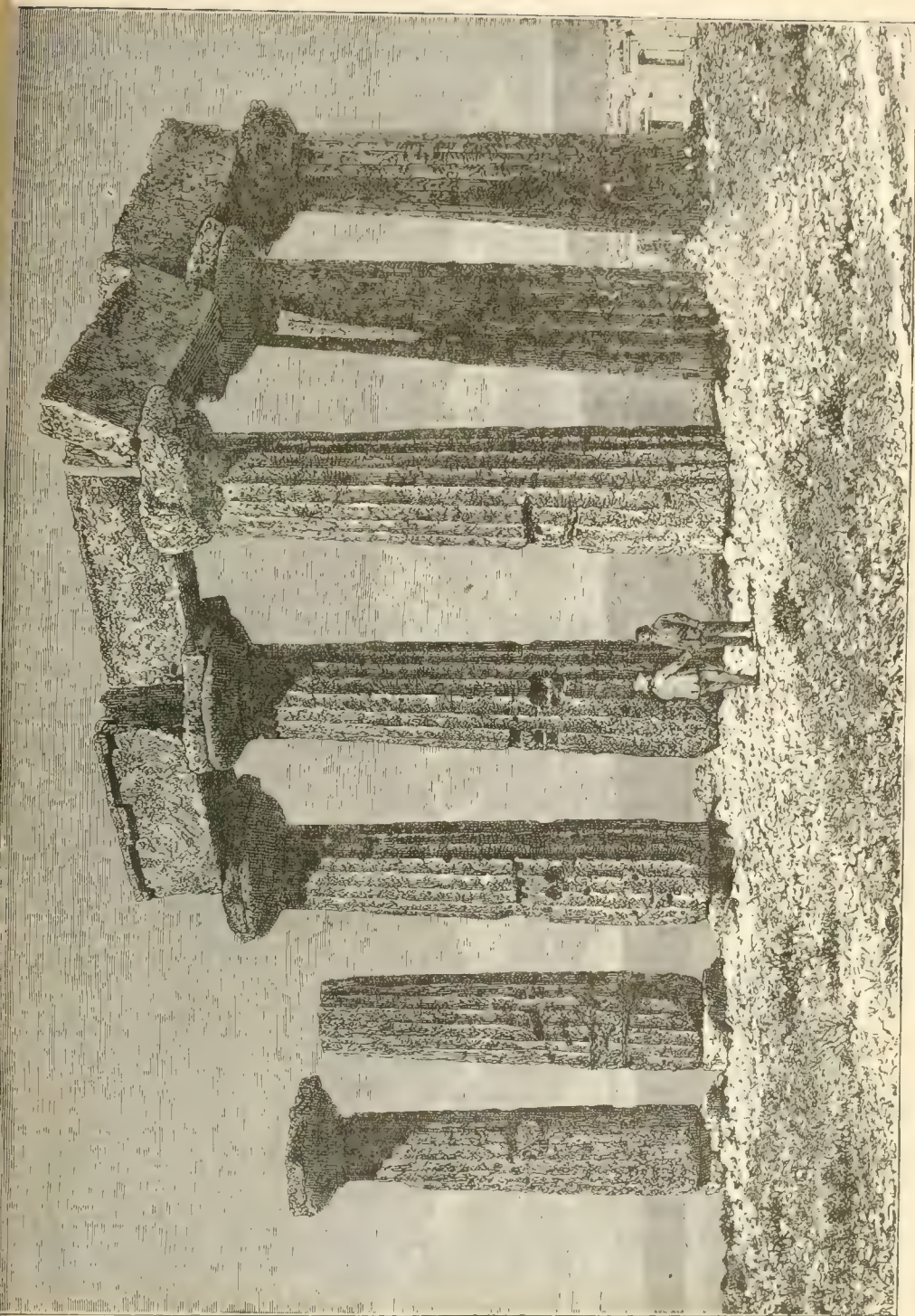
habitants left, and Lacedaemon was no longer spoken of save for



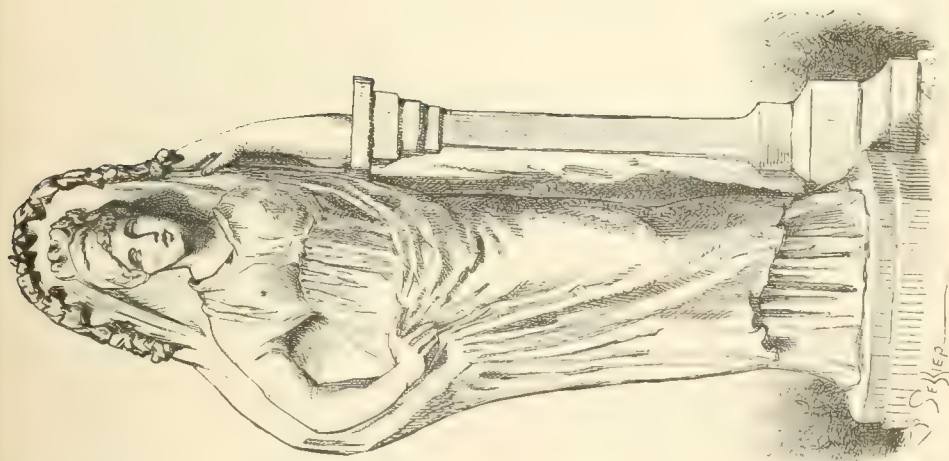
CYTHERA.

its manufacture of purple, the best in Europe. What a renown for the descendants of Leonidas! Yet I should prefer it to their fierce virtue of former days, did I not see that Cythera, a former dependency of Lacedaemon, at this time belonged to a certain Eurycles, and that this possessor of a barren rock was the tyrant,

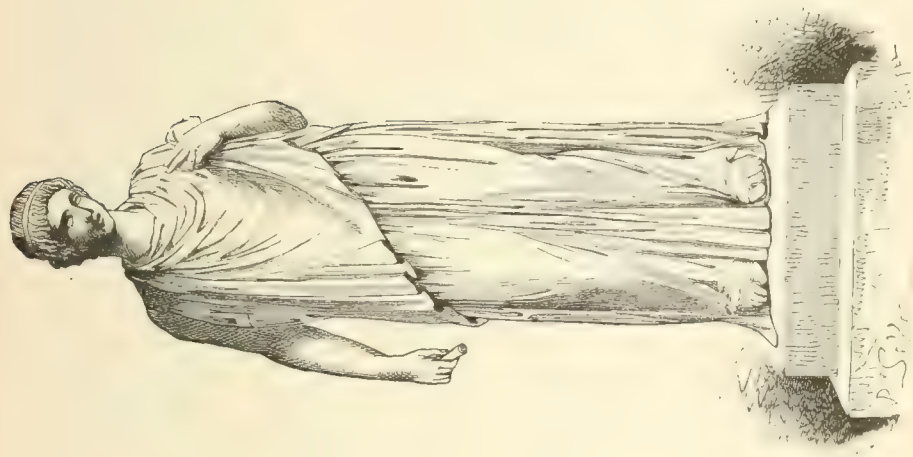
¹ Head of Ceres crowned with wheat and ΣQ . On the reverse, $MESSANION$ (the name of the Messenians) and $NEQN API$ (the names of magistrates); Jupiter standing, brandishing his thunderbolt in his right hand, and in the left bearing an eagle; in front of the god, a tripod. Tetradrachm of the Messenians.



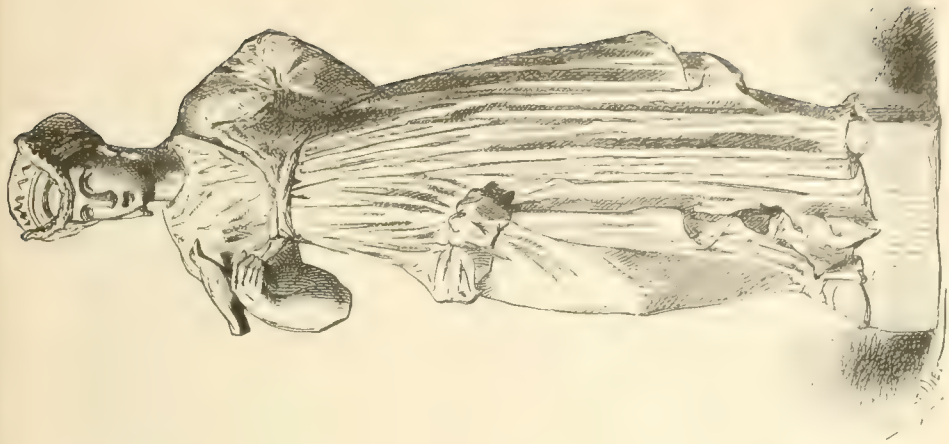
A TEMPLE AT CORINTH.



TERRA-COTTA FIGURINE FOUND AT MEGARA
(CHERE).



NEMESIS IN THE VATICAN



TERRA-COTTA FIGURINE FOUND AT MEGARA
(ATHENOPOLIS).

as it were, of the whole of Laconia. It is true that in the land of the hundred cities there could not now have been counted, besides Sparta, thirty villages. A few years later Plutarch said: "There are not in all Greece three thousand soldiers."¹ The town of Megara alone had sent more than that to Plataea.² "On my return from Asia," says a Roman traveller sadly, "I sailed from Aegina towards Megara, and examined the shores stretched around me. Aegina was behind us, Megara in front, on the right the Piræus, on the left Corinth, — cities formerly renowned, now dead beneath their ruins." "Greece," says another Roman, "is now only the great tomb of a great past."³

The temples were in ruins, like the cities; the Pythoness was dumb; the Amphictyonies⁴ no longer met; and for the providing of games and crowns for the Olympic stadium, Greece was indebted to the charity of a king of the Jews.

With the national festivals fell the last bonds which held the Greek cities together as a nation. Octavius invited them, it is true, to his Actian games, the management of which he gave to the Lacedaemonians. But what interest could the Greeks feel in that almost barbarous Acarnania, scarcely known to them in the times of their independence, where foreign hands would now distribute the wreaths? Nevertheless, this poor disrowned queen still drapes herself proudly in her rags; through the rents in her mantle her pride is seen; she deems herself nobler than her masters, and it is a condescension that she ceases to call them barbarians.

Montesquieu has laid this decadence to the charge of Rome; but the Romans could not restore to decrepit Greece the fair days of her youth or the creative spirit which had given life to so



COIN OF
LACEDAEMON.⁵

¹ [He means, of course, *hoplites*, — a heavy-armed infantry, whose armor was expensive. There must have been a far greater number of light-armed men.—*Ed.*]

² The two figurines found at Megara and given on p. 695 are taken from the *Gazette archéol.*, 1876, pl. 15.

³ *Magnum rerum magna sepulchra vides* (Petron., *Poet. Fragments*. Cf. Huistin, *op. laud.* p. 203.)

⁴ "The Temple of Delphi is very poor," says Strabo (ix. 420), "and there is no longer any Amphictyonic Council." This writer was in Greece at the very period of which we are speaking, in the year 29 B.C.

⁵ ΑΑ (Lacedaemon) ΕΠΙ ΕΥΡΥΚΑΕΟΣ; club; the whole inclosed in a wreath. Bronze coin of Lacedaemon.

many masterpieces; their historic duty was to summon new nations to share in the harvest sown by the artists, the poets, and the philosophers of Hellas. We have seen that the ruin of Greece had begun before the arrival of the legions,¹ and that she was dying because she had carried abroad, without retaining aught of it for herself, that political and literary life which had made her greatness. Like the hierophant of Eleusis, she had given the holy torch to neophytes. They passed it from hand to hand, and the sacred road was lighted afar by its blaze; but darkness fell upon the temple, silence and solitude possessed it. In order to have something to describe in this glorious land, Strabo is compelled to people its loneliness with recollections. It is not the Greece of Augustus, but that of Homer which he sees and questions. The former no longer existed; the latter still lived in the immortal epic.

Sicily and the Greek Islands.—All the Greeks of Europe seemed at this time to be given up to the jealous divinity, that Nemesis whom the ancients believed to be angered at fortunes that rose too high, but whose wrath is only the inevitable expiation of faults committed in prosperity.² “Magna Graecia,” exclaims Cicero, “formerly so flourishing and wealthy, and now so desolate!” “Whoever wishes to see deserts,” says Seneca, “let him go into Lucania and Bruttium.” So much for Italian Greece.



COIN OF PANORMUS.³

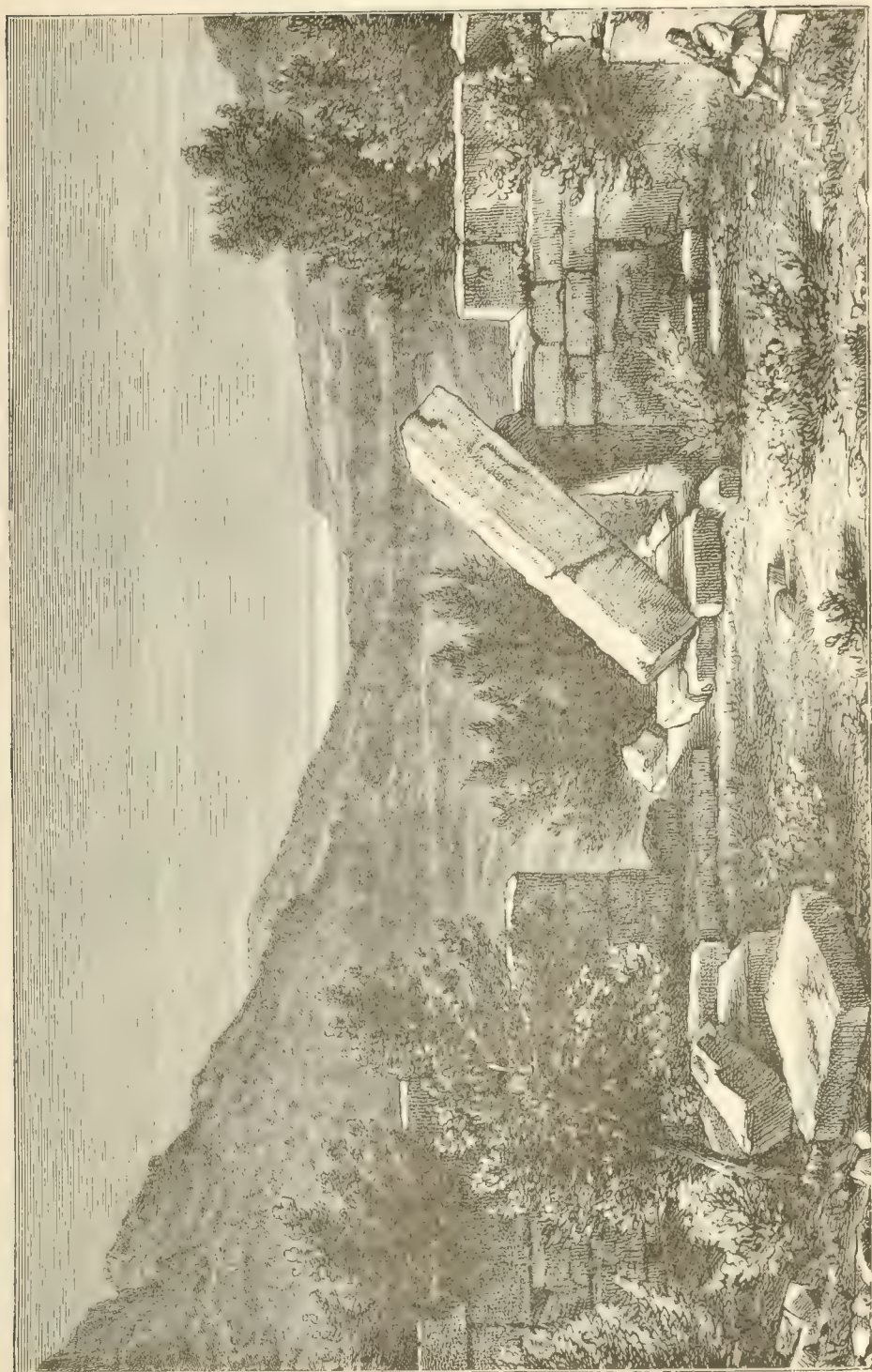
When Theocritus sang at Syracuse of the wise King Hiero and the calm happiness of Sicilian country scenes, the great island, freed from the Carthaginians, had not as yet been ravaged by the Roman proconsuls. But that was nearly two hundred years before; and since then Sicily had been growing poorer with every generation. The northern coast, facing Italy, was, as it still is, the most thickly peopled; Panormus, Segesta, which

¹ See vol. ii. p. 8 sq.

² We give on p. 695 the Nemesis of the Vatican, — a statue in Grecian marble found at Tivoli on the site of the Villa Hadriana (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. ii., pl. 13). For the explanation of the attitude of the figures of Nemesis, see above, p. 469.

³ ΠΑΝΟΡΜΙΤ; head of Apollo with laurels, facing right. Silver coin of Panormus.

[NOTE.— See full-page cut opposite. This splendid gate belongs to the great circuit of walls built by Epaminondas for the new Messene, and looks north towards Arcadia. It is one of the finest extant specimens of Hellenic masonry. Mount Ithome rises to the left of the view. — *Ed.*]



THE ARCADIAN GATE AT MESSENE.

claimed relationship with Rome, and farther west Lilybaeum, held the highest rank there. With the exception of Agrigentum, which had once more risen to life, the coast on the African side was covered with old ruins dating from the Punic wars; the struggle with Sextus Pompeius had made other ruins on the east coast; the insurrection of the slaves, in the interior; and the pirates, everywhere. The mere farm of the Roman people, possessed by masters who spent in other lands the gold with which its fruitful soil supplied them, it no longer possessed a court, or princes, or rich citizens to offer to genius the sumptuous hospitality which Hiero had extended to Pindar, Simonides, Aeschylus, and Epicharmus; and the Muses were silent with terror amid this population of fierce herdsmen who preserved the formidable memory of Eumus and Athenion. "Lately," says Strabo, "while I was at Rome, a certain Silurus was brought thither, who called himself the son of Aetna. At the head of a numerous band he had long laid waste all the country round the mountains. He was exposed in the amphitheatre, during a combat of gladiators, on a high platform representing Aetna. When the combat was ended, the mountain gave way, and the son of Aetna was precipitated among the wild beasts, which tore him in pieces."

Then, as now, the traveller going from Italy to Greece stopped at Corfu and Zante, — the one a magnificent commercial and military station, the other fully deserving of the name which sailors give it, *Fiore di Lerante*. I have found this island covered with flowers in the gloomiest of our winter months.



FRAGMENT DISCOVERED IN THE RECENT
EXCAVATIONS IN DELOS.¹

¹ This fragment, executed in good style, was discovered in the excavations made at Delos by M. Homolle. It represents the abduction of a woman (*Bulletin de corresp. Hellén.*, VIII. third year, December, 1879, pl. xi.).

From Corfu three routes led to Asia and Eastern Africa. One could go northwards as far as Dyrrachium, the head of the great Egnatian Way, which ran to Lysimachia and Byzantium; or by the Gulf of Corinth and Attica one could reach the Cyclades, scattered over the Aegean like a necklace of sea-pearls surrounding Delos, the smallest but most famous among them. Over these musical waves, which echoed the heroic names of ancient Greece, the sailor directed his course, without losing sight of land, from Delos, where Apollo and Diana were born, to Naxos and Andros, the sacred isles of Bacchus; from Paros, whose marble rivalled that of Pentelicus, to Melos (Milo), which has preserved for us the masterpiece of Greek

COIN OF ANDROS.¹

sculpture; but he avoided the gloomy Gyaros, whose naked rocks served for the exiles of the Empire instead of those delightful abodes at Tibur and Praeneste, where men had lived who were banished during the Republic.

Farther on, the great islands of the Asiatic coast, Lesbos, Chios, — wealthy enough to pay the king of Pontus a ransom of two thousand talents, — Samos, Cos, and Rhodes, where the fortunes of Mithridates had met their end, had promptly repaired their losses, and the Roman magistrates on their way to the eastern provinces willingly lingered in these fertile islands, where, beneath a delightful climate, Greek life blossomed amid seductions of every kind.³

COIN OF PAROS.²

The governors of Crete, Cyrenaica, and Egypt took a more southern route. From Cape Malea, at the extremity of the Peloponnesus, they could see the snowy summits of Crete: from that

¹ Bust of Bacchus or of a Bacchante, crowned with ivy; behind him, a bunch of grapes. On the reverse, ΑΝΔΡ . . . and a panther. Silver coin of Andros.

² Head of a woman bound with a fillet. On the reverse, ΑΝΑΞΙΚ ΠΑΡΙ; goat standing. Silver coin of Paros.

³ Piso, going to Syria, went from Athens to Rhodes by the islands; Germanicus from Euboea to Lesbos, and thence to Troas in order to reach the Propontis (Tac., *Ann.* ii. 53-54).

[NOTE. — Full-page cut opposite, — the Venus of Milo. This famous statue, which is among the few *originals* preserved to us, was apparently the statue set up in the temple at Melos, and was executed, not in the great Phidian days, but by Alexandros of Antioch in the third century B.C., when there was a splendid renaissance in Greek sculpture, and men went back to the great models of the best epoch. Cf. Perry's *History of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 600. — Ed.]



VENUS OF MILO.

large island they reached Cyrene in two days' sail, and Alexandria in four.

By its fertility Crete had won the surname of the Isle of the Blessed; and Aristotle said of it that no position was ever more favorable for the establishment of a great empire, — a fortune which it never realized save in mythologic times, when Jupiter was born there and Minos reigned there, and it was called the Land of the Hundred Cities. Here then men have given the lie to Nature. Since the heroic age Crete had lived in the shade; we know nothing even of the rivalry of the two great cities, Gnosus and Gortyna. From the time of the Peloponnesian war it had been a haunt of pirates, and swords were to let there for all who wished to hire. The Cretans retained these habits as long as their independence lasted: their archers served in all armies, and their corsairs incurred the anger of Rome. Metellus compelled them (66) to give up their vessels, though they had bravely maintained the struggle, killed a praetor, and held out for three years. But it cost them dear. Many cities which had fallen under the heavy hand of Rome rose no more, and the richest tracts of the island were taken into the domain of the Roman people. Octavius one day, in a generous mood, soon after the defeat of Sextus, gave to Capua lands in Crete, near Gnosus, bringing in a revenue of one million two hundred thousand sesterces, and the Capuans still held these districts three centuries later.

Crete, with Cyrenaïca, formed one province. An old law of the island recognized the right of insurrection against unjust magistrates. Montesquieu approves it, "because the Cretans had," he says, "the most ardent and steady patriotism; and the love of country corrects all things." We agree with Montesquieu; but on condition of limiting this right to those small states in which a true majority is easily obtained. After having constantly exercised their right of insurrection in the time of their independence, the Cretans were very careful not to assert it while under the Roman sway. Nor were they now to be reproached with their piratical cruisers.



COIN OF SAMOS.¹

¹ Lion's face. Silver coin of Samos.

"The men whose maritime skill was proverbial," says Strabo, "have not a single ship."

Greek Cities of Thrace and the Euxine.—To the north of the Aegean Sea, in Thrace, Greek colonies had covered the whole coast, from the mouths of the Strymon to those of the Danube. Of so many cities what was left? "The Thracians," says Appian, "had retreated from the coasts for fear of pirates; the Greeks took possession of them, and made them prosperous in agriculture and commerce. Philip of Macedon drove the Greeks away, so that no trace of them was left but the ruins of the temples they had built." Some Greeks, however, were still found along this coast — at Abdera, a



COIN OF THE THRACIAN CHERSONESUS.¹

town proud of its great men, in spite of its poor reputation for wit; at Maroneia, at Aenos, on the old road leading to Asia; and finally at Cardia and Lysimacheia, which guarded the entrance to the Thracian Chersonesus, now Agrippa's property. But all these towns were in a wretched state. When Macedonia once more became a flourishing province, when the new capital of the Empire arose at the other extremity of the country, then Thrace, situated in its centre, in its turn came to possess rich and populous cities; for the present, travellers for business or pleasure alike avoided it.

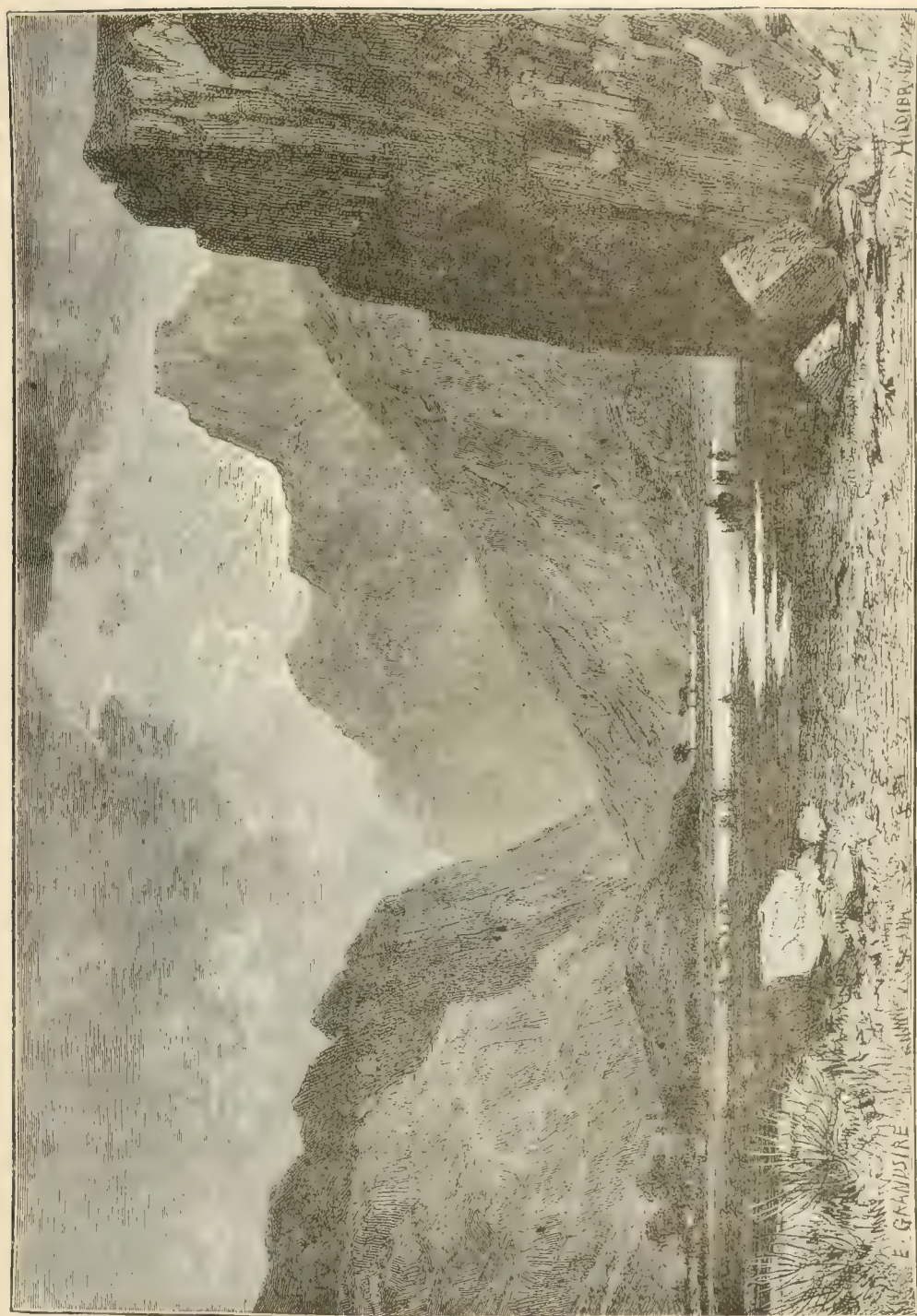
The shores of the Propontis and its Straits were more full of life. Byzantium, occupying one of the most admirable sites in the world, at the extremity of Europe and facing Asia, between the Mediterranean and the Euxine, commanded the commerce of the Black Sea, which anchored in her harbor even when it did not pass entirely into her hands. She gathered still further wealth from the productive fisheries of the Euxine, the profits of which the Romans obliged her to share with them, though they left her free. This liberty, of which they had the good sense not to show themselves jealous, freed them from the troubles of an



COIN OF BYZANTIUM.²

¹ XEP head of Minerva with helmet; the whole in a hollow square. Coin of the Thracian Chersonesus.

² ΠΥ ΕΠΙ ΣΦΟΔΡΙ (name of magistrate); Neptune seated on a rock holding the trident and the *acrostolium*, or ornament which ended off the prows of vessels; in this case a statuette. Silver coin of Byzantium.



DEFILE OF HAGHIA-ROUMELI, IN CRETE.

occupation, without allowing the Byzantines an independence which they might probably abuse. The governors of Bithynia were charged to keep a watch upon them; and another check was the property which they possessed in Mysia, under the immediate power of Rome.

The commerce of the East at that time followed two routes, — the southern, by the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea, and the northern.



CITY GATE AT PATARA.¹

by the River Oxus, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasian isthmus. The Arabs and the Alexandrian Greeks held the former; the Greeks of Asia Minor had taken possession of the latter. All the shores of the Black Sea were lined with Greek colonies; Miletus alone was said to have founded three hundred trading posts there, some of which had become wealthy cities; and in the Tauric Chersonesus was the flourishing kingdom of the Bosphorus. The civilized world seemed, however, to end at Byzantium; beyond that city appeared

¹ Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii. pl. 225.

barbarism, the habits of savage life, tribes living by wrecking and the plunder of ships washed ashore. Thus sailors coming from the Palus Maeotis, whom fear of the storms of the Euxine compelled to keep close in along these inhospitable coasts, addressed thanksgivings to Jupiter Urius when they came in sight of his temple on the Asiatic coast, at the entrance of the Bosphorus.¹

IV. — PROVINCES IN ASIA.

Asia Minor. — Asia Minor advances like a huge promontory between the Euxine and the Sea of Cyprus, driving back before it the waves of the Aegean. If we limit Asia Minor by a line drawn from Trapezus to the Gulf of Issos, it will form a peninsula almost equal in extent to France, and divided into two wholly distinct regions, — in the centre, a region of plateaus; surrounding it, a mountainous country; the latter covering a space double that occupied by the former.²

The most beautiful parts of the peninsula are in the mountainous regions of the north and south. The mountains are covered with vast forests, and at their feet stretch rich plains, where the most varied crops flourish. Here and there their sides are hollowed out into broad, deep valleys, or are cleft by the channels of rivers which fall into the Euxine or Aegean Sea. The richness of the soil is such that no artificial fertilizing is ever needed; and this part of the Turkish Empire at present exports a hundred thousand tons of grain to Europe annually. What must

¹ [This was more on account of perils by sea than from barbarians. Dion Chrysostom about this period draws a pleasant picture of the Hellenic life still surviving round these remote coasts. — *Ed.*]

² The region of plateaus consists of a series of slight undulating or perfectly level plains covered with volcanic tufa and innumerable fragments of lava. Between these plains are hilly ridges, forming, as it were, so many natural barriers, yet leaving them a common conformation. There is an almost complete absence of trees, and the climate is rather severe, like that of the northeast of France or Germany, with colder winters and warmer summers. Accordingly, there are few vines, no fig or olive trees, none of the trees of Southern Europe, but many cereals and much cattle, among which are herds of those Angora goats whose fleece almost equals in beauty that of the goats of Cashmere. At Kaisaria the thermometer often falls to ten degrees Fahrenheit, at Angora to fifteen. Cf. Tchihatchef, *Voyage dans l'Asie mine.*

it then have been when Asia Minor was in the hands of the active and industrious race which in ancient times had taken possession of all the coasts, placed a town on the banks of every river, near every harbor, and in every one of those islands which are the broken arches of the bridge that once united Greece and Asia?

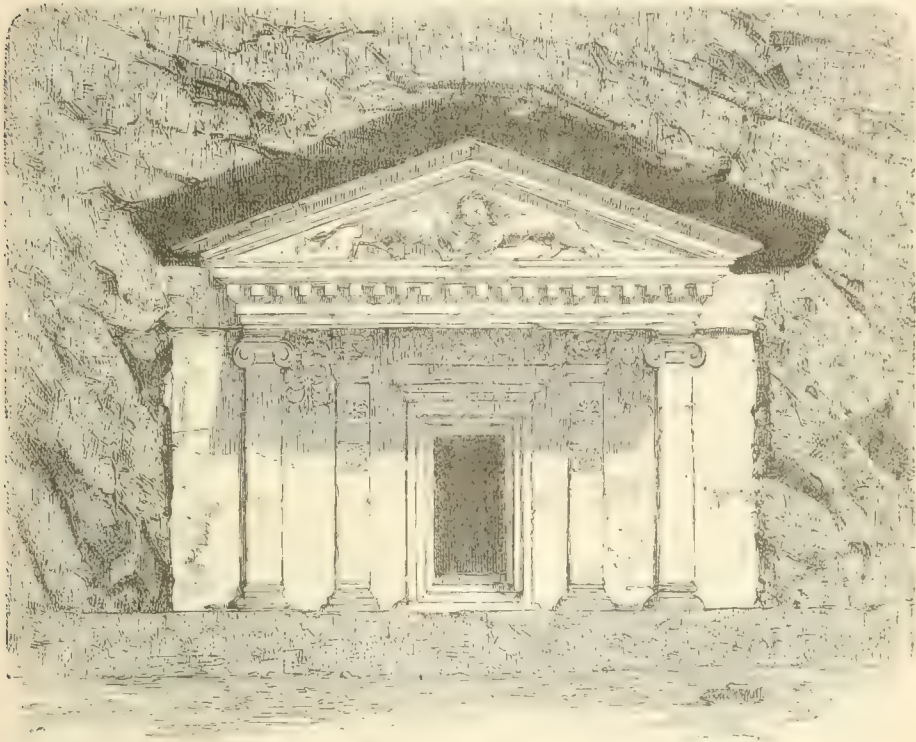


COIN OF
PATARA.¹



COIN OF SELGE.²

Through this region came from the East many beliefs, doctrines.



TOMB CUT IN THE ROCK AT MYRA.³

and arts which attained their full development on the two shores of the Aegean Sea; and the Greeks in turn carried their influence into the very heart of the valleys of the Taurus, as the vast ruins of Patara, Sagalassos, and Selge bear witness. The monuments left

¹ AYKIONIA; lyre: the whole in a hollow square. Bronze coin of Patara.

² ΣΕΛΓΕΩΝ; B: slinger adjusting his sling; in the field, a *triquetra*, club, and cornucopia. Silver coin of Selge.

³ Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. iii. pl. 190.

standing, speak instead of history, which is mute; and in studying them we recognize the two opposing currents which met and mingled in these provinces. The rock-tombs of Myra and those in Galatia suggest the royal sepulchres of Persepolis, while in Lydia, even



PHRYGIAN, APPARENTLY IN FLIGHT.¹

among the intractable Pisidians, the temples and theatres are of Hellenic architecture. Times and manners had introduced great differences among these peoples, in whose blood the Aryan and Semitic elements mingled in varying proportions. The Phrygian, "more timid than a hare," driven by poverty from the burned and arid soil on which he dwelt, yearly descended to the coast to obtain work at the time of olive-gathering; and if matters went ill, he sold his children to obtain a little money. The Lydian did likewise, and even sold himself for light domestic service.

Every kind of work might be demanded of him, even the most menial, provided it were not too fatiguing. Since the time of Herodotus this people had been considered the most effeminate in Asia; and that quaint story-teller being at a loss how to explain this unparalleled feebleness, set it down as a sort of political institution. At the two extremities of the country, in Caria and at the foot of Mount Olympus, the inhabitants were more valiant.



COIN OF MAUSOLUS.²

The Carians had formerly held sway over the whole of the Aegean Sea, and even, under Mausolus, had subdued Rhodes and Lycia.

¹ Bas-relief in the Louvre, No. 779 in the Clarac Catalogue.

² MAYΣΣΩΑΟ; Jupiter of Labranda, a town of Caria containing a celebrated sanctuary of the god. Silver coin. [Inscriptions generally write the name *Mausollos*. — Ed.]

But this people had a sad fate. The slave-dealers found it so easy to obtain supplies in their country that the word "Carian" became synonymous with "slave." The men of Mysia, wild mountaineers, difficult to keep in subjection, had given the Persian satraps much trouble; they were to give the Roman garrisons still more. We have nothing to say of Isauria, where the inhabitants offered a desperate resistance to the Romans, or of Pisidia, which had never submitted to a foreign yoke, and wore but lightly that of Rome. Lycaonia, a land of hilly plains, cold, scantily supplied with water, yet rich in cattle, had a city, Iconium, which afterwards played an important part. In the neighborhood of this town was a lake which bears comparison with the most beautiful in Italy.¹ The Pamphilians and Cilicians have no history; Paphlagonia has a sad one, being a prey incessantly disputed by the kings of Pontus and Bithynia. Of Cappadocia and the Armenians we shall speak later on.

LYCAONIAN SOLDIER.²

Thus it is seen that there were still many diversities in the great Asiatic peninsula. But among all these peoples, broken by long slavery, there remained no trace of public life, unless rivalries between cities and internal troubles be considered life. The Romans, therefore, overcame Asia Minor as easily as the Lydians, the Persians, the Macedonians, and Mithridates had done: one battle completed the conquest; and it cost still less trouble to maintain their supremacy. They had at first allowed the native kings to govern for them; then had quietly taken their place; now they possessed the land wholly. They had placed under their direct administration, however, only the ancient kingdoms of Pergamus and Bithynia, with part of the coasts opposite Rhodes and Cyprus; that is to say,

¹ See the engraving on p. 669 of vol. ii.

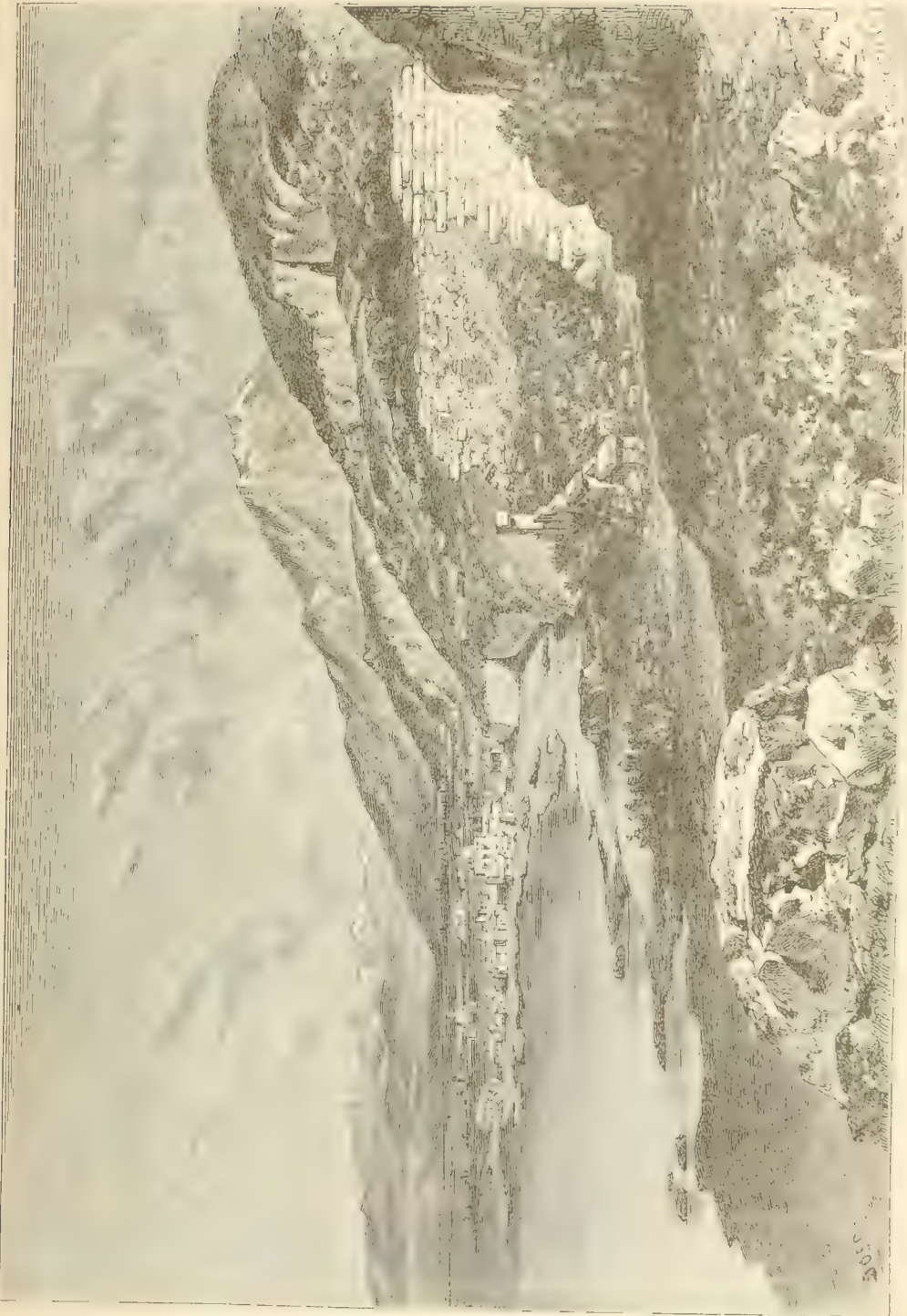
² Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. ii. pl. 103.

populations almost Greek in origin or language, forming a crowd of little states which were always at war with one another, save when some superior authority imposed peace upon them.¹ Leaving to the native populations, therefore, the centre and east, the Romans had occupied the western region, and thrown, as it were, two arms around the peninsula as far as the Thermodon beyond Sinope, and the Syrian gates beyond Tarsus. In this way they held all the outlets of the peninsula, commanded all its communications with the outer world, and controlled the Greek cities situated along its shores. The better to efface all memories of former independence, they had, in their new distribution of Asia, disregarded the old limits of the nations and territories. "It is very difficult," says Strabo, "to determine exactly what belongs to Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, or Mysia, for the Romans in their administrative divisions have paid no heed to the difference of nations. They have divided them into jurisdictions, having each a principal town where justice is dispensed."

As for the interior, finding among the nations habits of submission to their national dynasties, and in these dynasties a selfish eagerness to govern only in accordance with the views of Rome, the Romans were careful not to supplant rulers who so willingly furthered the interests of the Republic. From this apparent disinterestedness it resulted that here the Roman frontiers presented a singular conformation; for whereas on the Euxine and the Sea of Cyprus the boundary of the provinces almost reached the meridian of Antioch, in the interior it receded to almost that of Byzantium.

Roman Asia formed three provinces, — Bithynia, Asia properly so called, and Cilicia. Not many colonies had been established there, for the country had not offered resistance requiring great precautions; and the armies having scarcely made any stay in this region, there had been no opportunity for establishing veterans in it. On the northern coast, however, Sinope, — a beautiful and strongly fortified place, whose navy had formerly ruled the whole Euxine, — Heraclea,

¹ Antony had given the Rhodians Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndos; he was soon obliged to deprive them of these islands, *ὡς ἀκληρώτερον ἄρχουσας* (App., *Bell. civ.* v. 7). *Illud Asia capta*, says Cicero, *nullum ab se neque belli externi neque domesticarum discordiarum calamitatem affuturum fuisse, si hoc imperio non teneretur . . . aequo animo, parte aliqua suorum fructum, pacem sibi sempiternam redimat atque otium* (*Ad Quint. I. i. 11*). "In the whole of Asia Minor the Roman conquest had nowhere suppressed a really independent political life, strong and powerful, for the reason it had nowhere encountered any such" (Perrot, *L'Asie, de la Mer Noire*, ad fin.).



TELMESSES, ONE OF THE CHIEF TOWNS IN LYCIA.

Apamea in Bithynia, and Lampsacus¹ had received colonists. Cyzicus, which had rendered such great services during the war against Mithridates; Ilion and its venerable ruins, the cradle of the Roman people, as they would fain believe; Chios, which Mithridates had destroyed and Sylla had rebuilt; Lycia, where the rich valley of the Xanthos was recovering its prosperity; Tarsus, Saint Paul's early home, whose schools rivalled those of Athens and Alexandria, — these and many more were free; that is, they retained their laws and magistrates, on condition, for most of them, of paying tribute, and for all, of deferring to the orders of the Roman governors when the latter saw fit to issue any. Rhodes, which possessed a part of the shore of the mainland lying opposite to it, considered itself still independent.

COIN OF SINOPE.²COIN OF AJAX,
PRINCE OF OLBA.³

Even in the centre of the provinces there existed small sacerdotal or lay principalities. The interior of Paphlagonia was governed by native chiefs. To the temple of Olba, in Cilicia, said to have been founded by Ajax, were attached large domains, constituting a kind of sovereignty, called the priesthood of Teucer. At the other extremity of Asia Minor a robber-chief named Cleon, quartered in Olympus, had by degrees made himself master of an army and a territory. Some successful raids upon the officers of Labienus at the time when the latter was crossing Mount Amanus at the head of the Parthians, had excused in Antony's eyes Cleon's earlier enterprises, and from a bandit he had become a prince. Nevertheless he had deserted his benefactor at Actium, and

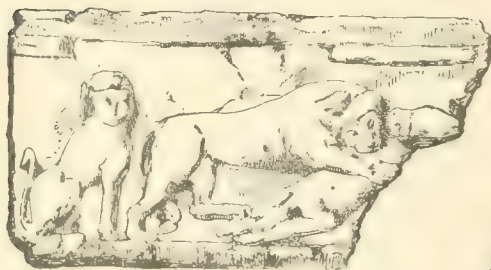
¹ There has been found at Lampsacus a silver patera, now in the Museum of St. Irene at Constantinople, which is one of the most curious representations known of the Asiatic Artemis. The goddess is seated on a golden throne; her flesh and hair are of black enamel, the hair very symmetrically arranged; from her turban protrude two little stag-horns; her dress consists of a golden tunic with stars scattered over it; the golden bow is in her left hand, the guinea-hen and sparrowhawk at her side; dogs with drooping ears, negresses dressed in gold tunics, and lions, complete the ornamentation of this singular relie, published in the *Gazette archéol.*, 1877, pl. 19.

² ΣΙΝΟΠΕΩΝ; Apollo seated on the *ὀμφάλιον* of Delphi, which marked the centre of the world, and holding in his hand a lyre; in the field, AM, and head of Hercules.

³ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΑΙΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΕΥΚΡΟΥ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΟΥ (ΚΕΝΝΑΤΩΝ) ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΑΣΣΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΔΙΟΔΩΤΕ; Ajax, son of Teucer, high priest, praefect (of the Cennati) of the Lalasses under Diodotos in the year 5 (of the reign of Ajax); thunderbolt. Bronze coin.

Octavius was about to reward him by the gift of two districts of Mysia, with the office of high priest.

Antony had not been fortunate in his friendships; another man, Amyntas, whom he had made a dynast, also betrayed him; a Galatian remained more faithful to him. The eastward part of Bithynia, or the country of the Mariandyni, belonged wholly to the city of Heraclea, which had reduced the natives to the condition of the *penestae* of Thessaly, leaving them no right except that of being sold out of the province. After the war against Mithridates, the Greeks of Heraclea had ceded a part of their city



BAS-RELIEFS FROM THE TEMPLE OF IASSOS.¹

and territory to Roman colonists. Antony, who was very lavish of other men's property, gave to the Galatian Adiatrix the portion which remained to the Heracleotes. It was but one half; in order to obtain the other, the Galatian by night fell suddenly upon the Roman colonists and massacred them. This deed, which occurred a short time before the battle of Actium, gave occasion to a pathetic incident. Adiatrix, being taken prisoner while fighting for Antony, was condemned to death with the eldest of his sons. As the captive was on the



COIN OF SMYRNA,
WITH THE FIGURE
OF HOMER.

¹ Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie mine.*, pl. 112.

way to execution his second son attempted to pass himself off as the elder, and claimed the right to die with his father. An animated discussion between the two brothers kept the soldiers in suspense. At length the younger gained his point, and explained his motive by saying that his brother was more capable of restoring the fortunes of their house than he. Octavius learned too late these circumstances, and regretted the execution; but rewarded the son of Adiatorix for his brother's devotion by appointing him high priest of Pontic Comana.



ACROPOLIS OF IASSOS (ASSOUS).¹

The province of Asia was said to contain five hundred cities, among which the most beautifully situated were Cyzicus, the queen of the Propontis; Smyrna, which stamped its coins with the effigy of Homer; Iassos, with its Cyclopean acropolis, upon a plateau rising a thousand feet above the shore and crowned by a temple from which the view extended over part of the archipelago. The greatest wealth existed at Ephesus, celebrated for

¹ Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*

its temple of Diana, and, in spite of its bad harbor, the chief emporium of merchandise from Greece and the East;¹ at Laodiceia,



PYTHIAN APOLLO
ON A COIN OF
TRALLES.

which inherited from Hiero, one of its citizens, two thousand talents, and of which another, named Polemon, was made king; at Tralles, where Pythodoris possessed lands also worth two thou-



DRACHM OF PYTHODORIS,
QUEEN OF PONTUS.

sand talents and enough ready money to redeem her territory when Caesar had confiscated it as a punishment for the assistance she had rendered to Pompey; at Apamea of Phrygia, the second commercial station in Asia, and on that account called *Kibotos*, or the chest.

Miletus, with its four harbors, one of which could contain a whole fleet, was, after Ephesus, the largest city of Ionia. Built at the mouth of the Maeander, a river with a capricious and shifting course, it had to suffer from these changes. "Every time the river disturbed the boundaries of properties by washing away a portion of its banks, a suit was instituted against it; and if the judgment were adverse, it was condemned to pay fines, which were levied upon the tolls." Thus the river paid for its damages. But at length it prevailed over the city; and under its alluvial deposits are now sought the remains of those temples which were once the pride of Ionia.² The Cymaeans disputed with the Abderitans the privilege of supplying the wits of those days with material for their sarcasms; nor do Ephorus or Hesiod, their compatriots, find a word to say in their defence. Symada possessed precious marbles; Cibyra manufactories of chased iron-work; Colophon a famous oracle, which Germanicus consulted; Pergamus had lost its fine library, which Antony had given to the Alexandrians, but one of its citizens, Apollodorus, was the friend of Octavius, who deigned to receive from him lessons in polite literature. A brilliant circle

¹ The descendants of Codrus still bore at Ephesus the title of king, the purple robe, and the sceptre, and had the right of presiding at the games and sacrifices of Ceres Eleusinia. But Ephesus possessed a fatal privilege, — the right of asylum in its temple. Alexander had extended this privilege to one stadium, Mithridates to within arrow-shot of the four corners of the temple. Antony doubled this measurement, so that part of the town was included within the privileged limits, which caused malefactors to swarm thither (Strabo. x. 4, 23).

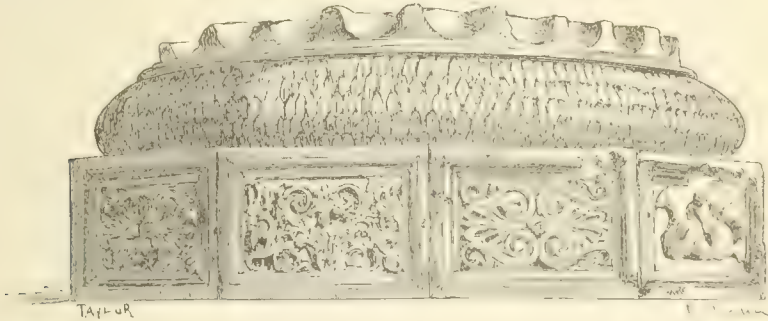
² These excavations, directed by M. Rayet, were carried out at the expense of M. de Rothschild, who gave to the Louvre these magnificent remains.

of flourishing cities bordered the Propontis, — Abydus, the great thoroughfare between Europe and Asia; Lampsacus and Prusa, at the foot of Olympus; Nicæa, the most important town of Bithynia;



BASE OF THE COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT MILETUS.¹

Nicomedia, the capital of the province; and Chalcedon, called “the city of the blind,” because its founders had fixed upon a bad site [as Polybius explains, iv. 43] when they might have occupied the position of Byzantium.



BASE OF THE COLUMNS OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT MILETUS.¹

Asia had suffered much in the last convulsions of the Republic, without having had, like Gaul and Africa, the consolation of sharing in the struggle honorably. Circumstances had compelled the country to side first with Pompey, and afterwards with the Republicans; Cassius on one occasion levied ten years' taxes there at once.² Then came Antony, who exacted even more than all

¹ Eight feet eight inches in diameter — Museum of the Louvre

² The annual tax of Asia was, under Sylla, four thousand talents (*App. Bell. Mithrid.* 62; *Plut., Sylla*, 25). Caesar had diminished it by a third, so that the ten years would only produce twenty-seven thousand talents. But Cassius and Antony raised the tribute to the original amount again (*App., Bell. civ.* v. 4).

this. While he was expending this money in the follies of "the inimitable life," Labienus had led the Parthians up to the coast opposite Rhodes and Samos, visited all the temples again, and taken what the triumvir had overlooked.¹ Yet it was necessary to find fresh resources for the formidable armament intended to dispute the empire with Octavius. "The kings, princes, tetrarchs, nations, and



THE BRIDGE AT MOUSLOUK (PERGAMUS).²

cities, from the Euphrates to the Adriatic, received orders to send the provisions and money necessary." They obeyed. Asia had to all appearance gone forth gayly to this war; but in secret she sighed for the end of these ruinous expenses, for order and repose, that she might rebuild her temples, redeem from usurers her porticos and walls,³ and return to the lessons of her philosophers, to manu-

¹ *Χρήματα . . . ἐπράσσειτο, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσώθη* (Dion, xlviii. 26).

² Texier, *Description de l'Asie mine*, vol. ii. pl. 123.

³ It was a common custom among the cities of Asia to pledge municipal property to creditors. The Cynaeans, having thus given their porticos as security for the loan, dared no longer walk in them, says Strabo.

factures and commerce. Accordingly, she hailed more gladly than did any other province the final victory, to which most of her chiefs had contributed, by their defection sowing discouragement and mistrust among the Antonian troops. Involved against their will in this great quarrel, the Greeks of Asia had retired from it as quickly as possible. They were not fierce patriots, dreaming of freedom; equality was more important to them than independence; and provided they still had public debates, municipal and provincial elections for their presiding cities (*κωμά*), arts, all the elegancies of the life of Smyrna and Ephesus, which Cicero calls the consolations of slavery,¹ and from time to time some little internal revolution, they were content. Having been accustomed to this state of things for six hundred years, they asked for no other.

Syria and Phœnicia. — Syria had passed through the same vicissitudes, with more disorder and destitution, because it was nearer to the Parthians and Arabs. Its misfortunes date far back, from the last convulsions amid which the kingdom of Syria had perished.² After the sanguinary ambitions of native princes, had come the rivalries of foreign masters. It had been necessary to supply both parties with money and soldiers, and at each vicissitude of the Civil wars, to endure fresh exactions in expiation of those already endured.

Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, had left in Syria as governor his relative Sextus Julius. A former lieutenant of Pompey, Bassus, long concealed at Tyre, took advantage of the dictator's withdrawal and of the false news which from time to time arrived from Spain or Africa, to form a party, excite to revolts the servants of Sextus, and have the governor murdered. Bassus then assumed the title of prætor, and undertook to govern the province. But the example he had given, appeared easy to follow; what he had done against his predecessor, a certain Antistius attempted against him, and he was in his turn besieged in Apamea. This town, almost entirely surrounded by the Orontes and a large lake, was impregnable. The two adversaries, not finding themselves strong enough to decide the contest, called in an Arab chief of the neighborhood who was in the habit of selling his services to the highest bidder,

¹ *Oblectamenta et solatia servitutis* (*In Ver.* II. iv. 60.).

² See vol. ii. p. 661 seq.

and who usually assisted the Parthians in invading the province, for the sake of profiting by the disorder. He repaired to a conference between the town and the legions, proposed his conditions, and named his price, which only Bassus was rich enough to pay. Having secured the Arab, he then summoned the Parthians. It was indeed time for Rome to recover her strength!

While the quarrel between the Republic and the Empire was drawing towards its final settlement at Philippi, the Parthians had completed the conquest of Syria; only Tyre escaped them, and tyrants arose in every town. The lieutenants of Antony restored to it a certain degree of order, without introducing much unity into the government of the province, where a number of petty chiefs were able for a long time to maintain themselves.

Nevertheless, as soon as peace was concluded, prosperity revived in that favored region between the Euphrates and the sea, which is cleft into beautiful valleys by the ranges of Taurus and Libanus, and though bordering on the desert, has also the fertile plains always to be found at the foot of great mountains. It is the gate of the East; everything must pass through the rich city of Antioch, which Pompey had left free, and through its port Seleucia. A few years later Strabo said it was almost as great a city as Alexandria. But the interior of the country, even the valley of the Orontes, was not easily freed from the depredations of mountaineers and Arabs. Chaleis, the phylarch of Emesa, and the inhabitants of Damascus were sometimes able to stop them, but not to destroy them, for the porous limestone of the rocks of Anti-Libanus, everywhere pierced by deep caverns, afforded them impregnable retreats. Near Damascus was one in which four thousand men could easily conceal themselves.¹ The Parthians were always the enemy most to be feared by the Syrians. Caesar had promised to deliver the province from this anxiety; Augustus fulfilled the promise in a manner less heroic, but perhaps more secure.

The coast of Phœnicia, which Strabo prolongs to Pelusium, suffered less from the rivalry of Alexandria than is supposed. Aradus and Tyre had always a superabundant population, who were obliged

¹ Strabo, xvi. 756; Joseph., *Ant. Jud.* xv. 10, 1: "There are fewer robberies now that the band of Zenodorus has been annihilated, thanks to the good administration of the Romans and the garrisons established in Syria" (Strabo, *ibid.*).

to build houses of six or eight stories; and the Tyrian purple, celebrated all over the Empire, supported industry which grew richer every day. Sidon, free like Tyre, and equally populous, was the centre of the glass manufacture. What the Greeks had secretly undermined was not the commerce or the industries of their former rivals, but their language and their civilization. Phoenicians were no longer to be found at Tyre and Sidon; but there were many astronomers and mathematicians, rhetoricians and philosophers, — schools, in short, where all branches of human knowledge were taught. Even from Ascalon and from Gadara came Philodemus the epicurean, Menippus the satirist, and Theodorus the rhetorician. The Categories of Aristotle and the Ideas of Plato obliterated the remembrance of Biblical legends in these towns of the patriarchs.

COIN OF TYRE.¹

V. — PROVINCES IN AFRICA.

Egypt. — Palestine, once more become a kingdom, will occupy us later. We now come to Egypt, “the ancestress of nations.”

On the 15th of August of the year 30 before our era, the race of the Lagidae became extinct, after having reigned for nearly three centuries, first with glory, then with weakness and opprobrium. Fallen, like all the States of the East, into that semi-slavery in which the Senate delighted to hold the most powerful monarchies.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.²

Egypt had ceased to be her own mistress since the day when a Roman officer, stretching out his rod between her and the army of Antiochus Epiphanes, had sufficed to save her. Nearly a century and a half had passed since then, but the Romans liked to see a slow death; in the amphitheatre they were ready to tear in pieces the gladiator who struck too soon. Egypt lived on amidst civil wars and incests, exactions and massacres, seeing

¹ ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ, that is, *Tyre, holy city and place of refuge*; eagle and palm in the field; a club, AK and ΔΚ. Silver coin.

² Head of Antiochus Epiphanes, crowned with a diadem. From a silver coin.

its kings, by turns persecutors and victims, pursue one thing only, — the heaping up of gold wherewith to bribe at Rome some tribune or consul.

The history of this great Empire had become more and more the history of revolutions of the palace, and in its last days it had



KING AND QUEEN OF EGYPT OF THE RACE OF THE LAGIDÆ.¹

none save the adventures of that ambitious and passionate woman who by her grace and her wit, by her mad surrender to pleasure and her courageous death, relieves for a moment the dark tragedy of the second triumvirate. The love of Caesar absolves Cleopatra from her passion for Antony, which was only a necessary policy. If as a woman she was weak, as a queen she was great, — great at least after the fashion of the East; that is to say, cruel and luxurious, but able and proud even in death. With her, old Egypt descended to the tomb. The country adopted its Macedonian kings and inscribed their names by the side of those of its ancient dynasties. But the word of Ezekiel was now to be fulfilled; Egypt hence-

¹ Bronze busts found at Herculaneum. Archaeologists not being agreed as to the identity of the characters, we have given them only a generic name (Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. vii., pl. 18).

forward was to have only foreign masters, *and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt* (xxx. 13).

A society which is in a sense moulded upon the ground which it occupies is little influenced by time or men. It would be difficult to find a government worse than that of the later Ptolemies: yet, notwithstanding the continual riots and periodical massacres of Alexandria, Egypt prospered. It was still the land praised by Theocritus, for the soil was always fruitful, the cities innumerable, and the river beneficent. It was also the highway of Indian commerce, and, as it were, a fortress whence Africa and Arabia could be held in check. So many advantages struck the discerning eye



EGYPTIAN LANDSCAPE (PAINTING FROM POMPEII).¹

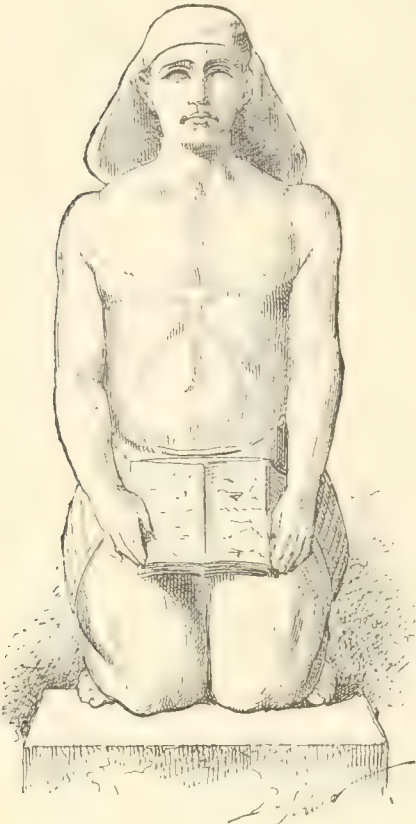
of Octavius, and he took every measure prudence could suggest to prevent a revolt in a country so well constituted for a life apart, so well defended against foreign aggressions by the desert which surrounds it and the inhospitable coast which borders it. Cambyzes had slaughtered its priests and profaned its monuments. This policy had its deserved consequences: Egypt, under the Persians, was in almost constant revolt. Octavius respected everything, — the religion, the language, the customs of this nation. If he refused to turn out of his way to see the bull Apis, he at least performed, like Caesar, the customary rites in the temples, where he allowed the priests, who were anxious to exhibit the conqueror as a worshipper of their gods, to represent him as making an offering to Horus. When he had visited the tomb of Alexander, they wished to show him those of the Ptolemies. “I have come,” he said, “to see a king, not dead men.” This was his only vengeance on the memory of those whose place he was taking. We shall see that he

¹ Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., 5th series, pl. 26. There is nothing Egyptian in this Pompeian painting but the crocodile seizing a child and the sphinx placed on one side of the temple.

governed like them, but without riots, and with more order and foresight. From the first, the soldiers who had conquered Antony were

employed in cleaning the choked channels of the Nile. This was good policy for Egypt, where these labors regulated the inundations of the river; and also for Rome, which the Egyptian grain was to feed.¹

Egypt had seven million men and great riches; Octavius was willing to intrust so much power only to obscure persons, to mere knights, who being nothing save through him, could do nothing against him. He did not give them even the insignia of ordinary governors.² They were agents whom he sent to manage one of his farms,³ and whose accounts he himself examined. Egypt, being considered the domain of the emperors, was not reckoned amongst the provinces; and its revenues, instead of being deposited in the public treasuries, went to increase their private purse. One legion in Alexandria, two in the neigh-



EGYPTIAN PRIEST.⁴

borhood, nine cohorts, and three squadrons commanded an obedience which, save in the capital, these docile people were not reluctant to give. That there might be no fear of this army being tampered with by any ambitious person, it was forbidden to all senators and all knights of illustrious birth to visit the banks of the Nile without special permission. No one except the obscure merchant or nameless traveller could visit this land of marvels. And whereas the

¹ *Aegyptum . . . ut feraciorum habiliorumque annonae urbiac redderet, fossas omnes . . . oblitus longa vetustate, militari opere deterisit* (Suet., *Octav.* 18). The Egyptian tribute of corn was so reckoned as to supply Rome for four months.

² Trebonius Pollio, *Trig. tyr.* 21. The prefect of Egypt held, however, *imperium ad similitudinem proconsulis* (*Dig.* i. 17, 11, and Tac., *Ann.* xii. 60).

³ *Τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κτημάτων* (Philo., *Ad Flac.* p. 987).

⁴ Museum of the Louvre (Clarac, *Notice*, etc., No. 360).

whole of Gaul quickly entered into the Roman citizenship, and the heads of her noble families took their seats in the Capitol, Egypt waited two hundred and thirty years before one of her race was decorated with the senatorial *laticlave*. Till the time of Septimius Severus, Alexandria had not even the senate which the humblest cities possessed.

These precautions were justified by the wealth, the position, and the social organization of Egypt. The cities of Greece and



AUGUSTUS PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO HORUS.¹

Asia, the tribes of Gaul and of Spain, were isolated; a native conspirator or a political adventurer would have found it difficult to unite them for a common purpose. These divisions were unknown in Egypt; it was a great State, all the parts of which had a common life, because for them there was but one history, as there was but one material existence. From Syene to Pelusium everything was in common, good and evil, scarcity and abundance, for the Nile was the same for all. From Pelusium to Syene,² the

¹ Rosellini, *op. cit.*

² M. de Rougé's *Album photographique*, pl. 3: "All the structures still existing at Philae
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political organization was also identical, for kings and priests extended their absolute authority over all, as the river year by year covered everything with its slimy waters. But there was nothing to fear from a people made docile by twenty centuries of obedience to a theocratic government or to foreign masters.

Polybius bears this testimony to the Egyptians,—and Strabo, who knew them well, accepts it,—that they were intelligent and

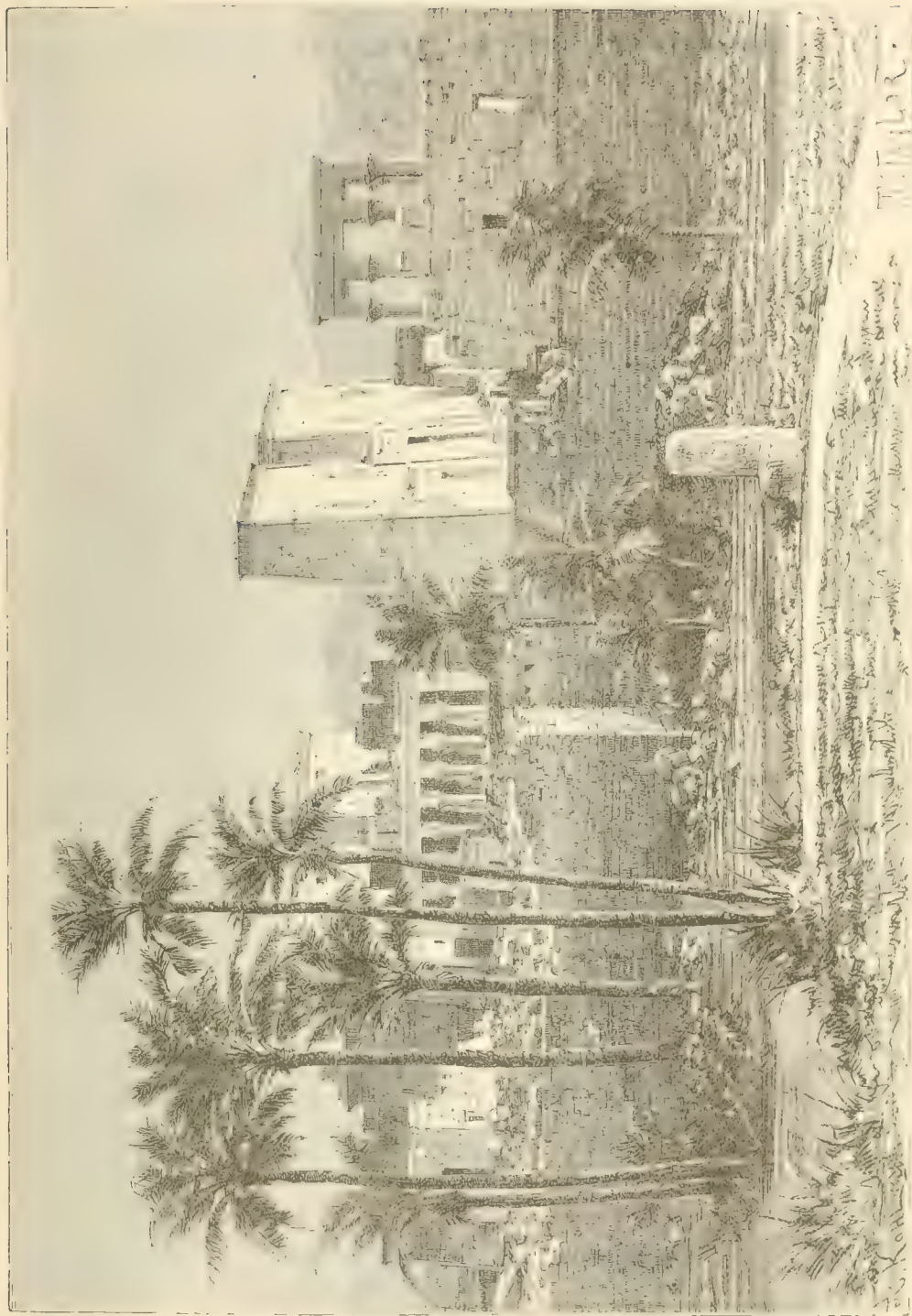


LUXOR, IN THEBAIS.¹

submissive to the laws. The name of their master concerned them little, provided that the Nile overflowed its banks on the appointed day, that their sacred animals did not die too frequently, that Serapis continued his marvellous cures at Canopus, and that they could celebrate the festivals of their thousand divinities. At that of Serapis, boats covered the river and the canals by day and night, and the banks resounded with dissolute songs and dances. The

date from the epoch of the Ptolemies or from that of the Roman emperors" (De Rougé, *ibid.*; *Explic. des Planches*).

¹ M. de Rougé's *Album photographique*, pl. 47.



THE ISLAND OF PHILOE (UPPER EGYPT).

distance from Alexandria to Canopus was one hundred and twenty stadia; it was at that time but one long street, noisy and gay.

This was their great concern. Pleasure was their true god, their only religion; but Rome did not intend to deprive them of it. Why, then, should they allow themselves to be seized with a new fit of pride, rather Greek than Egyptian indeed, and why should they recommence the Alexandrian war? If the freshet of the river was not high enough and famine threatened, if the taxes were too heavy, they would indeed murmur and make a disturbance; but the sight of a few armed soldiers sufficed to quell the most formidable revolt. The whole of the Thebaid in revolt would tremble before two or three cohorts, and Petronius needed only his praetorian guard to brave the threatening anger of the immense population of Alexandria. As long as their life was easy and pleasant, they would pass by the majestic monuments erected by their fathers without remembering that they had once been a great nation. Their greatest scholars scarcely knew how to read the inscriptions which recounted the ancient glory of their Pharaohs;¹ and those priests of Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis, whose profound science Pythagoras, Herodotus, and Plato reverently consulted, were no longer aught but pious jugglers who had lost the deep meaning of things. If a traveller, anxious to see this strange race, came to Memphis, they would not explain to him the course of the stars, the dimensions of the heavens and the earth, or the secrets of creation, but they led him to the temple of Apis. If the hour had come, there issued from the sanctuary a black bull spotted with white; he was let loose in the *pronaos*; he was made to take a few leaps and then led back to his stall: this was their god and these were their doctrines. Another of their gods was the crocodile of Arsinoë. But let an eye-witness speak: "Our host, a person of importance in the country, accompanied us to the lake, bringing from the remnants of our meal a small cake, some baked meat, and a flagon of hydromel; we found the sacred animal on

¹ The third governor, Gallus, when he visited Egypt, could not obtain an explanation of their mysteries (Strabo, xvii. 29). It is possible that Gallus was not satisfied with his Egyptian cicerone, for Rosellini (*Mon. stor.* ii. 455) maintains that hieroglyphics were used until Caracalla at least, and M. Letronne, perhaps until the sixth century (*Journal des Savants*, 1843, p. 164). [But in late buildings they are found used at random, as mere ornament. — *Ed.*]

the edge of the lake. The priests seized him, and some held his mouth open while another threw the cake into it, then the meat, and lastly poured down the wine. Then the crocodile leaped into

the lake and crossed rapidly to the opposite bank. Another stranger having appeared with his offering, the priests took it, ran round the lake to meet the crocodile, and when they reached him made him take in the same way what had been brought.”¹

Thus the grand religion of Isis the mysterious goddess, and of the good Osiris, had become a clumsy fetichism, of which the ceremonial and liturgy were those orgies which the East loves to mingle with popular devotion.

The vast learning of the ancient priests, however, broke through the new covering which hid the old society, and Strabo speaks of the Greeks



OSIRIS.²

causing Egyptian books to be translated in order to plagiarize these hidden treasures. Alexandria was the chief workshop of translations and commentaries.³ This union of two civilizations so different took place also at other points: at Memphis, the largest city in the kingdom after the capital, and like it inhabited by people of all nations, giving to the worshippers of the bull Apis the strange spectacle of bull-fights; at Ptolemais, a

¹ Strabo, xvii. 811.

² Bas-relief brought from Egypt by Comte de Forbin (Museum of the Louvre).

³ πτολεμαῖος ὁ φιλάδελφος . . . ὅς πάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Χαλδαίων Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων τὰς βιβλίους συλλεξάμενος καὶ μεταφράσας τὰς ἀλλογλώττας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλώτταν, μυριάδας βιβλίων δέκα ἀπέθετο κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν (Syncellus, p. 271). Let us add the great translation of the Hebrew books, or Septuagint. Ptolemy quotes seven observations of the astronomers of Babylon.

thoroughly Greek city, hardly second to Memphis, and whose proximity had completed the ruin of the great Thebes, "the town of a hundred gates, by each of which went out two hundred men with their horses and their chariots of war."

To the Greeks and Jews, Egypt was an immense market, whither they flocked; to the nomads of the deserts of Africa and Arabia, an oasis of verdure and water, where every day some among them halted. At Coptos, says Strabo, there were as many Arabs as Egyptians. There was to be seen, therefore, a renewal of that intercourse which had taken place in the beginning of Egyptian society, but there followed from it no such marvels as had signalized the early civilization of that country. Then the land had been stronger than the men, and that early culture in a country which none other in the world resembles had assumed an unique character. But now the hand of Rome was too heavy, the inspiration of the Greek spirit too powerful, for old Egypt to resist their double action, under which fell the barriers that protect the independence of nations and the originality of institutions, habits, and beliefs. Egypt, more than any other country, lost thereby, but it was for the advantage of the world.

Cyrenaica and Roman Africa.—Alexandria lies at the western extremity of Egypt; there the delta ends and the desert begins. From the island of Pharos to the promontory of Carthage, on a coast-line seven hundred and fifty leagues in extent, vessels scarcely found a single harbor. Africa is as formidable to sailors along its coasts as to travellers in its desert solitudes. Not that the Sahara everywhere extends to the sea; around that ocean of sand occupying the centre of northern Africa extends an immense plateau, that of the Atlas, which in its flora, and to a certain degree its fauna and its climate, partakes more of the character of southern Italy and Spain than of Africa. Though the summits which command this plateau are not high enough for glaciers, snow and rigorous cold are not rare. This plateau has two terraces: one sloping down to the Sahara, which is the beginning of the desert, the Bled-el-Djerid, the region of dates, in which flocks find wells and pasture enough to multiply; the other reaching to the Mediterranean, the Tell, a corn-bearing plain, a region of towns and ports. The Tell itself does not everywhere touch the sea; it is separated from it by a belt

of mountains forming a bluff, steep coast, against which the waves break with fury, and opening at long intervals into a valley watered by a river whose shallow and irregular course is not favorable for navigation.

To these three zones correspond three kinds of inhabitants: the nomadic tribes of Bled-el-Djerid, difficult to attack, but kept in a state of dependence on the Tell for their supplies of grain; the Berbers or Kabyles of the plateau, a distinct race, athletic in



REMAINS OF AN ANCIENT BRIDGE AT PTOLEMAÏS, IN CYRENAÏCA.¹

form, industrious, active, very brave, willingly remaining at peace as long as their independence is not threatened; and lastly, the husbandmen of the Tell and the sedentary inhabitants of the inland towns and of the coast. The latter, facing Europe, have always been in communication with it by commerce or piracy, by conquest or invasion. These three regions, like the three populations, are quite distinct in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis. From this point they begin to blend; in the regency of Tripoli the Sahara extends to the sea. Except a few tracts of verdure, there is nothing from the Lesser Syrtis to Egypt but the empire of Typhon, the ocean of

¹ Captain Beechy, *Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa, from Tripoli eastward*, p. 339 (1828).

sand. On that long shore, where sea and land are equally inhospitable, the one on account of its shallows, the other by reason of its shifting sands, the road is indicated only by heaps of stones made at long intervals; each pilgrim who passes adds his to the pile; they are the beacons of the desert.

A marvellous spectacle, nevertheless, awaits the traveller as he leaves the frightful solitudes of Paraetonium or of the Greater Syrtis, one of the most desolate regions of the earth. The ground, which from afar seemed to join the level of the Mediterranean, rises to a mean height of sixteen hundred feet; and the plateau of Barca, the ancient Cyrenaica, juts out into the sea, a lofty, broad promontory covered with venerable forests and intersected by fertile valleys in which water flows everywhere.¹ Immense and imposing ruins, which bear the double impress of Egypt and of Greece, the remains of castles proudly situated on the heights,² and roads still furrowed with the deep ruts which the ancient chariots made, bear witness to the prosperity of that fruitful land, the garden of the Hesperides. Arsinoë, Ptolemais, Cyrene, are still there,³ covering immense tracts, but silent and deserted: for only the wandering Bedouin now comes to drink at the sacred fountain where Callimachus wrote his hymns to Apollo and to Pallas.⁴ Like those petrified towns which the Arabs profess to have seen

¹ See the curious account of Della Cella (*Viaggio da Tripoli da Barbaria all' frontiera occidentale dell' Egitto*, 1819). Dr. Russell has collected some valuable information in his *History of the Barbary States*, Edinburgh, 1835.

² Not a single peak, says Ritter (vol. iii. p. 238, of the French translation), which is not crowned with the ruins of an old castle or fort; not a fort that is not surrounded by ditches dug in the rock and by remarkable constructions executed in the interior of the mountain. Cyrene is 1,770 feet above the sea, which it overlooks, and whence it can be seen situated on hills which descend on successive terraces to the harbor. Its territory shows a vigorous vegetation, thanks to the periodic rains which fall there, and which justify the saying of the Libyans (Herod., iv. 158) about a perforated sky: *ἐντραίθα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέρηται*. Cyrenaica, having great differences of climate, owing to the elevation of the mountains, possessed also a great diversity of productions; harvest was carried on there for eight months of the year. Oil, wine, and corn were the principal products, in addition to silphium, the leaves of which were excellent for flocks and the stem for man; the root yielded assafœtida, which was much esteemed by the ancients, as it still is by the Orientals.

³ Arsinoë covered a plain three quarters of a league in extent, which is still surrounded by a colossal rampart. The ruins of Ptolemais are more than a league in circuit (Della Cella, *Viaggio*). [It must be distinguished from Egyptian Ptolemais near Memphis. — *Ed.*]

⁴ The Bedouins, driven out of the desert by the summer, came every year with their flocks to seek for water and pasturage in the mountains of Cyrene (Captain Beechey, *Expedition*, etc., p. 354).

in the desert. life has entirely departed from them, and the traveller finds them lying dead on the ground, enveloped in their ancient walls as in a winding-sheet of stone. It is a spectacle at once full of grandeur and of sadness, which only the East can show; for it is the first-born of the world, and has seen as many empires pass away as our young Europe can reckon centuries of existence. These old ruins, indeed, conceal others, and rest on a



REMAINS OF A MAUSOLEUM AT PTOLEMAÏS IN CYRENAÏCA.¹

soil that a civilized people had trodden before the arrival of the Greeks. The monuments here bear inscriptions in unknown characters, doubtless the last traces of an indigenous population which had sprung up in this great African oasis.

Cyrenaica, a land of mountains, springs, and forests, yet without any large river, resembles Egypt, however, in its fertility and its isolation. Like the valley of the Nile, it is surrounded by frightful deserts, and can only be approached from the Mediterranean at two or three points.² Here corn was not the chief

¹ Captain Beechey, *Expedition*, etc.

² These points are now Tajouni, Bengazi, — perhaps the ancient Berenice, — and Marza-Sousa, the ancient Apollonia. This would be, says Ritter (vol. ii. p. 239), an admirable colony for a European power.

article of commerce, but silphium (exported through the whole empire), essence of roses, oil (the best in the world), and above all, wines; accordingly Bacchus was held in great honor here. At every step we find the ruins of his temples. To these we must add the products of the industry of the five great cities, Berenice, Arsinoë, Ptolemaïs, Apollonia, and Cyrene, which in wealth and luxury rivalled the Greek cities of Ionia. The effeminacy of the



VIEW IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF APOLLONIA.¹

Cyrenians had become proverbial;² there, truly, philosophy might declare (through Aristippus) its decision: "Happiness lies in pleasure."

The will of its last king had delivered this beautiful country over to the Romans, but they owned so many others that hitherto

¹ Captain Beechey, *Expedition*, etc., p. 466.

² The comic poet Alexis, quoted by Athenæus, ridicules their long banquets: "Invite one guest, eighteen will come, — in ten chariots with thirty horses" (Athen., *Deipnosoph.* xii. 1).

they had given little attention to this remote possession; the emperors afterwards were more occupied with it, and some beautiful Roman ruins testify to their care.

The Greater Syrtis, which bordered on Cyrenaica, is, as it were, the battlefield between the sea and the Sahara. The waves of the one, driven during nine months of the year by the north winds, strive with the sands of the other, and the shore exhibits only an alternation of shifting sand-hills, salt-marshes, and plains covered with a layer of salt three or four inches thick. The gulf is no safer for vessels than the shore for caravans; the current which carries the waters eastward breaks against the plateau of Barca and is thrown back in a thousand directions, causing violent and dangerous currents and eddies among the shallows. The Cyrenians and Carthaginians had nevertheless contended for this gloomy region, and towns had been built there. The fall of Carthage and the cessation of the extensive trade which she carried on through this country with the interior of Africa led to their decay; the Empire afterwards restored to them a lasting prosperity.

Africa is always either marvellously fertile or appallingly barren. Between the Greater and Lesser Syrtis fertile soil reappears here and there: the neighborhood of Leptis the Great and the valley of Cinyps produced, says Herodotus, three hundredfold. Accordingly Leptis itself had become an important city; its ruins cover a space three miles long by two broad. After this place Strabo names only a few towns which kept up the industry of purple dyeing, a last remnant of Phœnician civilization, another relic of which, the Punic language, endured for a long time. Our geographer speaks also of a great harbor within the Lesser Syrtis. There the town of Cades now stands, numbering not less than thirty thousand souls.

Isolated by the sea and the sands, the region of the Syrtes had continued, till the late wars, separated from the Roman world by Numidia, which the Senate had not wished to make into a province. An unaccountable caution had in truth arrested the progress of Roman colonization in Africa. It was for a descent upon that continent that the first legions which left Italy had embarked; two centuries had passed since then; and although they had returned thither three times more, with the two Scipios and with

Marius, only a small number of colonists and Italian merchants had settled there, instead of the crowd which hastened into Spain, Gaul, and Asia. But lately Rome had in reality possessed only a corner of land there, the former Carthaginian Africa, and even that she had generously shared with the kings of Numidia.

This kingdom, which after Jugurtha's death was divided, had been reunited, and under Juba it extended through fertile districts, from Anpsagas to the sea of the Syrtes. In this way it protected the province against the incursions of the nomadic tribes, but it also surrounded it in a dangerous fashion. This Juba fully proved during Caesar's campaign in Africa. Nevertheless, the Senate had



COIN OF ROMAN CARTHAGE.¹



COIN OF MICIPSA.²

not neglected their usual precautions. Along the shore of the Syrtes, several free towns, Thapsus, Leptis Minor, Achulla, Usilla, Teudalis, and perhaps Hadrumetum, were like so many gates opening upon Numidia. By them Caesar had entered. His great-uncle, Marius, had prepared other auxiliaries for him. The Gaetuli, called by Strabo the greatest of the Libyan nations, who pitched their tents on the southern slopes of the Atlas, depended for their supply of grain on the Numidian kings; but this dependence they endured with reluctance; and Marius, when he allowed Numidia still to exist, took care to establish an understanding with these nomads. A number of Gaetuli had become his clients, or received the title of Roman citizens. Caesar, by recalling these facts, gained over the whole nation, and the diversion made by this people aided greatly in the defeat of the Pompeians.

¹ Head of Ceres.

² Horse on the left; in the background, a sceptre. Bronze coin of Micipsa.

The battle of Thapsus led to the reduction into a province of the whole of Numidia and part of the country of the Gaetuli. Some years later, when Bogud, one of the two Moorish kings, took the side of Antony, Octavius adjudged his kingdom, Mauretania Tingitana, to the other prince, who was already master of Mauretania Caesariensis: and at the death of the latter, in the year 33, he united both to the domain of the Republic. Northern Africa had thus entirely changed in the space of a few years: and the same influence, spreading over it from Alexandria to Tingis, was soon to restore life to its desolate shores. Already Carthage, rebuilt by Caesar and colonized by Augustus, was again becoming a flourishing city.



COIN OF TINGIS ¹

In the interior of Numidia one town surpassed all the others, and indeed could no longer be called a barbarian city. This was Cirta, to which Micipsa had summoned Greek colonists, a city which Caesar had given to his Italian adventurers.

Tangier (Tingis), which claimed to possess the great buckler of Antaeus made of elephant's hide, had received from Octavius the right of citizenship.

But Mauretania, lying behind it, was but little known, although there was much talk of its beautiful rivers and fertile soil, its vines producing bunches of grapes a cubit in length, its trees supplying tables made of a single plank veined with the most beautiful colors,² and its horses swifter than the wind, which even at Rome, amid the hard-hearted men of that time, called forth a little of that affection which the Arab gives his steed. A somewhat extensive trade with the interior of Africa doubtless brought into Mauretania the gold-dust of which our geographer tells, and this could not have failed to draw thither the Roman population, in spite of nearness of the desert and its threatening hordes.

What were these desert tribes? After Greek civilization had reached the Numidians, the earliest scholars of that people found

¹ Bearded head of Baal and Punic inscription. Reverse of a bronze coin of Agrippa struck at Tingis.

² It was in the Atlas the citrus (*Thuya articulata*) was found, which furnished the tables sold in Rome at a fabulous price. Cicero paid for one forty thousand dollars; the Cethegi had another worth about sixty thousand dollars (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xiii. 29).



VIEW OF TANGIER (TINGIS).

it easy to invent an illustrious origin for themselves. They could not be either Greeks or Romans; they availed themselves of a vague tradition, which had come down through the ages, of colonies from the East, and fabulous adventures of the Tyrian Heracles, connecting themselves with what was most illustrious in the world after Rome and Greece, namely, Persia. Sallust, who obtained a translation of their books, found therein that the Numidians had for their ancestors Persians, companions of Heracles. When the Christian religion in its turn penetrated to these countries, echoes of Biblical traditions made themselves heard, and the Moors became the Canaanites whom Joshua had expelled from Palestine.



VIEW OF TANGIER (PRESENT STATE).

Herodotus is more simple, and doubtless nearer the truth. He acknowledges only two native races in Africa, the Libyans and the Ethiopians; and two foreign ones, the Greeks and the Phoenicians.¹ The persistent tradition of great migrations from Asia, and the existence from Egypt to the extremities of Atlas of one language which is not without analogy to the Semitic dialects, have already shown us that a great people had spread over the African continent in this direction. The great extent over which it settled broke it up into tribes, and the difference in the regions which these tribes occupied brought about the diversities of customs.

The two foreign races, the Greeks and Phoenicians, were now

¹ Sall., *Bell. Jug.* 17-18; Procop., *Bel. Vand.* ii. 10.

subject to Rome. The black race escaped her, and would continue



HERCULES STRANGLING ANTAEUS.¹

to do so forever; but she found herself face to face with the Libyans, who in Zeugitania and Byzacium had been accustomed to the Roman yoke, and in Numidia had begun to feel it through their kings, for more than a century converts to Roman civilization. While the Republic did not among the nations encounter that religious opposition which leads to desperate resistance, she still met such an opposition to her customs that Augustus deemed it prudent to abandon the government of the country to native princes, that they might establish towns which would render the occupation more easy, might encourage com-

merce, literature, and arts which would create interests favorable to foreign rule, and in a word, prepare those rude tribes to accept the direct action of Rome.

¹ Marble group from the gallery of Florence. This group, published by De Rossi (*Raccolta di Statue antiche e moderne*, 1794), is considered by Maffei to be probably a copy of that of Polycleitus, mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 8). We gave, in vol. iii. p. 75, a representation of the same subject from a painted vase.

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